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After a short rest,
the same work was

THE
PLAYS AND POEMS
 OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,
 WITH THE
 CORRECTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS
 OF
 VARIOUS COMMENTATORS:
 COMPREHENDING
A Life of the Poet,
 AND
 AN ENLARGED HISTORY OF THE STAGE,
 BY
 THE LATE EDMOND MALONE.
 WITH A NEW GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

ΤΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΗΝ, ΤΟΝ ΚΑΛΑΜΟΝ
 ΑΠΟΒΕΙΧΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΝΟΤΝ. *Vet. Auct. apud Suidam.*

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; T. EGERTON, J. CUPPHELL; SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; CADELL AND DAVIES; LACKINGTON AND CO., J. BOOKER; BLACK AND CO.; J. BOOTH, J. RICHARDSON; J. M. RICHARDSON; J. MURRAY, J. HARDING; R. H. EVANS; J. MAWMAN; R. SCHOLEY; T. EARLE, J. BOHN; C. BROWN; GRAY AND SON; R. PHENEY, BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY; NEWMAN AND CO.; OGLES, DUNCAN, AND CO., T. HAMILTON; W. WOOD, J. SHELDON, E. EDWARDS, WHITMORE AND FENN; W. MASON; G. AND W. B. WHITTAKER; SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL; R. SAUNDERS; J. DEIGHTON AND SONS, CAMBRIDGE: WILSON AND SON, YORK: AND STIRLING AND SLADE, FAIRBAIRN AND ANDERSON, AND D. BROWN, EDINBURGH.

1821.

VOL. II. PROLEGOMENA.

THE
L I F E
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

SECTION I.

OF all the accounts of literary men which have been given to the world, the history of the life of Shakspeare¹ would be the most curious and in-

¹ Before we proceed further, it may be proper to ascertain the orthography of our poet's name. That the pronunciation of his own time was *Shakspeare*, is proved decisively, by illiterate persons, who spelt by the ear, writing the name either *Shaxspere*, or *Shackspere*; of which, instances from authentick documents will be given hereafter: and that he himself wrote his name without the middle *e*, appears from his autograph, of which a fac-simile will be found in a subsequent page. With respect to the last syllable of his name, the people of Stratford appear to have generally written the name *Shakspere*, or *Shackspere*: and I have now great doubts whether he did not frequently write the final syllable so himself; for I suspect that what was formerly supposed to be the letter *a* over his autograph above-mentioned, was only a coarse and broad mark of a contraction; and in the signatures of his name subscribed to his will (as a very ingenious anonymous correspondent observes to me), certainly the letter *a* is not to be found in the second syllable. It should be remembered, that in all words where *per* occurred, in old English

structive, if we were acquainted with the minute circumstances of his fortunes, the course and extent of

writing, this contraction (*p̃*) was generally substituted. The true origin, I believe, of his countrymen thus spelling the latter part of his name, was this: instead of *speare* (*hasta*) following the sound, they constantly wrote *spere*; and hence the name of *Sperepoynt*, another family in Stratford, was thus exhibited. Mr. Richard Quiney, and many of the Stratfordians, in consequence of this being the common mode of spelling the word *spear* or *speare*, and of being used to the contraction above-mentioned, frequently wrote our poet's name thus: Mr. Shaks^{p̃}; and in some of the writings of the borough, I have found the name written at length *Shaksp̃er*, which was probably the vulgar pronunciation. But as *spere* was a misspelling of the word *speare*, from the cause already assigned; and as it is not so properly old spelling, as false spelling; in my opinion it ought not to be adopted in exhibiting our author's name at this day; and therefore I write *Shakspeare*, and not *Shakspere*. Mr. Thomas Greene, a solicitor in Chancery, a contemporary and relation of our author, followed the orthography which we now adopt, as will be seen hereafter.

The various modes in which our poet's name has been exhibited, have been the subject of much disquisition; but those who are conversant with the laxity of ancient orthography, must have met with so many instances of the same kind, that this variance can be no novelty to them. "The same surname (says Fuller, in his *English Worthies*, p. 51), hath been variously altered in writing: first, because time teacheth new orthography, altering *spelling*, as well as *speaking*: secondly, the best gentlemen anciently were not the best scholars; and, minding matters of more moment, were somewhat too incurious in their names. Besides, writers engrossing deeds were not over-critical in spelling of names, knowing well where the person appeared the same, the simplicity of that age would not fall out about misnomer. Lastly, ancient families have been often removed into several counties, where several writings follow the several pronunciations." So variously was the name of Percy written, that the learned and ingenious Bishop of Dromore has, I think, enumerated above twenty different ancient modes of spelling that name. The name of Villiers, Fuller observes, was spelt fourteen different ways: and

his studies, and the means and gradations whereby he acquired that consummate knowledge of mankind, which, for two centuries, has rendered him the delight and boast of his countrymen: but many of the mate-

in the spelling of the name of Gascoygne, Thoresby and Oldys have exhibited twenty-one variations. Sir Walter Raleigh has written his name in a book in the Bodleian Library, as I now have done; yet his contemporaries much more frequently wrote *Rawleigh*, or *Raleigh*, or *Rawley*; nor was he himself, I believe, uniform in his practice. Mr. Abraham Sturley, an alderman of Stratford, with whom the reader will be better acquainted hereafter, as often wrote his name *Strelley* as *Sturley*: and the name of our poet's son-in-law was written *Hawle*, *Halle*, *Haule*, and *Hall*; in the first and the last of these ways he himself wrote it at different periods of his life. A similar variance is to be found in the names of Burghley, which is exhibited in four or five different ways; of Habington the historian (frequently written and printed *Abington*), Massinger and Dekker the poets, and many others. Edward Alleyn, the player, wrote his name sometimes *Allin*, sometimes *Allen*, and at others *Aleyn* or *Alleyn*. The names of Heminges and Condell, our poet's fellow comedians, are written differently in the very volume which they themselves published. And lastly, to come nearer to our own time, instead of *John Dryden*, the name to which we are now familiarized, we have before the second edition of his *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, and also in an advertisement in the *London Gazette*, N^o 1, *John Dreyden*; and in the last page this name was also writte *Driden* and *Dreydon*.

Fuller, writing on this subject, concludes like a true antiquary: "However such diversity appeareth in the eye of others, I dare profess that I am *delighted* with the prospect thereof." Though I fear my readers may not have so much enthusiasm (as I "dare profess" I have not), yet I trust they will pardon the length of this disquisition, which perhaps nothing but the name of Shakspeare could justify. Under the protection of that seven-fold shield an editor may set criticks and cavillers at defiance.

Στη δ' ἀρ' ὑπ' Αἰαντος σακεῖ Τελαμωνιάδαι.

rials for such a biographical detail being now unattainable, we must content ourselves with such particulars as accident has preserved, or the most sedulous industry has been able to collect.

From Sir William Dugdale, who was born in 1605, and bred at the school of Coventry, but twenty miles from Stratford upon Avon, and whose *Antiquities of Warwickshire* appeared in 1656, only thirty years after the death of our poet, we might reasonably have expected some curious memorials of his illustrious countryman : but he has not given us a single particular of his private life ; contenting himself with a very slight mention of him in his account of the church and tombs of Stratford upon Avon.

The next biographical printed notice that I have found, is in Fuller's *Worthies*, folio, 1662, in *Warwickshire*, p. 116 ; where there is a short quibbling account of our poet, furnishing very little information concerning him. In *Theatrum Poetarum*, which was not published till 1675 (though in the Bodleian, and other catalogues, that book is mentioned as having appeared in MDCLX, in consequence of the last two figures (xv) having, in some copies, dropped out of their place, at the press), Edward Phillips gives this character of our author :

“ William Shakspeare, the glory of the English stage, whose nativity at Stratford upon Avon is the highest honour that town can boast of, from an actor of tragedies and comedies, he became a maker ; and such a maker, that though some others may perhaps pretend to a more exact decorum and economy, especially in tragedy, never any expressed a more lofty and tragick height ; never any represented nature

more purely to the life : and where the polishments of art are most wanting; as probably his learning was not extraordinary, he pleaseth with a certain wild and native elegance ; and in all his writings hath an unvulgar style, as well in his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Rape of Lucrece*, and other various poems, as in his *dramaticks*."

I had long since observed, in the margin of my copy of this book, that the hand of Milton, who was the author's uncle, might be traced in the preface, and in the passage above quoted. The book was licensed for publication two months before the death of that poet. My late friend, Mr. Warton, has made the same observation.

Winstanley, in his *Lives of the Poets*, 8vo. 1687, merely transcribed Dugdale and Fuller ; nor did Langbaine, in 1691, Blount, in 1694, or Gildon, in 1699, add any thing to the former meagre accounts of our poet.

That Antony Wood, who was himself a native of Oxford (but thirty-six miles from Stratford), and was born but fourteen years after the death of our author, should not have collected any anecdotes of Shakspeare, has always appeared to me extraordinary. Though Shakspeare had no direct title to a place in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, that diligent antiquary could have easily found a niche for his Life, as he has done for many others, not bred at Oxford. The *Life of Davenant* afforded him a very fair opportunity for such an insertion.

About the year 1680, that very curious and indefatigable searcher after anecdotes relative to the

eminent writers of England, Mr. John Aubrey, collected some concerning Shakspeare, which I shall have occasion to mention more particularly hereafter.

But the person from whom we should probably have derived the most satisfactory intelligence concerning our poet's theatrical history, was his contemporary, and fellow comedian, Thomas Heywood; had he executed a work which he appears to have long had in contemplation. In the margin of Braithwaite's Survey of Histories, 4to. 1614, I find the following note: "Homer, an excellent and heroicke poet, shadowed only, because my judicious friend, Maister Thomas Heywood, hath taken in hand, by his great industry, to make a general, though summary, description of all the poets." Heywood himself, twenty years afterwards, mentions the same scheme, in a note to his Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels, folio, 1635, p. 245, in which he says, that he intends "to commit to the publick view, The Lives of the Poets, foreign and modern, from the first before Homer, to the *novissimi* and last, of what nation or language soever;" but, unfortunately, the work was never published. Browne, the pastoral poet, who was also Shakspeare's contemporary, had a similar intention of writing the Lives of the English Poets; which, however, he never executed.

Though, between 1640 and 1670, the Lives of Hooker, Donne, Wotton, and Herbert, were given to the publick by Isaac Walton, and in 1679 some account of Spencer was prefixed to a folio edition of his works, neither the booksellers, who republished our author's plays in 1664 and 1665, employed any

person to write the Life of Shakspeare; nor did Dryden, though a warm admirer of his productions, or any other poet, collect any materials for such a work, till Mr. Rowe, about the year 1707, undertook an edition of his plays. Unfortunately, that was not an age of curiosity or inquiry: for Dryden might have obtained some intelligence from the old actors, who died about the time of the Restoration, when he was himself near thirty years old; and still more authentick accounts from our poet's grand-daughter, Lady Barnard, who did not die till 1670. His sister, Joan Hart, was living in 1646; his eldest daughter, Susanna Hall, in 1649; and his second daughter, Judith Queeny, in 1662.

Of those who were not thus nearly connected with our poet, a large list of persons presents itself, from whom, without doubt, much intelligence concerning him might have been obtained, between the time of the publication of the second folio edition of his works, in 1632, and of Mr. Rowe's Life, in 1709.

Francis Meres, who will be more particularly mentioned hereafter, and who appears to have been well acquainted with the stage, when our author first appeared as a dramattick writer, lived till 1646.

Richard Braithwaite, a very voluminous poet, was born in 1588, and commenced a writer some years before the death of Shakspeare. Having once, as it should seem, had thoughts of compiling a history of the English poets, he probably was particularly anxious to learn all such circumstances as might be most conducive to such an undertaking. He

died in 1673, at the age of eighty-five. To him may be added, 1. Dr. Jasper Mayne; 2. Penelope Lady Spencer; 3. John, the second Lord Stanhope; 4. Sir Aston Cockaine; 5. William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle; and, 6. Frances Countess of Dorset; who all died between the time of the Restoration and the year 1695; and Sir Robert Atkins, Sir Richard Verney, and Sir William Bishop, whose lives were extended to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Jasper Mayne, who had written two papers of verses on our author, in 1623, lived till 1671.

Penelope Lady Spencer, who died in 1667, sixty-nine years old, probably had heard, in her youth, some particulars concerning Shakspeare, from her father, his great patron.

Not only the age of John, the second Lord Stanhope, but the papers which he must have derived from his father, the first Lord, must have furnished him with many curious particulars respecting the plays of Shakspeare and his contemporaries. Sir John Stanhope, the first Lord Stanhope, was appointed, in 1595, Treasurer of the Chambers, through whose hand passed all money disbursed for plays exhibited at Court; and continued possessed of this office till March, 1620-21, when he died. His son, the second Lord, was born in 1595; was made a Knight of the Bath in 1610; and lived to the age of eighty-three, dying in 1677.

How conversant Sir Aston Cockaine was with the history of our poets, particularly the dramatick poets,

his own works abundantly prove. He was born in 1606, and died in 1684, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, himself a dramattick poet, and a patron of Ben Jonson, in the latter days of that writer, could hardly have failed to have heard much of Shakspeare, in his youth. He was born in 1592, made a Knight of the Bath in 1610, and died on Christmas-day, 1676, at the age of eighty-four. At the time of Shakspeare's death, he was twenty-four years old,

Frances, the wife of Richard, the fifth Earl of Dorset, and mother of Charles Earl of Dorset, the patron of Dryden, was, according to tradition, extremely intimate with Sir John Suckling, a professed admirer of our poet. This lady, who was born in 1619 or 1620, and married in 1637, lived till 1693.

Some account of Shakspeare's domestick habits and private life, it may be presumed, might have been obtained from Sir William Bishop, of Bridgetown, adjoining Stratford upon Avon, who was born in 1626, and died there in 1700. His father, Sir Richard Bishop, who might have been personally acquainted with the poet, was born in 1585, and died at Bridgetown, in 1673, at the age of eighty-eight.

Sir Robert Atkins, Knight of the Bath, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, died in 1709, at the great age of eighty-eight. Being fond of antiquarian researches, he, doubtless, was not inattentive to the history of our early poets; and being himself born in

1621, five years only after Shakspeare's death, had an opportunity of learning many particulars concerning him, from his father, who was born in 1588, and died in 1669, at the age of eighty-two.

To these numerous sources of information may be added one more, whence even Mr. Rowe himself might probably have obtained much information, in 1708, when he was collecting materials for his Life of Shakspeare ; I mean Sir Richard Verney, of Compton Murdock, about eight miles from Stratford, the first Lord Willoughby de Broke. He was born in January, 1621-2, and survived the publication of Mr. Rowe's edition of Shakspeare, dying at the great age of ninety, July 18, 1711. He is described by Wright, in his History of Rutlandshire, as " a true lover of antiquities, and a worthy Mæcenæ;" and without doubt had, in his early days, made some inquiries concerning his illustrious countryman, from his father, who was born in 1588, and died in 1642, when Sir Richard was twenty years old. His grandfather, Sir Richard Verney, who was born in 1563, and died in 1630, often sat in commission, as a Justice of Peace, at Stratford, before Shakspeare removed to London. He married a daughter of Sir Fulke Greville, the elder, who was many years Recorder of Stratford ; and his mother was Jane, one of the sisters of Sir Thomas Lucy, Shakspeare's supposed prosecutor.

That almost a century should have elapsed, from the time of his death, without a single attempt having been made to discover any circumstance which

could throw a light on the history of his private life, or literary career; that, when the attempt was made, it should have been so imperfectly executed by the very ingenious and elegant dramatist who undertook the task; and that for a period of eighty years² afterwards, during which this “god of our idolatry” ranked as high among us as any poet ever did in any country, all the editors of his works, and each successive English biographer, should have been contented with Mr. Rowe’s meagre and imperfect narrative; are circumstances which cannot be contemplated without astonishment.

The information which I have been able to collect on this subject, even at this late day, however inadequate to my wishes, having far exceeded my most sanguine expectation, the perusal of the following pages, while it will ascertain the numerous errors and inaccuracies which have been so long and so patiently endured, and transmitted from book to book, will, I trust, at the same time, show, in some small degree, what may be done in biographical researches, even at a remote period, by a diligent and ardent spirit of inquiry: it must, however, necessarily be accompanied with a deep, though unavailing regret, that the same ardour did not animate those who lived nearer our author’s time, whose inquiries could not fail to have been rewarded with a superior degree of success. The negligence and inattention of our English writers, after the Restoration, to the history of the celebrated men who preceded them, can never be mentioned

² In 1790, the present writer endeavoured, in some degree, to supply the defects of Mr. Rowe’s short narrative, by adding to it copious annotations.

without surprise and indignation. If Suetonius and Plutarch had been equally incurious, some of the most valuable remains of the ancient world would have been lost to posterity.

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE was the son of John Shakspeare, by Mary, the youngest daughter of Robert Arden³, of Wilmecote⁴, in the county of Warwick, Esquire, and Agnes Webb, his wife⁵.

³ This family is of great antiquity in the county of Warwick. The woodland part of that county was anciently called *Arderne*, whence they derived their name. "I learned at Warwike (says Leland), that the most part of the shire of Warwike that lyeth as Avon river descendeth, on the right hand or ripe of it, is in *Arden* (for soe is [the] ancient name of that part of the shire); and the ground in Arden is much enclosed, plentifull of grasse, but not of corne. The other parte of Warwikeshire that lyeth on the left hand or ripe of Avon river, much to the south, is for the most part champion, somewhat barren of wood, but plentifull of corne." *Itin.* vol. iv. p. 2, fol. 166, a. So also Camden: "*Woodland* trans Avonem ad septentriones expanditur spatio multo majori, tota nemoribus infessa, nec tamen sine pascuis, arvis, et variis ferri venis. Hæc, ut hodie *Woodland*, id est, regio sylvestris, ita etiam *Ardern* antiquiori nomine olim dicebatur, verum eadem plane, ut existimo, significatione. *Ardern* enim priscis Britannis et Gallis sylvam significasse videtur, cum in Gallia sylvam maximam *Ardern*, oppidum in Flandria juxta alteram sylvam *Ardenburg*, et celebratam illam Angliæ sylvam truncato vocabulo *Den* nominari videamus. Ex hac *Turkillus de Ardern*, qui hic floruit magno honore sub Henrico primo [A. D. 1100], nomen assumpsit, et propago ejus admodum clara longe per Angliam succedentibus annis est diffusa." *Britan.* p. 501, edit. 1600.

The original name, *Arderne*, was in process of time softened into *Arden*, anterior, as it should seem, to the forest of *Den* being

The name of Shakspeare, or *Shake-speare*, for so, without doubt, it was originally written, were we to

thus denominated. Our ancestors were always extremely fond of abbreviations (*vocabula truncata*), and seem to have had a peculiar aversion to the letter *r*, which they very frequently omitted, by placing a line or stroke over the word as a mark of the abbreviation. *Arderne* being generally thus written [*Arde^{ne}*], the *r* was at length wholly omitted in writing and speaking. The successive representatives of the family of Arden, however, according to the capricious modes of ancient spelling, were by no means uniform in writing their names: some exhibiting it in one way, some in another. In Leland's time, the name, we find, had acquired the softer sound which we now give it: indeed, a century before, if Fuller is correct, Robert *Arden* (not *Ardern*), Esq. of Bromwick, was returned in the list of the gentry of this county by the commissioners appointed for that purpose in the twelfth year of King Henry VI. A. D. 1433.

Many other names have undergone a similar change. Thus the name of *Nangle*, in process of time became *Nagle*; *Grenville*, became *Greville*; the word *Nursery*, became *Nurs'ey*, &c.

⁴ Usually pronounced *Wincot*. So, Mr. William Clapton, in his will, made May 9, 1521, devises Clapton and *Wyncote* to his executors till they shall have received 200 marks, as a marriage portion for Elizabeth his daughter.

This village was formerly more considerable than it is at present, having had a church, as appears by the Register of the Guild of the Holy Cross at Stratford. "Raphe Couper, rector of the church at littell Wilmicote, was admitted into the brotherhood of the Gild, An^o. Dni. 1408, x Henry iii." fol. iii. b.

The tithes of this rectory do not appear to have belonged to the Guild of the Holy Cross in the 22d year of Henry VIII. (1530); not being mentioned in the Rent-Roll of the Guild for that year, now among the archives of Stratford; but in the 37th of Henry VIII. according to a survey then made (Dugdale's Antiq. of Warw. p. 485), "the lands and tenements of the Guild, with the tithes of *Wylmyncote*, certified to belong thereto, were valued at 50*l*. 23*d*. ob. per ann." In a Rent-Roll,

regard etymology, might lead us to suppose that the founder of this family, in the tenth or eleventh century, before surnames became common, had, like Longue-espee, or Longsword, Earl of Salisbury⁶, distinguished himself by military achievements, and thence obtained this designation; but I know not that the history of other families of kindred denomination, of the family of *Spearepoint*, in Stratford, or of Nicholas *Breakspeare*, better known by the title of Pope Adrian the Fourth, whose names denote a similar origin, would warrant such an hypothesis. It is, however, a very probable conjecture, and countenanced by a learned antiquary, who was contempo-

Ed. VI. [1547], I find the tithes of Wilmecote were then let at 20s. per. ann., and the total revenue of the guild was 49l. 18s. 8½d.

⁵ Agnes Webbe was a native of Bearley, a village about three miles from Wilmecote. In the proceedings of a court leet held at Stratford in April, 1558, I find the following entry: "Raf Cawdrey for making a fray upon Alexander *Web* of *Bereley*, he stands amerced xiiid."

From the will of Mrs. Arden, of which a more particular account will be given hereafter, it appears that she was sister to Alexander Webbe. She survived her husband twenty-four years, as appears from the register of the parish of Aston Cantlow, in which, among the burials, is found—"1580 The xxixth daye of Dec. was buried Agnes Arden, wyddow." Christopher Arden was buried there August 8, 1581; and Elizabeth Arden March 29, 1588: but I know not in what degree of relationship they stood to our poet's grandfather.

⁶ William, Earl of Salisbury, a natural son of Henry II. by fair Rosamond, if we may believe the metrical romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, acquired the title of Longue-espee, in consequence of his gallant exploits at the siege of Messina, under our Richard the First, when he was on his way to the Holy Land.

rary with our author⁷. His townsmen, indeed, appear to have paid no attention to the etymology of his name; but very soon after he became known to the literary world, its heroick and martial sound was recognized and alluded to in some encomiastick verses, of which even our poet had reason to be proud.

Whatever may have been the origin of the name, the family of Shakspeare is of great antiquity in the county of Warwick, and was established long before our poet's time, in the woodland part of it, principally at Rowington⁸ and Lapworth⁹; from which

⁷ "Breakspear, Shakspear, and the lyke, have byn surnames imposed upon the first bearers of them, *for valour and feates of armes.*" *Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, 4to. 1605, p. 294. See also Camden's Remaines, 4to. 1605, p. 111.

Nicolas Breakspeare, as well as our poet, bore arms which have a reference to his name; *a broken lance*, &c. See his arms accurately described in the Notes on N. Upton's treatise *De Militari Studio*, p. 46.

⁸ No information concerning the Shakspeares of Rowington during the fifteenth century, at which period, and probably long before, they flourished there, can be obtained from the register of that parish, the earliest register being lost, and the oldest book now extant commencing in 1639. But other documents fully ascertain what is stated in the text.

"Will^m. Wethyford of the parish of Rownton in the county of Warwick," made his will 31st March, 1564; and it was proved at Worcester, on the 25th of Feb 1574. An inventory of his effects is annexed with the following title:

"This is the Inventorye of all and singular the goodes and cat-tel of Willm Wethyford of Rownton, latelye deceased, praysed by Jhon Benett, *Rich^d. Shakspeare*, Willi. Ley & Thomas Ley, the xiii day of September, 1564." *Bundle of Wills, sub an. 1574*, in the Consistory Office at Worcester.

From the will of John *Shaxpere* of Rowington, made the 26th of June, 1574, it appears that he had two sons, and one

places several of them branched out, and settled at Wroxall ¹, Knowle ², Claverdon ³, Warwick ⁴, Balsal, Stratford, Hampton ⁵, and Snitterfield.

daughter. To his son Thomas he bequeathed twenty pounds; to his son George, his "freeland called Madge Wattons;" to his daughter Annis, fifteen marks, to be paid on the day of her marriage. The testator mentions a brother of the name of Nicholas. That part of the paper which contained an account of the probate, being torn off, and wanting, I know not when he died. *Bundle of Wills, sub an. 1574, ut supra.*

George, the younger son of the above-mentioned John, died in 1628; and by his will, made Jan. 30, 1627 [8], devised to his son Thomas, Madge Wattons, adjoining to Schrewle heath, in the parish of Hatton, and after the death of his wife his copyhold in Rowington. *Bundle of Wills in 1627, ut supra.*

Richard *Shaxper*, the elder, of Rowington, probably the person mentioned in the inventory annexed to the will of William Withyford, in 1564, made his will, Sept. 6. 1591. He had four sons; John, Roger, Thomas, and William. John was then married, and had three sons born, of which the eldest was Thomas. Richard *Shaxper* died between Sept. 1591, and March 31, 1592: his will having been proved on that day. *Bundle of Wills, sub an. 1592, ut supra.*

From the Court Rolls of the manor of Rowington (from which I have been obligingly furnished with an extract by Mr. John Payne, of Coventry, Attorney at Law), it appears that John Shakspeare, the eldest son of Richard above-mentioned, died in 1609; and that Thomas Shakspeare was admitted to the Hill Farm as his son and heir. This Thomas, from his will, which was made in 1614, appears to have been a mealman, or baker, and lived at Mouseley End, in Rowington. May 5, 1614, his widow was admitted in the Court Baron to her free-bench, and afterwards surrendered to her son John, who was then admitted accordingly. He died in Feb. 1652-3, leaving two sons, William, who died in 1690, and John, who died in 1710.

Another Richard *Shaxper* of Rowington, who is likewise styled the elder, died in April, 1614. His sons, as appears from his will, were William, Richard, Thomas, and John. Richard, the younger, had four sons then living, all minors; and William had

Our poet's family, says Mr. Rowe, "as appears by the register and publick writings of Stratford, were of

one son, named John, likewise a minor. *Bundle of Wills, sub an. 1614, ut supra.* Richard the elder having surrendered a messuage in Turner's End, or Church End, Rowington, to the use of his youngest son John (who was a weaver), after the death of himself and his wife Elizabeth, the eldest son, William, contested this disposition. From a bill filed by John against William, in May, 1616, and the answer of William in the same year, it appears that the copyhold and tenement above-mentioned had been possessed by the father for fifty years. *In Tur. Londin. Record Office, S. xiv. 57.*

In May, 1595, a bill was filed by Thomas Shakspeare, of Rowington, yeoman, and Mary his wife, daughter and heir of William Mathew, deceased, against William Rogers. This Thomas claimed, in right of his wife, "a messuage and tenement with the appurtenances in Rowington and Claredon, and of certain lands in Hatton Schrewle, Rowington, and Pinley." This bill contains nothing else worth notice; and is only mentioned here, as ascertaining the existence of such a person. *In Tur. Lond. Record Office, Ss. xi. 32.*

Various branches of the family of Shakspeare continued at Rowington, during the last and present century. The only person, as I have been informed, now remaining in that parish of the name of Shakspeare, is a person who keeps a publick house at a place called Pinley Green, the son of Thomas Shakspeare, blacksmith, who died in 1785. The Hill Farm, however, above-mentioned, which descended from Richard Shakspeare who died in 1592, was possessed by the late Mr. William Shakspeare, of Knowle Hall, who died in August, 1762, at the age of seventy-five, and, as I learn from Mr. John Payne, of Coventry, attorney-at-law, is now the property of Mr. John Edward Yarrow, the fifth in descent from Mary Shakspeare, grand-daughter of John Shakspeare, who, as we have already seen, died in 1609.

It appears from the register of Lapworth, that William Hart and Alice Shakspeare were married there, October 15, 1564. We shall presently see that our poet's sister, Joan Shakspeare, married a William Hart, at Stratford, in or before 1599, who might have

good figure and fashion there, and are mentioned as *gentlemen*.” But this statement is extremely in-

been the son of William Hart, of Lapworth. There were, however, Harts settled at Stratford early in the 16th century.

Anne, the daughter of George Shakspeare, was baptized at Lapworth, Feb. 7, 1586.

Richard, the son of George Shakspeare and Elizabeth, his wife, was baptized there, Jan. 18, 1590.

John Shakspeare and Mary Huett [Hewitt] were married there Feb. 16, 1617.

Alice, the wife of John Shakspeare, was buried there, July 21, 1624.

John Shakspeare and Mary Whiting were married there, Nov. 7, 1628.

Humphry Shakspeare, of Lapworth, was buried at Rowington, October 30, 1729; and Sarah, his wife, was buried there some years before, October 4, 1720, aged eighty-two.

John Shakspeare died at Lapworth in 1637, and bequeathed two shillings a-year to the poor of the parish for ever.

In the Chirographer's Office I found a fine levied in 1603 by George Robins to Joseph Shakspeare, of Lapworth.

¹ John Shaxper, of Wroxall, labourer, made his will, Dec. 17, 1574, and died in Jan. 1574-5, leaving one son, named Edward. He mentions in his will his brother William; and his cousin Laurence Shaxper, of Balsal. *Bundle of Wills, sub an. 1575, ut supra.*

William Shaxpeare, of Wroxall, husbandman, made his will April 17, 1609, and died some time before April 11, 1613, when it was proved at Worcester. He was probably a nephew to the preceding. *Bundle of Wills, sub an. 1613, ut supra.*

² The early register of the hamlet of Knowle is lost; but there was in the present century a respectable family of the name of Shakspeare established at Knowle Hall.

³ From the Chirographer's Office I have been furnished with the following note of a fine levied Mich. 12 Jac. I. [1614.] “Warwickshire.—Between William Shakespeare and George Shakespeare, Plfs, and Thomas Spencer, Esq^r. Christopher

accurate and erroneous. From such a representation, it might naturally be supposed, that a long series of ancestors, all denominated *gentlemen*, might be found in the archives of Stratford; but neither the parish-register, nor any other ancient document that I have met with there (and I have examined several hundred), furnishes the slightest notice of even his paternal grandfather; nor is any one of the family styled, in the register, *gentleman*, except the poet himself, though his immediate ancestor, in consequence of the office which he held, ranked, during the last thirty

Flecknoe and Thomas Tompson, Deforcians, of eight acres of pasture, with the appurtenants, in Claverdon, otherwise Clardon."

4 In the Rolls Chapel I found a deed enrolled, which was made in the 44th year of Queen Elizabeth [1601-2], conveying "to Thomas Shakspeare of Warwick, yeoman, Sachbroke, *alias* Bishop Sachbroke in Com. Warr."

Thomas Shaxper, of Warwick, shoemaker, as appears by his will, in the registry of Worcester, died in 1577, possessed of the lordship of Balsal; leaving three sons, William, Thomas, and John, and one daughter, married to Francis Ley: another, Thomas Shakspeare, perhaps the second son of the preceding, made his will, Aug. 20, 1631, and died in 1632. By an inventory annexed to his will, his personal effects appear to have been worth 150*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* *Bundle of Wills, sub an. 1632, ut supra.* In 1619, when the visitation of Warwick was made by Sampson Lennard and Augustin Vincent, deputies for William Camden, Thomas Shakspeare was one of the burgesses of Warwick. He mentions his *shop* in his will; and I suspect that he was a butcher. A fine was levied by one Thomas Shakspeare to Michael Lee, in Michaelmas Term, 1608, of lands in Nuneaton, in the county of Warwick.

5 In the register of Stratford, we find that Elizabeth, the daughter of Anthony Shakspeare, of Hampton, was baptized Feb. 10, 1583-4.

years of his life, with the most respectable persons in that town, and was denominated by an honourable addition, being styled, in the parochial register, *Mayster* Shakspeare.

There is good ground for believing that John Shakspeare, the father of our great dramattick poet, was not originally of Stratford upon Avon. A very curious and well-preserved register is yet extant, which formerly belonged to the gild of the Holy Cross at Stratford, containing an account of all the masters, aldermen, procurators, brothers, and sisters of that gild, from the time of King Henry the Fourth to its dissolution, in the time of Edward the Sixth. In this ancient record, which I have carefully examined, during the entire reigns of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, the name of Shakspeare does not once occur; though the names of most of the other families, which were of any consideration at Stratford in the time of Queen Elizabeth, are found there; such as Clopton, Quiney, Combe, Underhill, Lewes, Sadler, Smith, Trussel, Jefferies, Reynolds, Gilbert, Parsons, Rogers, Bole, Hunt, Hill, Whatley, Gibbes, Phillips, Roberts, &c. In another very ancient manuscript, commencing with the reign of Henry the Eighth, in which the names of the wardens of the bridge of Stratford are preserved, antecedent to that town's being incorporated by King Edward the Sixth, the name of Shakspeare no where appears; nor among the tenants of the lands belonging to the gild, whose names are enumerated in a rent-roll, made in October, 1530, and also in the charter granted to this town in 1553,

amounting, I think, to seventy-one, does the name of any of our poet's ancestors, at either period, occur: all which circumstances afford a strong confirmation of what I have suggested. In further support of this conjecture, it may also be observed, that in Dethick and Camden's grant of arms, in 1599, John Shakspeare is styled "*now* of Stratford upon Avon;" from which it may plausibly be inferred that his son, from whom they received their instructions, knew that he had not been originally of that town: but as the word *now* does not occur in the preceding grant of 1596, and may have been formal rather than significant, this argument, it must be owned, is not of much force, though, connected with others, it may have some weight.

The heralds, in their grant or confirmation of arms to John Shakspeare, in 1599, by omitting the Christian name of our poet's mother, and writing, by mistake, *Wellingcote*, instead of *Wilmecote*, as the place of her father's residence, involved the history of this family in great difficulty and confusion. In their former grant, indeed, in 1596, which I shall soon have occasion to mention, they were more accurate, and had rightly described the lady to whom mankind is so much indebted, as well as the place of her birth; a circumstance which has hitherto escaped the microscopick eye of the antiquary. Could any doubt still remain on this subject, it would be removed by the will of Robert Arden, our poet's maternal grandfather, which I discovered in the Consistory Office at Worcester, as well as by other ancient documents, which I shall hereafter have occasion to quote. From this

will, compared with that of his widow, preserved in the same office, we learn, that the mother of our poet was the youngest of, at least, four daughters, and was a favourite of her father, being appointed one of his executors, in conjunction with her eldest sister, and in preference to his wife. The personal fortune of Mr. Arden, as appears from an inventory annexed to his will, amounted only to seventy-seven pounds, eleven shillings, and ten-pence. He had likewise, we find, some property in the neighbouring manor of Snitterfield; and this circumstance, perhaps, was the occasion of John Shakspeare's introduction to his daughter; for there are some grounds for supposing that he had *some* relations settled at Snitterfield, a town about three miles from Stratford. From a declaration filed in the Bailiff's Court, at Stratford, where an action of debt was brought, by Nicholas Lane, against John Shakspeare (our poet's father, I believe), in Hilary Term, 29 Eliz. [1587], it should seem that he had a brother of the name of Henry; and another paper, which I have also found among the archives of Stratford, informs us that Henry Shakspeare was of Snitterfield⁸.

⁸ To the will of Christopher Smyth, otherwise Court, of Stratford upon Avon, made Nov. 2, 1586, and proved at Stratford, Dec. 2. in the same year, is subjoined a list of "Debts due to the said Christopher."

"It. Henry Shakspeare of Snytterfield oweth me *vli. ixs.*"

It appears from the register of the parish of Snitterfield that Henry Shakspeare was buried there Dec. 29, 1596; and Margaret, his widow, was buried there a few weeks afterwards, Feb. 6, 1596-7.

There was also a Thomas Shakspeare settled at Snitterfield;

Mr. Arden had, without doubt, frequent occasion to visit Stratford⁹, it being a considerable market-town, and much better furnished with both the necessities and luxuries of life than Wilmecote. The business of the law also, sometimes, led him there. In an ancient manuscript, containing an account of the proceedings of the Bailiff's Court, at Stratford, in the reigns of Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, I find a memorial of a suit instituted by him for the small sum of four shillings¹. John Shakspeare,

for John, the son of Thomas Shakspeare, was baptized there, March 10, 1581-2.

Our poet's grandfather might, however, have been originally of Ingon, in the parish of Hampton upon Avon, or as it was then called, Bishop Hampton; for a Henry Shakspeare (whether the same person already mentioned, or another, does not appear,) lived at one time in that parish, the register of which contains the following entries:

"1582, June 10, Lettyce, the daughter of Henrye Shakespere, was baptized,

"1585, Oct. 15, Jeames the sonne of Henrye Shakespere was baptized.

"1589, Oct. 25, Jeames Shakspeare of Yngon was buried."

Henry Shakspeare might have lived at one time at Snitterfield, afterwards have moved to Ingon, and finally returned to Snitterfield. Ingon is in the parish of Hampton, but nearer to Snitterfield than Hampton. It is observable that Mr. John Shakspeare, as we shall presently see, held a farm at Ingon; to which he might be attached either as the place of his nativity, or as being in the neighbourhood of Snitterfield, if he was born there.

⁹ Though Great Wilmecote, in which Mr. Arden lived, is in the parish of Aston Cantlow, Little Wilmecote, which adjoins it, is in that of Stratford; and this circumstance, together with its vicinity to that town, for it is but two miles distant, necessarily occasioned some intercourse between these places.

¹ "Stratford } Cur. ibm. tent. vicesimo nono die Novembris,
Cur. } primo anno regni dñæ nostræ Mariæ, &c. [1553.]

being, perhaps, originally of Snitterfield, which is but two miles from Wilmecote, and three from Stratford, found an easy introduction to his daughter; who, after the death of her father, must necessarily, as one of his executors, have had frequent occasion to visit Stratford, for the purpose of settling his affairs, and collecting such sums as were due to him at the time of his death.

Robert Arden, our poet's maternal grandfather, died in December, 1556; and his youngest daughter's marriage certainly took place in the following year. Her portion, I find, from her father's will, was a tract of land called Asbies, and the sum of six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence. (Of this land, I, for some time in vain, endeavoured to ascertain the extent and value; no trace of the denomination above-mentioned being, at present, to be found at Wilmecote. But a bill in Chancery, which I discovered in the Record Office, in the Tower, filed by our poet's father, in November, 1597, against John Lambert, son and heir of Edmond Lambert, of Barton on the Heath, in the county of Warwick, to whom, in the year 1578, he had mortgaged the estate which he acquired by his wife, has furnished me with the precise amount of this property, the value of which turns out to have been, within a few pounds, what I had conjectured. It was an estate in fee; and according to the acknowledgment of the son of the mortgagee in his answer, consisted of a messuage, one

Johēs Dyckson fatet. accion. quem Robertus Arderne de Wylmecot versus eum pros. sup. dem. iiij^s. Id. fiat. leva. et concord. in cur. quod pecunia p^d. solut. fuerit citra prox. cur." *Codex MS. in Camerā Stratforden.*

yard land² and four acres, in Wilmecote; but, from a fine levied by John and Mary Shakspeare, in Easter Term, 1579³, it appears, more particularly, that this estate consisted of *fifty acres* of arable land, two acres of meadow, four acres of pasture, and common of pasture for all manner of cattle; the house at Wilmecote being probably let for forty shillings a-year (the usual rent of such a house at that time), this estate, though mortgaged only for the sum of forty pounds, may be estimated as fairly worth one hundred and four pounds, supposing the land to have been let at three shillings the acre, and the common rate of purchase to have been at that time ten years; each of which suppositions I have reason to believe well founded. The fortune, therefore, on the whole, of Mary Arden, was, one hundred and ten pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence. Let not this moderate portion be compared with the more ample fortunes of the present age. At that time such a sum was considered a very good provision for a daughter, in a sphere of life much superior to that of our poet's mother. Mr. William Clopton, a man of the greatest estate in the neighbourhood of Stratford, whose manors comprehended several thousand acres, by his

² A yard land (*virgata terræ*), from the Saxon *gyrd land*, varies much in different counties; in some containing twenty-five, in others thirty, in others forty acres. The yard land here mentioned, as will be shown hereafter, contained near fifty acres. In the fields of Old Stratford, where our poet's estate lay, a yard land contained only about twenty-seven acres.

³ F. levet in Term. Pasch. 20 Eliz. in Officio Finium juxta Medium Templum.

will, made in January, 1559-60, only three years after the period of which I am now treating, gave to his eldest daughter but *one hundred pounds*, and to his three younger daughters *one hundred marks* each, that is, sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence⁴. I shall subjoin, in the Appendix, the will of our poet's grandfather⁵, which has furnished me

⁴ Will of William Clopton, proved in Feb. 1599-60. *In Off. Cur. Prerog.*

⁵ Having taken a journey to Worcester with the hope of finding this, and some other wills, that might throw a light on our author's history, I thought myself fortunate in meeting with the information which has just now been submitted to my readers; but, according to a doctrine maintained in an anonymous work [The Pursuits of Literature], I ought rather to make an apology for taking up their time with such idle *pibble-prabble*, worthy only of Sir Hugh Evans or Master Slender. A modern poet, not wholly without humour, among a great number of notes appended to his verses, of which the object is not very apparent, unless it were to show, that while he inveighs against the supposed folly and absurdity of those who have attempted to illustrate our great poet by their annotations, he can himself occasionally "out-herod Herôd," has the following *sagacious* remark: "When I speak of rational men, it passes the bounds of all sagacity to divine by what species of *refined absurdity* the *wills* and *testaments* of actors could be raked up and published to *illustrate Shakspeare*. (See Malone's edit. vol. ii. p. 186, &c. &c.) A critick for such an ingenious invention should be presented with the *altum Saganæ caliendrum*, which would not easily fall from his head.—But Mr. M. has redeemed this piece of folly by many valuable excellencies."

As in the course of the present work the reader will find several similar *pieces of folly* (if this be one) it may not be improper to say a word or two on this subject *in limine*; and, after acknowledging the courtesy of the concluding words above quoted, to examine how far the preceding charge is well founded.

with several of these facts, and the inventory that accompanied it, as a curious exhibition of the furniture

It has been long since observed, that those who write should read. If this judicious, though much neglected document had been attended to by the writer of the paragraph above quoted, he would not have fallen into the manifest error, I will not say the *refined absurdity*, with which it is justly chargeable. He would have learned, in the first place, that the wills which he alludes to, were not raked up [i. e. discovered with infinite difficulty and trouble], or published to illustrate *Shakspeare*, but the *History of the Stage*, and of the old actors who were fellow comedians with our great poet, which it is humbly conceived they in some small measure do ; the number of the testator's wives and children, the fortune which he acquired by his profession, with various other circumstances which are frequently furnished by his will, and the time of his death, which is generally nearly ascertained by the probate, being, it is supposed, of some little consequence in the history of his life. He next would have learned, that though the *primary* object of the publication of these wills was not, as he has erroneously supposed, to illustrate *Shakspeare*, they do in fact illustrate the works of this poet ; if furnishing the means of ascertaining the genuine copy of an author's writings, and of distinguishing it from spurious and adulterated editions of them, deserves the name of illustration : he would have found from these wills, that the two actors who were editors of the first complete collection of our author's plays in folio, were dead before the end of the year 1630, and thus he would have escaped the *refined absurdity* of asserting that two dead men "corrected the spurious edition of those plays in 1632."

The truth, however, I believe, is, that when his satire was first published, this writer was an humble candidate to be employed by the booksellers of London, in continuing and completing some of the great biographical works, which for many years past have been given to the publick ; the editors of which, however diligent or respectable, seem to have thought, with this anonymous rhymers, that in biographical researches it is quite unnecessary to examine a single manuscript in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, or any other curious repository. To open a parish register, or peruse

and other effects of a gentleman of moderate fortune in that age ⁶.

SECTION II.

From the loose language employed by Sir William Dethick and Camden, in their grants of arms to John Shakspeare, it might be supposed, and not without some reason, that one of his ancestors had been in the service of King Henry the Seventh, and had obtained from that frugal monarch some profitable grant.

a tomb-stone or a will, they seem to have held, with him, an abomination, and an invasion of the sacred rights of the dead : the genealogies of families preserved in the College of Heralds, the curious notices furnished by the patent and clause rolls, by dormant privy seals, by the Signet, Auditors, and Chirographer's Office, and by the inquisitions taken *post mortem*, which, from the time of Richard the Third, are preserved in the Chapel of the Rolls (as those antecedent are in the Tower), appear to have been equally objects of their aversion ; and the Record Office in the same ancient repository, and the *black-book* in the Exchequer, they, without doubt, concurred with him in considering as appropriated only to the use of those who profess the *black art*, and are worthy of an *altum Saganæ caliendrum*. "Would you wish for better sympathy?" From the specimen above given by this *judicious* and *well-informed* critick, it is manifest that he is admirably suited to the literary employment to which he seems to have aspired : and by subjoining to the old inaccurate and imperfect lives of our illustrious men, copious extracts from modern editions of their works (which are in every one's hands), embellished with a few college jokes and that kind of merriment Dr. Johnson has so *pointedly* described, (Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i.) I have no doubt he will be able very speedily to furnish his employers with a trim volume of biography perfectly free from any *ingenious invention*, without a single will, or deed, or anecdote, or any curious or valuable information whatsoever.

⁶ See the Appendix.

In the confirmation of arms in 1596, this ancestor is only said to have been *advanced and rewarded*; but in the subsequent confirmation, the nature of the benefit is specifically mentioned, and we are told, that he was *rewarded* “with *lands and tenements* given to him in those parts of Warwickshire where he and his successors had continued, by some descents, in good reputation and credit.” If such a grant had been made by King Henry the Seventh to *any* of John Shakspeare’s lineal ancestors (for which of them was in the contemplation of the heralds, whether his grandfather, or a more remote progenitor, it is not easy to ascertain⁷), the first question that may be asked is, how came John Shakspeare, or at least some one of his name, not to be in possession of those lands when these armorial ensigns were a second time assigned to him? Supposing the lands and tenements thus granted, to have been forfeited, or otherwise alienated, by the family, yet still the original record of the donation would not have been annihilated, but would indubitably have appeared on the patent rolls; and

⁷ The first grant of arms to John Shakspeare was made by Robert Cooke, Clarencius, in 1569 or 1570; but it is not now extant in the Herald’s Office. A book of grants of arms made by this herald to persons living in the county of Warwick, is, however, probably somewhere extant, for it was formerly, as I learn from one of Antony Wood’s Manuscripts, in Ashmole’s Museum, in the possession of Ralph Sheldon, of Weston, in Warwickshire, Esq.

Of the second grant made, by Sir William Dethick, in 1596, there are two drafts in the Herald’s Office, Vincent, 157, n. 23 and 24; the latter of which is much mutilated, a considerable part of the sheet having been torn off. The more perfect of the two may be found in the Appendix.

no trace of it being there to be found, after a very careful examination, in the Chapel of the Rolls, during the whole reign of Henry the Seventh, it is absolutely certain, that no such favour was ever conferred by that King on any person of the name of Shakspeare. The heralds, however, were not entirely unfounded in what they have asserted. It has already been mentioned, that our poet's mother was the daughter of Mr. Robert Arden, of Wilmecote, near Stratford; and I have no doubt, that one of *his* ancestors was the person denoted by the vague words in question, though the lands granted to him did not lie, as they supposed, in the county of Warwick. In the age of Queen Elizabeth, and indeed down to the last century, it was customary (a custom not yet wholly disused) to denominate by the same appellation, relations equally near, whether the relationship arose from consanguinity or affinity. Thus, John Shakspeare, if he had occasion to speak of his wife's grandfather, or great grandfather, would certainly have called him *his* grandfather, or great grandfather; his wife's uncle, or even grand-uncle, he would have called *his* uncle; and a still more remote relation, the wife of such grand-uncle, he would have called *aunt*. Edward Alleyn, the player, constantly styles Philip Henslowe his *father*, though he was not even his *step-father*⁸, being only second husband to the mother of Alleyn's wife. In like manner, Thomas Nashe, who married Elizabeth Hall, our poet's granddaughter, calls Mrs. Hall, in his last will, his *mother*; and if he had had occasion to speak of our poet, he

⁸ He was only his wife's step-father.

unquestionably would have called him his *grandfather*⁹. Viewing the assertion made by the heralds

⁹ So, also, Sir John Hubaud, of Idlicote, in Warwickshire, in his will, made in 1583, constitutes his cousin George Digby, his *brother* John Egeock, and his servant Richard Clark, his executors; and Edward Coombe, in 1597, makes Christopher Hales, who had married his sister, and whom he calls his *brother*, one of his executors. The appellations, *father-in-law*, and *son-in-law*, seldom occur in that age. So fond were our ancestors of extending the circle of relations, that they frequently considered a mere connection as a ground of this kind of designation: thus Philip Henslowe was, in fact, no relation whatsoever of Edward Alleyn, though he constantly called him *son*. Bishop Hall, in the Dedication of his *Quo Vadis*, in 1617, addressing Lord Denny, calls Lord Hay his noble *son*, in consequence of his having married Lord Denny's daughter; and Bayle, taking Hall's words in a literal sense, supposed Lord Denny to be actually father to Lord Hay. See Gen. Dict. v. 716, note H. So Lord Strafford, in 1637, writing to the mother of his first wife, styles himself her obedient *son* (Straff. Lett. ii. 123): and our author, in Julius Cæsar, styles Cassius the *brother* of Brutus, though, in truth, only his brother-in-law. The term, indeed, of *son-in-law*, or *brother-in-law*, rarely occurs in that age. At a subsequent period, Oliver Cromwell, and Waller, the poet, called each other *cousins*, only because John Hampden was cousin to them both.

With respect to the relations of a wife, the husband always addressed them, and spoke of them, as standing in the same degree of relationship to him. Thus Thomas Killigrew dedicates his play, entitled *The Princess*, to his dear niece the Lady Anne Wentworth, who was in truth only his wife's niece.

It was the constant custom in old times, and the practice is not wholly disused, for a nephew to call his *great* uncle, only uncle; and the wife's grandfather and grandmother were always considered and called the grandfather and grandmother of the husband; with equal laxity, grandmothers denominated a *grandson* by the nearer appellation of *son*. So Joan, Lady Abervagenny, in her will in 1436, calls Sir James Ormond her *son*, though he was in fact her grandson. From these usages it is clear, that the inter-

in this light, all the difficulty vanishes; for the father of that Robert Arden, whose daughter John Shakspeare married, or, in other words, the grandfather of Mary Shakspeare, who, according to the usage above-mentioned, was popularly called *the grandfather of John Shakspeare* also, had been very highly distinguished and rewarded by King Henry the Seventh, as the heralds rightly state the matter, in general terms, in their first draft in 1596¹. Sir John Arden,

pretation given in the text, of the ambiguous words in the grant of the heralds to our poet, is by no means fanciful or far-fetched.

I may add, that a similar error to that, which I believe has prevailed for near a century, of supposing Shakspeare to be descended from a *paternal* ancestor who had been rewarded with a royal grant of lands, instead of a *maternal* one, has happened in the case of Oliver Cromwell, who was thought by many to be descended from Cromwell, Earl of Essex; because forsooth his *wife* was descended from a nobleman with that title; not indeed Thomas Cromwell, but William Bouchier, Earl of Essex. See Dugdale's Bar. ii. 132.

¹ In their subsequent grant, indeed, in 1599, they have deviated from their original statement, and added that he was rewarded with a grant of lands in Warwickshire, which we shall presently see was not the fact. But this slight inaccuracy in the latter instrument cannot affect the present hypothesis, when we recollect, that, after having rightly stated, in the grant of 1596, the degree of his relationship to John Shakspeare (*grandfather*), his son's place of residence, "Wilmecote," and his grand-daughter's Christian name (Mary), they, in two of these particulars in their grant of 1599, are inaccurate; and the third, they have wholly omitted. I may add, that grants of lands in Warwickshire having been made by King Henry the Eighth to the elder branch of Robert Arden's family (see p. 38, n. 9), the heralds being instructed that Henry the Seventh had been equally liberal to one of the younger branches, might have taken it for granted that the lands conferred on him were in that county, where his family had

the elder brother of our Robert's grandfather, was Squire for the body to that king²; the duty of which

long resided; and as they express it, "had continued by some descents in good reputation and credit." Heralds, when once they were satisfied that there was a sufficient ground for granting the arms which were claimed, were not very rigid in examining into the title-deeds of men's estates.

² Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire, p. 653, edit. 1656. For this assertion he only quotes Holgrave, qu. 19, by which is meant the nineteenth quire of the book so denominated in the Prerogative Office; but in that quire there is no will of any person of the name of Arden. I suppose, therefore, that in the will of some other person contained in the quire cited, Sir John Arden is mentioned (probably as one of the feoffees in some feofment), and is described as Squire for the body to King Henry the Seventh; but the laxity of this reference prevents me from furnishing my readers with the words alluded to by Dugdale. A passage, however, in Sir John Arden's will, which is in the Prerogative Office (Parch. qu. 8), proves that he was frequently honoured by the visits of the King, whom he probably attended in Bosworth field. By his will, which was made on the 4th of June, 1526 (not 1525, as Dugdale has it), he gives to his son Thomas, as "heire lomy's and to remayne in the maner of *the Loge* from heire to heire, a standing cup with a cover well gilt, and the best salt with a cover." He likewise bequeaths to him "a paire of swannys, breedyng in the mote; a great pott with a great paire of gobbards; a great broch; a paire of andyrans for the hall; a folding table with the kerven cupbord; *the bedde in the king's chamber with all that belongeth of the best, with a hanging of the same, rede and grene.*" To his son John, "a gowne furred with foye, a blak gowne furred with booge, a blak velvet doublet;" his "best hose, the secunde salt with a cover, the secunde wayne, two oxen, an ox-harrowe, with the hole tynys, two candlesticks, a better and a worse." To his wife Elizabeth, "all the goods that she brought, both here and at the Holt." Of his brother Robert, who is one of the witnesses to his will, he thus speaks: "Item, I will that my brothers, Thomas, Martin, and

office, requiring a personal attendance on his sovereign both by day and night, accompanied with a constant familiar intercourse³, he necessarily had frequent op-

Robert, have their fees during their lives." This will was proved, June 27, 1526; and it appears from the Office found after the death of the testator, that he died on the day on which his will was made. Esc. 18 Hen. VIII. p. 1, n. 9. Dugdale was unacquainted with the exact time of his death.

³ See a manuscript in the Herald's Office, M. 7, entitled "The Services of Divers Officers of the Courte," one part of which was written in the time of King Henry VII. another in the 13th year of Henry VIII.

"As for the *Squyers for the body*, they ought to aray the kyng and unaray, and no man else to sett hand on the kyng, and the yeman or grome of the robes to take to the Squyer for the body all the kyngs stuffe, as well his shone as his other gere. And the Squyer for the body to draw theym on. And the Squyer for the body aught to take the charge of the cupborde for all nyght; and if please the kyng to have a palett abowt his traverse for all night, there must be two Squyers for the body, or ells one knyght for the body; or els to lye in their owne chambers. And the usher must kepe the chamber dore untill the kyng be in bedd: and to be thereat on the morowe at the kyngs uprysyng: and the usher must see that the watche be sett, and to know of the kyng where they shall watche." P. 33, verso.

"Item, a Squyer for the body or gentleman huisher owght to sett the kyngs sworde at his bedd hed.

"Item, a Squyer for the body owght to charge a secret grome, or page to have the keypyng of the said bedd, with a light until the tyme the kyng be disposed to go unto hit." *Ibid.* p. 20, verso.

"At dinner (says a late writer on the nature and duty of this office), there was another office to be performed by the esquire; for the ordinances of King Henry VII. tell us, that one of the esquires of the body is to be ready and obedient at dinner, and supper, to serve the king of his pottage at such time as he shall be commanded by the sewer and gentleman usher.

"Though we have now left the king in his privy chamber, and in the hands of the servants of that department, yet we must not

portunities of ingratiating himself with his master, and a ready access to the royal favour. He died

entirely dismiss the esquire; for Sir H. Spelman says, that when the king went out, the office of the esquire was to follow him and carry the cloak.

“ Thus much for the office of the esquire of the body by day; but the principal, most essential, and most honourable part of his duty was at night; for when the king retired to bed, the esquire had the concentrated power of the gentleman ushers, the vice chamberlain, and lord chamberlain, in himself; having the absolute command of the house both above and below stairs. At this period [the reign of King Henry VIII.], and till the close of the last century, the royal apartments, from the bedchamber to the guard-chamber inclusively, were occupied in the night by one or more of the servants belonging to each chamber respectively. The principal officer, then the *gentleman*, now the *lord* of the *bedchamber*, slept in a pallet bed in the same room with the king; and in the ante-room between the privy chamber and the bedchamber (in the reign of King Charles II. at least) slept the *groom* of the bedchamber. In the privy chamber next adjoining, slept two of the six gentlemen of the privy chamber in waiting; and in the presence chamber, the esquire of the body on a pallet bed, upon the *haut pas*, under the cloth of estate; while one of the *pages* of the presence chamber slept in the same room, without the verge of the canopy, not far from the door. All these temporary beds were put up at night, and displaced in the morning, by the officers of a particular branch of the wardrobe, called the wardrobe of beds.

“ After supper, previous to the king's retiring to his bedchamber, the proper officers were to see all things furnished for the night, some for the king's bedchamber, and others for the king's cup-board, which was sometimes in the privy chamber, and sometimes in the presence chamber, at the royal pleasure, and furnished with refectations for the king's refreshment, if called for. After this, the officers of the day retired, and committed all to the charge of the esquire of the body. This domestick ceremony was called the Order of *All Night*; the nature of which I shall now give at large from an account preserved in the Lord

June 4, 1526, in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth. Of his five brothers, we are only concerned with *Robert*, who was living in 1526, being a witness to John's will. I find by an inquisition taken after the death of Sir John Arden, that his eldest son, Thomas, was then forty years old, and upwards⁴; and consequently he must have been born in or before the year 1484. His father indeed was married eleven years before, but probably when he was not above eighteen, his wife's father having, for the sake of his fortune, inveigled him into a marriage in his minority, a practice at that time extremely common. If we suppose Sir John Arden's brother, Robert (who must have been near three years younger than he, two other children having intervened between them), to have married in 1484, he might have been, and probably was, the father of that Robert Arden, of whom neither Dugdale, nor any of our other antiquaries, seem to have had any knowledge; who was groom or page of the bedchamber to King Henry the Seventh;

Chamberlain's Office. The writer, who was himself an esquire of the body to two successive kings, goes circumstantially through the whole of the esquire's business of the night; from whence it will appear, that even so lately as the middle of the last century, the office was of so confidential a nature, that no despatch, letter, or message, could be communicated to the king in the night, but what was brought to the esquire on duty, and by him carried *in propria personâ* to the king."

For a more particular account of this ancient office, which finally expired in the time of King William (1694), and the ceremony called the Order of All Night, see *Curialæ*, or an Historical Account of some Branches of the Royal Household, by Samuel Pegge, Esq. Part I. 4to. 1782.

⁴ Esc. 18 Hen. VIII. p. 1, n. 97.

and appears to have been a favourite of his sovereign, having been highly distinguished and rewarded by him. In the seventeenth year of his reign (Feb. 22, 1502), perhaps by the interest of Sir John his uncle, who, it may be supposed, placed him about the King⁵, he was constituted keeper of the royal park called Aldercar⁶; and in the following September, bailiff of the lordship of Codnore, and keeper of the park there. About five years afterwards, in September, 1507, two years before the King's death, at which time, having probably attained his twenty-second year, he is no longer styled *unus garcionum cameræ*, he obtained a lease from the crown of the manor of Yoxsall, in the county of Stafford, for twenty-one years⁷; which,

⁵ That Robert, the nephew of Sir John Arden, was placed in this situation originally by the favour of his uncle, is extremely probable, from the nature of the duty of a groom or page of the King's chamber, who attended on certain occasions on the squire for the body, as that officer did on the King. See a manuscript in the Herald's Office, already quoted, M. 7, p. 19:

"The Rome and service belonging to a Page of the kyngs Chamber to doo.

"Item, the said *Pageis* at nyght, at season conveyent, must make the payletts for knyghts and *squyers for the body*, in suche a chamber as they shalbe appoynted unto.

"Item, the said pageis shall doo make redy the said knyghts and *Squyers for the body*, and bere theyr gere to the kyngs great chamber at the instaunce of the said knyghts and squyers to their servaunts: And the said pageis to receive of the said knyghts and squyers servaunts such nyght gere as they shall delyver theym for their said maistres. Thus don, the said pageis to make sure the fyers and lights in every chamber, and so to make their paylet at the chamber dore where the said knyghts and Squyers do lye."

⁶ See Appendix.

⁷ See Appendix.

were we obliged to rely on conjecture only, might be presumed to have been a very valuable grant, as the annual rent stipulated to be paid to the King was forty-two pounds, a considerable sum at that time; which yet had certainly a very small relation to the real yearly value of the manor. Concerning its extent and value, however, I am not under the necessity of having recourse to conjecture; for by an inquisition taken many years afterwards, in the thirty-third year of Queen Elizabeth (1591), it appears that this manor contained above four thousand six hundred acres ⁸.

As Thomas Arden ⁹, cousin-german to Robert, the

⁸ By an inquisition taken October 4, 33 Eliz. [1591], after the death of Sir William Holles, who died at Haughton, in the county of Nottingham, on the 26th of the preceding January, it was found, that he died possessed (*inter alia*) of the manor of Yoxall, with all its appurtenances, in the county of Stafford, comprising forty messuages, twenty cottages, one water-mill, two pigeon-houses, forty gardens, forty orchards, two thousand three hundred acres of meadow, one thousand acres of pasture, one hundred acres of wood, forty acres of furze and heath, two hundred acres of marsh, with a rent of ten pounds a year; and that the whole manor was worth annually forty pounds and ten-pence [the rent reserved to the crown in the grant under which Sir William Holles held]. Esc. 33 Eliz. p. 1, n. 122.

⁹ Beside the distinction which was shown by King Henry the Seventh to Sir John Arden, who, we have seen, was one of the squires for his body, and the lucrative grant to our poet's great grandfather, Robert Arden, the groom of the chamber; it should be noticed that Thomas Arden, the eldest son of Sir John, and cousin-german of Robert, obtained a grant of the manor of Brerewood Hall, and the rectory of Curdworth, in the county of Warwick (Esc 5 Eliz. p. 1, n. 2); and though this grant was made by Henry the Eighth in the thirty-first year of his reign

groom of the bedchamber, and nearly of the same age, married in the year 1508, we may reasonably suppose that Robert also became a father about that time, perhaps in 1510, when he appears to have been twenty-five years old ; and if his son Robert, the father of our poet's mother, who settled at Wilmecote, near Stratford, married Agnes Webbe in 1535, at the age of twenty-four, then his fourth daughter, Mary, was probably born in 1539, and was about eighteen years old in 1557, when she became the wife of John Shakspeare. In tracing these descents, I have been the more minute, because they are wholly omitted by Dugdale in his pedigree of the Arden family, in which he has mentioned the first Robert, brother to Sir John, without noticing any of his posterity : an omission for which he is not answerable ; for to have enumerated all the minor branches of each family, *and their* pedigree, would have been needless labour. For the existence of all the persons above-mentioned, as our poet's maternal ancestors, I have unquestionable authority ; for the progress of their respective descents, conjecture only ; but conjecture strongly confirmed by the corresponding marriages and deaths of the collateral branches of this family, as may appear by inspecting the genealogical table inserted in the Appendix. From that table it may be seen, that our poet's maternal grandfather, whose will has been already noticed, was cousin-german to William Arden, heir apparent to Thomas, the owner of the great estate of

(1539), it also might have been in the contemplation of the heralds, or rather of those from whom they received their instructions, who might not have minutely attended to the date.

Park Hall and Curdworth; which William died in June, 1544; and that our poet's mother, Mary Shakespeare, was third cousin to Edward Arden, who became possessed of that estate in 1563, was Sheriff of the county of Warwick in 1568, and by the artifices of Robert Earl of Leicester was attainted and executed in 1584¹. Leland, who composed his Itinerary between the years 1536 and 1542, mentions that *Arden of the court* was a younger brother to Arden the heir². The principal representative of the Arden family, in Leland's time, was Thomas Arden, already noticed, who succeeded to his father's estate in 1526, and died in 1561. His only brother, *John*, was not, as far as I have been able to learn, preferred at court. The person about the court was probably either Robert, the quondam groom of the chamber, who, when Leland wrote, was above fifty years of age, and having once set his foot on the ladder of promotion, in the time of Henry the Seventh, might have continued to ascend it in the reign of his successor; or his son Robert, our poet's maternal grandfather, who was then, I believe, about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old. In the multitude of facts and places noticed by Leland, he might easily have mistaken the younger *branch*, for the younger *brother* of this family. Supposing, however, the historian to have been perfectly correct, and that John Arden, the brother of Thomas, was the person in his contemplation, that

¹ An account of the extremely hard usage which this gentleman received from Leicester, may be found in Peck's *Desid. Cur.* 4to. p. 579.

² *Itin.* vi. 20.

circumstance would not at all militate against the present hypothesis.

As the concession of arms obtained from the College of Heralds, by John Shakspeare, in 1569 or 1570, entitled his son to the honourable distinction of armorial ensigns, a privilege which, however little estimated at present, was in that age considered as very valuable and important, it may appear strange, that our poet (for the application, without doubt, came from him, though his father's name was used) should at a subsequent period, near thirty years afterwards, again apply to them on the same subject. The solution, I think, is, that, finding himself now rising into consequence (which we shall hereafter see was the case), and having acquired some wealth, he wished to derive honour to himself and his posterity, in consequence of his descent from the ancient and opulent house of Arden. Hence that descent is carefully noticed in the draft of 1596; and, to enable him and his posterity to impale the arms of Arden with his own, seems to have been the principal object of that confirmation³, or exemplification of arms, which was granted by Camden and Sir William Dethick, in 1599: circumstances which appear to me to add great strength to the interpretation of the ambiguous words in these grants, which has been already given.

³ These arms have not hitherto been discovered thus impaled; they might, notwithstanding, have been thus impaled in a ring or seal used by our poet, and now lost; or this might have been his object in 1596 and 1599, and that object have been afterwards neglected.

SECTION III.

The town of Stratford upon Avon having, as Dugdale observes, had the good fortune to give birth and sepulture to our great dramatick poet, and his father having been a member of the corporation, and attained to the highest honours which it can confer, it may not be improper, before we proceed further, to take a transient view of its history and constitution.

Stratford, or Stretford as it was anciently called, deriving its name from the *ford*, or passage there, over the Avon, on the great *street* or road, leading from Henley in Arden to London, can boast a very high antiquity; being mentioned in a charter of Egwin Bishop of Worcester, to whom it belonged, above three hundred years before the Norman invasion³. It continued to be possessed by the Bishops of Worcester, who had formerly a palace there⁴, and under whom a court leet was held there twice a-year⁵, till it was passed away by Nicholas Heath,

³ Dugdale's Antiq of Warwicksh. p. 475, edit. 1656.

⁴ "Necnon de uno burgagio jacen. in strata vocat. Church strete in Stratford predict. in quo Jōhes Ashurste modo inhabitat uno capite inde abuttan. versus Episcopum Wigorn. ex parte occidentali, et alio capite inde abuttan. versus Jōhem Huhau de ex parte orientali: necnon de alio burgagio jacen. in Church strete, in quo Jōhes Boleyn modo inhabitat, uno capite inde abuttan. versus Dōm. Episcopum Wigorn. ex parte occidentali, et alio capite inde abuttan. versus viam regiam vocat. Church Strete." Esc. 13 Hen. VIII. p. unica, n. 140.

⁵ This appears from a loose paper which I found in the chamber of Stratford, containing the proceedings of a court leet in the time of Henry VIII.

Bishop of that diocese, in the third year of King Edward the Sixth [1549], to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland⁶), who in the same year parted with it to the King, for certain lands in Oxfordshire⁷, and by another exchange recovered it again, in the seventh year of the same King's reign⁸. On the attainder of the Duke of Northumberland (1 Mary, 1554), this town, by the name of the manor of Old Stratford, was granted by the Queen, to Joan his duchess⁹; but in the third and fourth year of Philip and Mary, as Dugdale has observed, a new grant of it was made (Nov. 10, 1556) to the hospital of the Savoy in the suburbs of London¹.

The learned, and generally most accurate writer above-mentioned, has not traced the property of this manor further: but if he had looked a little lower on the same roll, he would have found that this grant to the hospital of the Savoy (which had been founded by King Henry the Seventh; afterwards, with other eleemosynary institutions, dissolved by his son; and again re-established by letters patent, dated 3 Nov. 3 and 4 Ph. and Mary), he would have found, I say, that this grant, made seven days after the re-establishment of that hospital, was vacated in the following year, the Master and Chaplains of the Savoy on the

“Stratf. Cur. vis fran. pleg. cum cur. dñi Jōhs gracia Dei Episc. Wigorn. ibid. tent. quarto die mensis Octobris anno regni Henrici octavi, &c. tricesimo tertio,” [1542], &c.

⁶ Pat. 3 Ed. VI. p. 3.

⁷ Ibid. p. 9.

⁸ Pat. 7 Ed. VI. p. 8.

⁹ Pat. 1 Mar. p. 5.

¹ 3 & 4 Ph. & Mar. p. 12.

12th of May, 1557 (4 and 5 Philip and Mary), having come into Chancery and surrendered the said letters patent; and accordingly the grant was cancelled on the roll. In the year 1562 (April 6), this manor, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (eldest son of the late John, Duke of Northumberland), and the heirs male of his body, and for want of such issue, to his brother Robert Dudley (afterwards Earl of Leicester), and the heirs male of his body. By these letters patent, also, the site and capital mansion of the late college of Stratford (of which institution some account will be given hereafter) was granted to the Earl of Warwick, together with all houses, edifices, barns, stables, dove-houses, orchards, &c. within the circuit and precincts of the same site, or thereto appertaining (then, or late in the occupation of John Combes), late parcel of the possessions of the late aforesaid Duke of Northumberland². The Earl of Warwick, who was one of the most amiable and respected characters of that age, and a perfect contrast to his brother, the Earl of Leicester, dying in Feb. 1589-90, without issue, and his brother, who deceased about eighteen months before, having also died without lawful issue, a new grant of this manor in fee was made 33 Eliz. (Jan. 27, 1590-91), to Henry Best and John Wells³, who afterwards sold it to Lodowick, the father of Sir Edward Grevil, of Milcot, knight, from whom it was purchased, some time, as I imagine, between the years

² Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 4.

³ Pat. 33 Eliz. p. 3.

1620 and 1630, by Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, ancestor of the present Duke of Dorset, in whose possession it remains at this day.

Of the college above-mentioned it is only necessary to say here, that John de Stratford, a native of this town, and Bishop of Winchester, in the fifth year of King Edward III. founded a chantry, consisting of five priests, one of whom was warden, in a certain aisle or chapel of the church of Stratford, on the south side, dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr; and, for their support and maintenance, endowed it with lands and tenements, which, with the accession of subsequent benefactions, were valued in a survey made in 37 Henry VIII. at 127*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* per annum⁴. In addition to the original foundation in the seventh year of Henry VIII. [1514,] Ralph Collingwode instituted four children choristers, to be daily assistant in the celebration of Divine service. This chantry, says Dugdale, soon after its foundation, was known by the name of the college of Stratford⁵. For the more

⁴ From the following extract from the Court of Augmentations made by Mr. Thomas Greene, formerly town-clerk of Stratford, their revenues do not appear to have been adequate to their expenditure.

"The College } Founded by John Stretford for a Warden,
of Stretford. } 5 preests, and 4 choristers, and endowed
with other lands by Collingwood, value 127*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*

"Resolut. 20*s.* 3*d.* In annuities & fees 19*l.* In stipends to divers ministers, *videlicet* to the Warden for his Stipend yerely, 68*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* to other ministers for their stipend & dyet, 64*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* Sum 147*l.* 4*s.* Rem^t. Nill. quia in surplusag. 19*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*"

⁵ Antiq. of Warwicksh. p. 482. Any small foundation for a

commodious habitation of the priests, a large house of square stone ⁶ was built by Ralph de Stratford, Bishop of London, in the 26th year of Edward III. which, on the suppression of religious houses (37 Henry VIII.), being vested in the crown, was granted by Edward the Sixth to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and afterwards, as we have seen, by Elizabeth, to his son. How the crown was enabled, while that nobleman was yet living, to make a lease of this college, with all its appurtenances, for twenty-one years, to Richard Coningsby, his executors and assigns, 13th Dec. 17 Eliz. [1574], which was surrendered in the following year, and a new grant made to him for the same

select number of priests and choristers, was formerly called a *college*, according to the maxim of the civil law, "*tres faciunt collegium*." So in Leland's *Itin.* iv. 165, a: "On the north syde of St. James [in Warwick] is a pretty *Colledge*, havinge a 4 preists that sing in St. James Chappell, and they belonge to a fraternity of our lady and St. George."—Again, *ibid.* "The suburbe withoute the west gate is called the West end—There was a *Colledge* of Blacke Frires in the north part of this suburbe." Again: "There is a suburbe in the north syde of Warwike, and therein is the chapell of St. Michaell, where sometyme was a *College et confratres*; but now it is taken as a free chapell."

⁶ "The church of Stratford now standinge, as it is supposed, was renewed in building by John de Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the begining of the raigne of K. E. 3, whoe was borne at Stratforde, whereof he tooke his name. He made this of a simple parioche church a *collegiate* church, augmenting it with some landes.

"There be belonginge to the *Colledge* 4 preists, 3 clarkes, 4 choristers, and there mansion house is an ancient peice of worke of square stone, hard by the cemitarye. The church is dedicated to the Trinitye." *Itin.* iv. p. 1, fol. 167, a.

term ⁷, reserving a rent of 64*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* I have not been able to discover.

So early as the time of King Richard the First, the burgesses of Stratford are mentioned ⁸; and the town, I believe, was for a long time governed by wardens, or bailiffs, chosen from among them ⁹. It is certain, that during the reign of King Henry the Eighth, wardens were annually chosen, to keep the great bridge of Stratford in repair ¹; and in the time of Edward the Fourth, they had a steward or town-clerk ². The town, however, was not incorporated till the seventh year of the reign of Edward the Sixth; who signed the charter of incorporation on the 28th of June, 1553, eight days only before his death ³. By this charter the principal inhabitants were incorporated by the name of the bailiff and burgesses of Stratford upon Avon, and the corporation was appointed to consist of *fourteen aldermen*, one of whom was to be elected annually to the office of bailiff, and of *fourteen burgesses*. The first bailiff named in the charter was *Thomas Gilbert* ⁴, whose trade is not

⁷ Pat. 18 Eliz. p. 12.

⁸ Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwicksh. p. 476.

⁹ The bailiffs of Stratford are mentioned in a patent, 5 Ed. III. p. 3, m. 10.

¹ This bridge, consisting of fourteen arches, was built by Sir Hugh Clopton, Knight, in the time of Henry the Seventh.

² Thomas Throckmorton, Esq^r. Steward of Stratford, was admitted into the Guild of S^t. Mary, 9 Ed. IV. 1469. *Reglstr. Gild.* fol. 92, a.

³ The warrant for the grant of this charter is inserted in the Appendix.

⁴ The other *aldermen* named in the original charter, were Richard Lord, Hugh Reynolds, William Smythe, Thomas Phi-

mentioned in that instrument, but who, I find from other documents, was a dyer. For their better maintenance and support, all the lands and possessions of the gild of the Holy Cross (an amicable and charitable fraternity, which had subsisted at least from the time of Edward the Third [1327], and had been dissolved in the first year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, excepting only a single house called the Mansion House of the Guild), were granted to the aldermen and burgesses, expressly, however, on condition that they should continue and maintain the alms-house, for twenty-four decayed inhabitants of the town, and the grammar school for the education of youth, as they had been maintained by the late guild ; and that they should pay the master of the school a stipend of twenty pounds a-year. All the tithes of hay and corn in Old Stratford, Welcome, and Bishop-ton, which had belonged to the lately dissolved college of Stratford, being likewise granted by this charter, the aldermen and burgesses were very properly required to pay the vicar an annual salary, which at that time was no more than twenty pounds, and forty shillings to enable him to pay his tenths and first

lippes, Thomas Wynfeeld, John Jefferies, Thomas Dixon, George Whatley, Henry Biddle, William Whatley, Robert Mors, Robert Pratt, and Adrian Quiney.

The *original burgesses* are not named in the charter ; but from another instrument in the archives of Stratford, I find that about two years afterwards" (April 20, 1555), the burgesses were, then, John Burbadge, William Mynsker, Daniel Phillips, Robert Perrot, Laurence Peynton, Roger Sadler, Humphry Plymley, Richard Harrington, William Smith, corvizar, Francis Harbadge, George Turnor, Richard Symmonds, John Wheler, and Lewis ap Williams.

fruits. In addition to the grant of a common seal, a weekly market, and two annual fairs, the bailiff was invested with the powers of escheator, coroner, almoner, and clerk of the market, and authorized to hold a court of record, every fortnight, for the trial of all causes within the jurisdiction of the borough, in which the debt and damages did not amount to thirty pounds⁵. The whole revenues of the guild of the Holy Cross, which were granted by this charter, produced at that time only forty-six pounds, three shillings, and two-pence halfpenny⁶. In addition to which his Majesty gave the borough, by the same charter, the tithes of all the lands which had belonged to the late dissolved college, which were let for 34*l.* per annum.

SECTION IV.

John Shakspeare, wherever he may have been born, settled in Stratford not very long after the year 1550 ;

⁵ Pat. 7 Ed. VI. p. 13.

⁶ Antecedent to this grant, the revenues of the borough of Stratford appear to have been extremely small: for in the earliest rent-roll of the borough, which I have found, after the grant of this charter, that for the year 1563, their whole revenue, exclusive of the tithes of the late college, amounted only to 52*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*

The personal property of the guild, about seventy years before its dissolution, is ascertained by the curious inventory, which, being too long for this place, may be found in the Appendix. The guild, it should be observed, was governed by eight aldermen, chosen annually out of their own body, and a master, who was also elected annually, by the aldermen. The master, together with two proctors, elected by him and the aldermen, had the entire management of the lands and revenues of the guild. The famous lawyer, Littleton, was admitted a member of this fraternity in 1479, 19 Ed. IV. *Registr. Gild.* fol. 110, b.

for in the middle of the year 1555 a suit was instituted against him, in the bailiff's court, which, for another purpose, I shall hereafter have more particular occasion to mention. He was, as I conjecture, born in or before the year 1530⁷. From Mr. Arden's will, made in Dec. 1556, there is ground to believe that his daughter Mary was then single. She must have married our poet's father in the following year; for in Sept. 1558, she brought him a daughter, named Joan, who died in her infancy.

In consequence of misinformation obtained at Stratford, as it should seem, by Mr. Betterton, in the early part of the last century, and communicated by him to Mr. Rowe, originating probably in too hasty an inspection of the register of that parish, we have been told,—and the tale, together with the few other facts recorded by the same writer, has been transmitted from book to book,—that our poet's father “had so large a

⁷ He was chosen a burgess of Stratford about the same time as John Tayler, a shearman or cloth-worker of that town, and served with him the office of chamberlain in the year 1562. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose them to have been nearly of the same age.

In the register of the proceedings of the corporation in the Council Chamber, 30 June, 34 Eliz. (1592), Mr. Tayler is called *old* John Tayler; and in the account of Henry Wilson, Chamberlain, made 24 January, 34 Eliz. (1593-4), he is denominated *Father* Tayler: “Receaved of *Father* Tayler for Michael Shakleton, *uijs. iijjd.*” This was then, as now, in the country, a common appellation for old men. So, in another account made by George Badger for the year 1596: “Item, Receaved of *Father* Degge for his entrance into the Almshouse, *vis. viiid.*” So also in the register of the parish of Stratford, I find among the burials in 1587, March 23, “Jone, wife to *Father* Bell of Bishopton.”

family, *ten children* in all (according to Mr. Rowe's theory, he should have said *eleven*), that, though he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment⁸. The truth, however, is, that our poet's mother never appears to have borne to her husband more than *eight* children, *five* of whom only, namely, four sons and one daughter, attained to years of maturity; William, Gilbert, Richard, Edmund, and Joan (on each of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter); Margaret, Anne, and an elder Joan, having died in their infancy⁹. Instead, therefore, of being charged with the maintenance of so numerous a family as *ten* children, the father of our poet had only half that number for any considerable period to support.

The principal cause of the confusion and error in which this subject has been involved, was the supposal that Ursula, Humphrey, and Philip Shakspeare, who were baptized at Stratford, between March, 1588-9, and Sept. 1591 (at the former of which periods, John and Mary Shakspeare had been more than thirty

⁸ Rowe's Life of Shakspeare.

⁹ Joan, the eldest daughter of John Shakspeare, was baptized at Stratford on September 15, 1558; and though her burial is not recorded in the register (perhaps from her dying in some other place), she probably died before April, 1569, under nine years of age; because another daughter was then baptized by the same name. Although parents sometimes gave the same Christian name to two children living at the same time, the other circumstances attending this child, render it improbable that should have been the case in this instance. Margaret Shakspeare was baptized Dec. 2, 1562, and was buried April 13, 1563; and Anne was baptized Sept. 28, 1571, and was buried April 4, 1579.

years married), were the children of our poet's father; whereas they were, in fact, the children of another person of the same Christian and surname, who then lived in that town, and was of the humble occupation of a shoemaker¹. In consequence of this erroneous notion, our poet's father has been supposed to have

¹ "Stratford } Ad aulam ibid. tent. xxix" die Marcii, A°. regni
Burgus. } dñæ nostræ Elizabethæ, &c. xxiv". [1592]:

"A Note of M^r. Okers money, and to whom yt is lent; and the names of their sureties, and also of Bakers money.

"*Bakers Money.*

"Thomes Fourde, Shoemaker, v^h. for l^r. and Henrie Rogers, butcher, and John Shaxspere, *shuemaker*, his suerties.

"*Okers Money.*

"Philippus Grene in x^h. for v^h. Henrie Rogers, butcher, and John Shaxspere, *shuemaker*, his suerties.

"John Fisher, *shuemaker*, in x^h. for v^h. and Humphrey Wheler, and Humphrey Cowper, *shoemakers*, his suerties.

"Ad aulam ibid. tent. xxx°. die Junii, a°. 1592:

"At this Hall John Shackspere, Master of the companie of Shuemakers, paid to the same Henrie Wilson, the moitie of Richard Fletcher the sadler his freedome, xx°. which saied xx°. is due to the chamber, and so paid."

On the 6th day of Sept. 1586, "George Badger, Roger Welshe, John Shaxspere and Humphry Brace, were elected constables for the ensuing year, and John Shaxspere and Humphrey Brace were sworn." These two persons again served the same office in the following year, together with Edward Bushell and David Jones. Humphrey Brace was a grocer and mercer at Stratford, and died possessed of a good property in the year 1591-2, as appears by his will, which is in the Prerogative Office.

"Burgus } At a Hall there holden the xviith. daie of Fe-
Stratford. } bruarie, anno 1590°. Thomas Okers money was delivered to the persons whose names are underwritten.

"John Shaxspere v^h. his sureties Richard Sponer and Robert Yonge." *Registr. Burg. Stratford. A.*

married three wives, though he never had more than one ; and the Christian name of his wife, as well as the time of her death, have been hitherto unascertained.

If the parish register of Stratford had been carefully attended to, it might have been observed, that the father of our poet, antecedent to his holding the respectable office of bailiff, is always denominated by his Christian name, without any honourable distinction or addition ; and his children, whether their baptisms or deaths are recorded, are mentioned only as the children of plain “ *John Shakspeare*.” Subsequently to that period, that is, from the year 1569, they are invariably described as the children of *Mr. John Shakspeare* [*filius aut filia Magistri Shakspeare*]; and so, from that time, their father (as every other bailiff) is always entitled, in all the records of the proceedings of the corporation, which I have examined with this particular view, *Magister* or *Mr.* being the denotation of a person somewhat above the lower orders of men, at a time when the addition of *gentleman* to a name was considered a respectable designation, and that of *esquire* was not, as at present, indiscriminately given to persons who have not the smallest claim to be so entitled. On the other hand, fifteen years after our poet’s father had acquired this honourable distinction, *John*, not *Mr. John Shakspeare* is recorded in the register to have married Margery Roberts in the year 1584 ; and Ursula, Philip, and Humphrey Shakspeare, the issue of this John, by a subsequent wife (whose name is unknown), in the respective entries of their baptisms in the parish register, are described as the children of plain *John Shakspeare*, with-

out any addition². This circumstance alone furnishes a very strong presumption that these three children were not the offspring of the bailiff. But a more minute investigation of this matter has placed it beyond a doubt: for our poet's mother, *Mary Shakspeare*, having lived till the year 1608, it is manifest that John Shakspeare, who married *Margery Roberts*, Nov. 25, 1584, was the shoemaker already mentioned; and that the children in question must have been his children, though not by her; for she died in 1587. It appears from the oldest book belonging to the corporation, containing an account of their proceedings from 1563, that Thomas Roberts, who died in Sept.

² The same distinction is always preserved in the parish register between Mr. Thomas Reynolds, a gentleman of Old Stratford, with whom our poet was acquainted, and to whose son he bequeathed a legacy, and Thomas Reynolds, a tradesman of Stratford. The children of the tradesman are uniformly described as the children of *Thomas Reynolds*, those of our poet's friend as the children of *Mr. Thomas Reynolds*. Thus I find in the register:

"1580, Jan. 26, baptized Margaret, baster daughter to *Thomas Reynolds*.

"1581, Nov. 8, bapt. Jane, daughter to *Mr. Thomas Reynolds*.

"1581, Feb. 25, bapt. William, son to *Thomas Reynolds*.

"1582, Nov. 25, bapt. Thomas, son to *Mr. Thomas Reynolds*.

"1582-3, Jan. 22, bapt. Annis, daughter to *Thomas Reynolds*.

"1583, Nov. 21, bapt. Henry, son to *Mr. Thomas Reynolds*.

"1589, Nov. 22, bapt. Mary, daughter to *Mr. Thomas Reynolds*."

So, in the account of Thomas Goodwynne, Chamberlain, for the year 1582:

"Receaved for the bell [i. e. for the bell's being rung] for *Thomas Reynhold's* child, *iiijd.*

"Receaved for the bell for *Mr. Thomas Reynold's* child, *iiijd.*"

1583, was a shoemaker³; and that the John Shakspeare, who followed the same occupation, was a trustee for his children⁴. I at first, from this circum-

³ In an accompt made by William Wilson, one of the chamberlains of the borough of Stratford, on the 26th day of Jan. 1581, stating his several receipts and disbursements from Michaelmas, 1579, to Michaelmas, 1580, is the following article:

“Receaved of Thomas Asplyn for his freedome, by the hands of *Thomas Roberts*, and *Thomas Swanne*, Wardeins of *shuemarkers*, xxs.” *Registr. Burg. Stratford. A.*

Thomas Roberts, as appears by the register of the parish of Stratford, was buried there, Sept. 11, 1583.

⁴ “Stratford } Ad aulam ibm. tent. ix^o die Januarii anno regni
Burgus. } dñæ Elizabethæ, &c. xxij^o [1589-90.]

“At this hall Mr. Abraham Sturley hath delivered three several obligations to the use of the children of one Thomas Roberts deceased; viz. one bande made to Thomas Roberts, one of the sonnes of Thomas Roberts deceased, of fyftie pounds, wherein Richard Masters of Milverton yeoman and John Shaxpere of Stratford, corvizer, stand bounde for the breedinge of the seyd Thomas Roberts, and the payment of xxij*li*. according to the condicions of the seyd bande, which bande berithe date quarto die Octobris anno tricesimo Elizabethæ reginæ [1588], and one other bande beunge date tertio die Octobris, a^o xxx^o Elizabethæ Regine of fyftie pounds made from John Laurence of Studley, husbandman, and William Broukeley of Studley, tanner, to John Roberts, one other of the sonnes of the seyd Thomas Roberts, for the payment of xv*li*. accordinge to the condicions of the same bande; and also one other bande from John Shaxpere of Stratford, corvizer, and Edward Bushell de eisdem, wolsted weaver, in lx*li*. for the breedinge of Richard Roberts, the youngest sonne of the seyd Thomas, and also for payment of suche money as ys conteyned in the condicions of the same bande, beringe date tertio die Octobris a^o xxx^o E. Regine.” *Registr. Burg. Stratf. A.*

From a preceding entry in the same book, it appears to have been customary for the guardians of infants to reposit bonds belonging to their wayds in the chamber of Stratford, for security.

stance, thought it probable, that this John married his widow, whose Christian name was Margery ; but as she appears to have been living several years afterwards, whereas the first wife of John Shakspeare, the shoemaker, died in 1587, I now believe that his wife was either the sister of his friend Thomas Roberts, whose Christian name might also have been Margery⁵, or the widow of one Richard Roberts, who, as well as Thomas, died in 1583. Philip Greene, who was both a miller and a chandler in Stratford, it appears, was intimately connected with this John Shakspeare, who in the year 1592 was one of Greene's sureties⁶, on his receiving from the corporation the loan of five pounds for three years, to assist him in his occupation, out of a fund left by Thomas Oker, of Warwick, for the purpose of aiding young and industrious tradesmen at Stratford : a fund out of which John Shakspeare himself had also received a loan. Philip Greene, without doubt, stood godfather for his friend John Shakspeare's eldest son, by his second wife (perhaps a daughter of Philip Greene⁷), whom he married in 1588, his first wife, Margery Roberts, having died in the preceding year ; which son was baptized at Stratford by the name of Philip, Sept. 21, 1591 ; and Ursula⁸, the wife of

⁵ *Margery* appears to have been a common name in this family ; for I find that Richard Smith was married to Margery Roberts, Nov. 28, 1598.

⁶ See p. 52, n. 1.

⁷ Joan, daughter to Philip Greene, who, as appears from the parish register, was baptized at Stratford, June 27, 1569, was probably the second wife of John Shakspeare, corvizer.

⁸ Philip Greene was married to Ursula Burbudge, Oct. 14,

Philip Greene, it may be presumed, was godmother to the daughter of her husband's friend, who was christened by that name in March, 1588-9. Either *Humphrey* Pinder, *Humphrey* Cowper, or *Humphrey* Wheeler, who were all *shoemakers*, it is highly probable, was sponsor for *Humphrey*, the other son of this John Shakspeare (shoemaker), who was baptized at Stratford, May 24, 1590.

The various circumstances here insisted on, prove decisively, that our poet's father had no second wife, and that the entry in the register of the parish of Stratford, where we find "*Mary* Shakspeare, widow, buried Sept. 9, 1608," relates to our poet's mother. If, however, a doubt could be entertained on that subject, the grant of arms to John Shakspeare in 1596, compared with this entry, and with the circumstances above stated, would dispel it; for there her Christian name is particularly mentioned, ["*Mary*, the daughter of Robert Arden,"] though in the subsequent grant of 1599 it was omitted. Her father's will, and the bill filed in Chancery by John and *Mary* Shakspeare, in 1599, which I discovered after the former proofs were collected and arranged, renders in this case "assurance double sure"⁹.

1565. He died at Stratford about ten months after our poet, and was buried there Feb. 26, 1616-17.

⁹ In addition to these concurring circumstances, all tending to prove that John Shakspeare, the shoemaker, was the person who married Margery Roberts in 1584, and by a subsequent wife was the father of Philip, Humphrey, and Ursula Shakspeare; it may be further observed, that when Thomas Roberts, already mentioned, obtained from the corporation of Stratford a lease of his

I once thought it not improbable, that this John Shakspeare, whose family and connexions I have been obliged thus particularly to mention, was the eldest son of the bailiff, born before the commencement of the register; but am now convinced, that this could not have been the case. Had he been our poet's elder brother, he or one of his sons would have inherited the freehold estate of John Shakspeare, in Henley-street, who made no will, as his heir at law; whereas, on the contrary, we find that estate in the possession of William. This circumstance is decisive. It is equally clear, from various considerations, that he was not a younger brother of the poet. For, to say nothing of his name not being found in the baptismal register, in the numerous transactions in which he appears engaged in the regular account of the corporation acts, I do not find any one of the bailiff's family in any manner connected with him; neither the father of our poet, the poet himself, nor any of his brothers, are sureties for him on any occasion: while, on the other hand, we find other persons, not of his name, called upon by him, to afford him this kind of friendly assistance. If he had been the son of John Shakspeare and Mary Arden, he would undoubtedly have been distinguished by the addition of *junior*,

house in Bridge-street, which is dated September 24, 1578, *Thomas* Shaxpere, a shoemaker, also, I believe, was an attesting witness to the bond then executed for the performance of covenants; and an indorsement on the back of that lease, made some time about the year 1600, proves that this was the house in which John Shakspeare, the shoemaker, lived after the death of Thomas Roberts, and while it was the property of his children.

which is no where affixed to his name, either in the register of the parish of Stratford, or in the register of the proceedings of the corporation, though in each of these I find this description added to many other persons. The designation of *corvizar*, which is frequently annexed to the name of this John Shakspeare, affords another proof to the same point. At the time our poet's father was elected an alderman, among the burgesses were two persons of the Christian and surname of William Smythe; who being, without doubt, of different families, were distinguished from each other by their occupations; one of them being called William Smythe, *corvizar*, and the other William Smythe, *haberdasher*: and thus they are constantly described in the register of the acts of the corporation. If these persons had been father and son, they would have been distinguished by the addition of *senior* and *junior*; as we find, at a subsequent period, Francis Smythe the elder, an eminent mercer at Stratford, and his son Francis Smythe the younger, were always distinguished. Besides, had John Shakspeare been the son of the bailiff, our poet would have undoubtedly noticed him or his children in his will; for it is extremely improbable that this shoemaker, his second wife, whom he married in 1588, and all their children, should have died without issue in the course of twenty-six years, and yet not one of their names appear in the register. It is manifest, indeed, from various minute circumstances, that this John Shakspeare, so far from being our poet's brother, was not even a native of Stratford¹.

¹ By the rules of the various companies of the several trades

In the Company of Shoemakers and Sadlers, who were united, the sum paid by a native, who had served his apprenticeship in the borough, was only *twenty pence*; a higher sum was paid by a foreigner, even if he had served his apprenticeship in Stratford; and a still higher by those foreigners who could not urge that circumstance in their favour. John Shakspeare, the shoemaker, it appears, paid for his freedom, on the 20th of January, 1585-6, the sum of *thirty shillings*. It is certain, therefore, from this circumstance, that he was not a native of Stratford. He had probably served part of his apprenticeship there; otherwise he would have paid *two pounds*, the sum required by this company from those foreigners who had not served their time within the borough. In this case, as well as in many others, somewhat less than the re-

then carried on there, those persons who were foreigners, that is, not born in the borough, and wished to set up any trade there, were obliged to pay a much higher sum for their freedom than the natives. In "the Declaration of the Constitution and Ordinances of Skinners and Taylors," which was signed and sealed March 2, 1585, and is yet preserved in the chamber of Stratford; the seventh and eighth rules in substance are, that no foreigner or person born out of the borough, who hath not served an apprenticeship within it, shall be allowed to set up or exercise the trade of a skinner or taylor, unless he hath served an apprenticeship for seven years in some city, borough, or town corporate and if he hath so served, he may be admitted to his freedom on paying 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Every person born within the borough, but having served out of it, may be admitted on paying *ten shillings*; and every person born within the borough, and having likewise served his time there, may be admitted on paying *three shillings and fourpence*. Similar regulations were made by other companies; though the terms of admission, both to natives and foreigners, in the different companies, were various.

gulated sum was accepted on composition, probably on the ground which I have suggested.

The truth, I believe, is, that the Shaksperian shoemaker, of whom I have been obliged to say so much, was either the son or brother of Thomas Shakspeare, otherwise Greene (a shoemaker also, as I believe), who, perhaps, migrated from some of the neighbouring towns to Stratford, where he died in March, 1589-90; or the son of another Thomas Shakspeare, who died at Warwick, in 1577²; or of Richard Shak-

² In "the Accompte of Thomas Rogers, one of the Chamberlens, &c. made the thyrd of October 1589, which he then yielded up in respect he was elected to be Mr. Bayleefe for the year followinge, a° regni Eliz. xxxi°." the following persons are specified as living in Bridge-street, many of whom appear to have been shoemakers:

"The Rents receaved as followeth, for iij quarters of a year.

Bridg Street.

Whole Rent.

Richard Baylis..... vs..... vis. viij*d*.

Thomas West vs..... vis. viij*d*.

Robert Wyllson xxvs. xxxiijs. iv*d*.

Mr. Barber xvis. iij*d* ... xxis. viij*d*.

[This is inserted by mistake, for he lived in Church-street.]

Haray, fylde..... viis. vid..... xs.

Jhon Shackspeare..... ix*s*..... xiis.

*Ryc. Ayng*e xv*s*..... xx*s*.

Wyllm Greenwaye xxijs.. xx*s*. viij*d*.

Francis Smith x*s*..... xiijs. iij*d*.

Arthur Cawdrey xxvs. xxxiijs. iij*d*."

In the accounts of 1593 and 1594 the names of the persons who held houses from the corporation are not specified: but a subsequent "Accompt of Richard Ange and Abraham Sturley. Chamberleyns, from the xxth day of December 1594, for one whole yeare then next followinge," furnishes us with a complete list of the tenants who held houses from the corporation, and the rents they paid.

speare, the elder, of Rowington, who died in April, 1614³; and it is probable that he, and all his family, left Stratford, and returned to his native town, wheresoever it may have been, in 1593, or 1594⁴. The last notice which I have found concerning him, is in June, 1592, at which time he was master of the Company of Shoemakers; and three years afterwards his house was inhabited by another person. His eldest son, Humphrey (who, as well as his younger son, Philip, has so long been supposed to be a brother of the poet's), I have good reason to believe, settled at Lapworth⁵, about ten miles from Stratford. Of Philip, I have not been able to obtain any intelligence.

SECTION V.

Having, I trust, by the foregoing necessary, though I fear tedious, disquisition, dispelled the mist of confusion and obscurity in which our poet's family has,

³ See p. 15, n. 8.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Sarah, the wife of Humphrey Shakspeare, of Lapworth, died at Rowington in the last century, Oct. 2, 1720, at the age of eighty-two. Her husband Humphrey, who died at Rowington, in 1729, is thus described ("of Lapworth"), both in the register of Rowington, and on his wife's tombstone in the churchyard there. If we suppose him to have been only as old as his wife, then he must have been born in 1638: consequently at least ninety-one when he died; and he might have been either the son or grandson of that Humphrey Shakspeare who was baptized at Stratford, May 24, 1590; and consequently either grandson or great grandson of John Shakspeare, the shoemaker.

"John, the son of Humphrey Shakspeare, of Lapworth," was buried at Rowington, Nov. 14, 1693, as appears by the register of that parish.

for near a century, been involved, I now return to the more immediate object of our present inquiries.

Involvère diem nimbi, et nox humida cœlum
Abstulit :—

—— tandem Italiæ fugientes prendimus oras,
Jamque novum terræ stupeant lucescere Solem.

William Shakspeare was born at Stratford upon Avon, probably⁶ on Sunday, April the 23d, 1564 ; and on the 25th was baptized, we may presume, by the Rev. John Breechgirdle⁷, then vicar of that

⁶ I say “probably,” because we have no direct evidence for this fact. The Rev. Joseph Greene, who was master of the free-school at Stratford, several years ago made some extracts from the register of that parish, which he afterwards gave to the late James West, Esq. They were imperfect, and in other respects not quite accurate. In the margin of this paper Mr. Greene has written, opposite the entry relative to our poet’s baptism, “*Born on the 23d ;*” but for this, as I conceive, his only authority was the inscription on Shakspeare’s tomb—“*Obiit a^o Do. 1616, ætatis 53, die 23 Ap.*” which, however, renders the date here assigned for his birth sufficiently probable.

The omitting to mention the day of the child’s birth in baptismal registers, is a great defect, as the knowledge of this fact is often of importance.

⁷ He died at Stratford the following year, and was buried there, June 21, 1565.

The successive vicars of Stratford in our poet’s time were,
John Breechgirdle, 27 Feb. 1560-61.

—— Hygford, 1563. [*Qr.*]

Henry Heiccroft, Jan. 1, 1569-70.

Richard Barton, Feb. 17, 1584.

John Bramhall, 1590.

Richard Bifield, Jan. 23, 1596.

Thomas Rogers, 1604.

Thomas Wilson, May 22, 1619.

parish. The custom of giving a son the baptismal name of his father or paternal grandfather, or in compliment to his mother's father, was not so common in the age of Elizabeth as at present. Not one of John Shakspeare's children were named after him or Mr. Robert Arden. Our poet, I believe, derived his Christian name either from William Smyth, a mercer, and one of the aldermen of Stratford, or William Smith, a haberdasher in the same town, one of whom probably was his godfather; and all his brothers, in like manner, appear to have been named after the persons who stood sponsors for them. Such, I conceive, was then probably the general, as it was certainly a frequent usage; a practice which we seem to have derived from our German ancestors⁸. Our author's only son, Hamnet, we find, did not take the Christian name of his father or grandfather, but of that friend who appears to have been his sponsor; and our author's godson, William Walker, whom he has kindly remembered in his will, was not only his godson, but his namesake. In like manner, the baptismal name of young D'Avenant, who was the son of a vintner in Oxford, and born in 1605, was not derived from his father, or any other relation, but from our great dramattick poet, who was his godfather⁹.

⁸ See Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, 4to. 1605; Epistle to the English Nation, in marg. "It is often seen in Germanie, that either godfather [he means each of the two godfathers] at christning giveth *his* name to his godsonne, and thereof it cometh that many have two proper names, besydes their surname."

⁹ Three of Sir Francis Bacon's godsons, to whom he leaves legacies, were christened after him. See his will.

It may be worth observing, that the nativity of our illustrious countryman, of whom England will proudly boast as long as she continues to be a polished nation, took place on the day consecrated to its patron saint, for whom his native town appears to have had particular respect¹: a happy presage, as it

* In an ancient account-book which belonged to the wardens of the bridge at Stratford, before the charter of incorporation was granted, I find various articles which ascertain the predilection of our poet's countrymen to the patron saint of England.

In an account made by Richard Cotton and Thomas Gilbard, bridge-wardens, 23 March, 34 Henry VIII. [1542-3] is this item:

"Item, payd Whitley for keypyng the *Alter*, ijs. iiijd." and in a subsequent account, evidently relating to the same matter, 36 Henry VIII. "Item, payd to Thomas Whitley for keypyng *St. George Alter*, viijd."

"Item, payd for scowring *St. George harnes*, [armour,] ijs. 10d."

"Primo anno Mariæ reginæ, &c. videlicet decimo quarto die Aprilis, Richard Pers and John Tayler, wardens:

"Item, payd for dressing the Dragon, and for bering the Dragon, and werynge *Sent George harnes* on holy thursday, ijs. viijd. Payd for gunne powder, iiijd. Payd for scowring *Sent George harnes*, ijs."

In the account of George Whatley and Robert Pratt, bridge-wardens, 8 April, 1 Ed. VI. 1547:

"Payd for scowring *Sent George harnes*, ijs. viijd.

"Item, to Walter for *ridynge Sent George*, vid.

"Item to hym that bare the Dragon, iiijd."

In an account made by John Bell and Edward West, 2 & 3 Ph. & Mar. April 23, 1556:

"Payd to 2 men for berynge the Dragon and *Sent George harnes*, ijs."

The same custom was long kept up; for in the accompt of Robert Smart and William Wilson, chamberlains, from Michaelmas, 1578, to Michaelmas, 1579, I find—

"Pd to William Evans [a smith] for scowring of the *George Armour*, the vith daye of June, iiijd."

should seem, that his name and reputation should for ever be united with that of England, and should, to all future time, shed a lustre on the country that had the good fortune to give him birth.

That he was snatched from the world at a time when his faculties were in their full vigour, and before he was “declined into the vale of years,” must ever be a subject of deep, but unavailing regret, to the liberal part of mankind. Let us, however, be thankful that this “sweetest child of fancy” did not perish while he yet lay in the cradle. When he was but nine weeks old, the plague, which in that and the preceding year was so fatal to England², broke out at Stratford upon Avon, and raged with such violence, between the 30th of June and the last day of December, that two hundred and thirty-eight persons, in that period, were carried to the grave, of which number, probably, two hundred and sixteen died of that malignant distemper³; and only one of the whole number resided not in Stratford, but in the neighbouring hamlet of Welcombe. The total

² In the year 1563, between the 1st of August and the last day of December, 20,136 persons died of the plague in London. It broke out again with great violence in August, 1564.

³ From the two hundred and thirty-seven inhabitants of Stratford, who, it appears from the register, were buried in this period, twenty-one are to be subtracted, who, it may be presumed, would have died in six months in the ordinary course of nature; for it, the five preceding years, reckoning according to the style of the time, from March 25, 1559, to March 25, 1564, two hundred and twenty-one persons were buried at Stratford, of whom two hundred and ten were townsmen: that is, forty-two died each year, at an average.

number of the inhabitants of Stratford, at that time appears to have been about 1470 ⁴, and consequently

⁴ Such appears to have been the number of inhabitants at that time, calculating one in thirty-five to have died annually. I suppose one in *thirty-five* to have then died in a year on account of the superior mortality in former times from the small-pox, and the ill treatment of other disorders: one in *forty* would at present be a more just calculation. In the parish of Bookham, in the county of Surrey, in the neighbourhood of which I passed the summer of the year 1788, the inhabitants were numbered, and found to be five hundred. In the preceding year there died there, only eleven persons, that is, one in forty-six. In a country parish in Hampshire, the annual proportion of deaths for ninety years previous to 1774, was found to be one in fifty. See Howlet's Essay on the Population of England and Wales, p. 11.

The baptisms and burials at Stratford during the five years mentioned in the preceding note, compared with the baptisms and burials during five years from 1783 to 1788, confirm the calculation that has been made.

The baptisms from March 25, 1559, to March 25, 1564, were two hundred and seventy-six; i. e. fifty-five per ann. at an average

The baptisms from Jan. 1, 1783, to Dec. 31, 1787, were four hundred and seventy-four; i. e. ninety-five per ann. at an average: but of Stratfordians probably only eighty-five.

The burials in five years from March 25, 1559, to March 25, 1564, were, of Stratfordians, two hundred and ten, i. e. forty-two per ann.; which, multiplied by thirty-five, gives 1470, the number of inhabitants stated in the text. If we multiply the average number of the annual baptisms during the same period (i. e. fifty-five) by twenty-six, the number of inhabitants will be found to have been 1430.

The burials in five years from Jan. 1, 1783, to Dec. 31, 1787, were four hundred and nine; i. e. per ann. eighty-two; but of Stratfordians only seventy; which number, multiplied by forty, makes the inhabitants of Stratford on Dec. 31, 1787, 2800, nearly double the number in our author's time. In April 1765, they were numbered, and were then found to be 2287.

In 1730, the houses in Stratford (including the old town) were

the plague, in the last six months of the year 1564, carried off more than a seventh part of them. Fortunately for mankind, it did not reach the house where the infant Shakspeare lay: for not one of that name appears in the dead list. A poetical enthusiast will find no difficulty in believing that, like Horace, he reposed secure and fearless in the midst of contagion and death, protected by the Muses to whom his future life was to be devoted:

sacrâ
Lauroque, collatâque myrto,
Non sine diis animosus infans ⁵.

If I were to acquiesce in the tradition communicated to Mr. Rowe, in the beginning of the last century, I should now, in due order, and in imitation of all the biographers who have implicitly followed him on the same subject ⁶, inform my readers, that our poet's father, John Shakspeare, "was a considerable

four hundred and fifty-seven. If we reckon five to each house, the inhabitants were then 2285. By the returns made to Parliament in 1811, it appears that the inhabitants in Stratford amounted to 2842, whereof 1340 were males, and 1502 were females, and that the inhabited houses were 548, and the uninhabited 13.

⁵ Hor. lib. iii. ode iv.

⁶ Jacob's Lives of the Poets, 8vo. 1720. Pope's Edition of Shakspeare's Plays, 4to. 1725. Theobald's Edition, 8vo, 1733. General Dictionary, folio, 1739. Hammer's Edition of Shakspeare's Plays, 4to. 1744. Warburton's Edition, 8vo. 1747. Illustrious Heads, 1748. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, 12mo. 1753. Biographia Britannica, folio, 1747. Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. 1760. Biographia Dramatica, 1780, &c. &c.

dealer in wool, and had so large a family, *ten* children in all, that though he was his eldest son, he could give him no better education than his own employment. He had bred him, it is true (continues Mr. Rowe), for some time, at a free school, where it is probable he acquired what Latin ⁷ he was master of; but the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his assistance at home, forced him to withdraw him from thence, and unhappily prevented his further proficiency in that language ⁸”.

It is somewhat remarkable, that in Rowe's *Life of our author*, there are not more than *eleven* facts mentioned ⁹; and of these, on a critical examination,

⁷ So Rowe's second edition. In the first, “that *little* Latin he was master of.”

⁸ Rowe's *Life of Shakspeare*.

⁹ These facts are :

1. That he was the son of John Shakspeare, and born at Stratford, in April, 1564.

2. That he died there in 1616.—These are both true, and were furnished by the parish register.

3. That his father had *ten* children.

4. That his father was a woolman.

5. That when the poet came to London “he was received into *the company* of actors then in being,” as if there was then but one company.

6. That he was but an indifferent actor.

7. That *Falstaff* was originally called *Oldcastle*, and that the poet was *obliged* to change the name of that character.

8. That Lord Southampton gave him 1000*l.* to *complete* a purchase.

9. That he left *three* daughters.

10. That he was driven to take shelter in London in consequence of stealing deer from Sir Thomas Lucy's park.

The preceding eight facts will all be shown to be false.

eight will be found to be false. Of one (of very little importance) great doubt may be justly entertained; and the two remaining facts, which are unquestionably true (our poet's baptism and burial), were furnished by the register of the parish of Stratford.

We have already seen that one part of the foregoing account is not true. John Shakspeare, it has been proved, never had but *eight* children; and only five of them lived to be any burthen to their father, with respect to their education¹. This circumstance, were we reduced to the necessity of conjecture, might suggest some doubts concerning such other parts of this relation as are not supported by better evidence, particularly that which concerns the occupation of his father. But on the subject of the trade of John Shakspeare, I am not under the necessity of relying on conjecture; being enabled, after a very tedious and troublesome search, to shut up this long agitated question for ever. In a manuscript account of our author, written above a century ago, by Mr. Aubrey, an ingenious man, and a most careful, laborious, and zealous collector of anecdotes relative to our English poets and other celebrated writers of his native country, our author's father is said to have been a butcher. Mr. Rowe, we have just now seen, about thirty years afterwards, was informed, from oral tradition,

11. That he introduced Ben Jonson to the stage, may certainly be considered as extremely doubtful. This tale probably took its rise from Shakspeare's having assisted Jonson in writing *Sejanus*. In the printed play, however, the author omitted whatever our poet had contributed to that piece.

¹ See p. 51.

that he was a woolman. Now, though both these accounts are equally false, I do not think it necessary or becoming to throw any ridicule on either of these gentlemen; nor shall I represent them as *foolish gossips*, because they have transmitted to us such accounts, on this subject, as they could procure. And I shall particularly abstain from ridiculing Mr. Aubrey (whose name ought never to be mentioned by any friend to English literature without respect), on account of the tradition which he has transmitted, lest the weapon pointed at that learned antiquary should recoil against the breast of him who levelled it; for, strange to tell! we shall presently find that Ralph Cawdrey, one of the aldermen of Stratford, at the time our poet was born, *was a butcher* ², and was

² This fact is proved by a deed among the archives of Stratford, which begins thus:

“This Indenture made the xxth day of April in the first and second yere of the reigne of Phylip and Mary [1555], by the grace of God kynge and quene, &c. between Will^m. Whatley, nowe Justice of the peace, hy bely of the burrow of Stratford upon Avon, in the county of Warr. George Whatley, now Justice of y^e peace and hye alderman of the same toune, Richard Lord, W^m. Smyth mercer, John Jefferies, Thomas Wynfyld, Thomas Dixon, Thomas Phyllipps, Henry Bydyll, Thomas Gilbard, Robert Mors, Robert Pratt, Raf Cawdrey, and Adrean Quyny, *aldermen*, John Burbage, William Mynster, Daniel Phyllypps, Robert Perot, Laurence Beynlon, Roger Sadler, Humphrey Plymley, Richard Harentone, W^m. Smyth corvizar, Frauncis Harbage, George Turnoi, Richard Symons, John Wheler, and Lewes ap Williams, *Capital burgesez* ther of thone party, and *Raf Cawdrey* of Stratford aforesaid, *Bocher*, of the other party: Witnessethe, &c. that the befor named hy bely, aldermen and capital burgesez, with one assent, consent, agreement, for them & ther successors, have demyzed, gĩaunted, set, and to ferme let, and by theis pre-

bailiff of the borough the very year before Mr. John Shakspeare filled that office. So much for this monstrous and incredible story, to which, we have been told, no one but a man who believed in preternatural appearances could, for a moment, give any credit ³.

It is an old and just observation, that *omnis fabula fundatur in historia*; the most fictitious accounts

sents do demyse, graunt, and to ferme let over unto the said Raf Cawdrey, on tenement in Stratford aforesaid, in Burge Street, late in the holdynge of Richard Marchell ther callyd *The Aungell*," &c.

³ Ralph Cawdrey kept a butcher's shop in Stratford so early as 1541. He died in May, 1588.

See Mr. Steevens's Advertisement, vol. i. p. 254.

I shall in another place * have occasion to speak more particularly on this subject, and shall show the sources from whence Mr. Aubrey derived the various and valuable intelligence which he communicated to Antony Wood in the latter part of the last century, while that laborious antiquary was employed in compiling his *Athenæ Oxonienses*. At present, it is only necessary to observe, that if the representation attempted to be given of this ingenious and unfortunate gentleman, were just and well founded; if it were true that every man who is weak in one place must necessarily be weak in all; that all those persons who in the last century were idle enough to put their faith in judicial astrology, and to give credit to stories of preternatural appearances of the dead, were fools, and their judgment or testimony of no value on any subject whatsoever, however unconnected with these weaknesses; then in this large list of *ninnies* must we class, with Mr. Aubrey, the accomplished and literate Charles the First, the grave and judicious Clarendon, the witty Duke of Buckingham, the fertile and ingenious Dryden, and many other names of equal celebrity. They must all "bench by his side," and must be set down as persons incapable of forming a true judgment on any matter whatsoever presented to them, and wholly unworthy of credit.

* See Appendix.

which tradition has handed down to us, have generally had some little semblance or admixture of truth in them; and thus, gilded by artifice or ignorance, they acquire a currency and reception in the world, which bare and genuine falsehood could never obtain. Of this kind is the tale in question, which, not without a due portion of those minute and embellishing circumstances in which such fables usually abound, was transmitted to Mr. Aubrey, about one hundred and thirty years ago, by some of the old actors, after the Restoration; confounding, it should seem, our great dramatist with a person of the same name and county, who lived at the same period, but moved in a very different sphere; for, on examining the records of the Company of Stationers, I learned from one of their registers, that John Shakspeare, son of Thomas Shakspeare, a *butcher*, at Warwick, was bound apprentice in March, 1609-10, to William Jaggard, stationer, who, in 1598, had published some of our author's early poetry, and for whom, in conjunction with others, the first folio edition of his plays was printed; and on further inquiry it appeared that this butcher's son was admitted to his freedom, May 22, 1617. Of John Shakspeare, the apprentice of William Jaggard, it is not necessary to say more in this place, though, hereafter, I may have occasion to add a few words concerning him. Unquestionably his name and parentage, however they were confounded, with those of his great countryman, fifty years afterwards, were well known, in his own time, among players and stationers; for he served his apprentice-

ship to a respectable citizen, appears to have commenced the business of a bookseller on his own account, and was, I believe, the only person of the name of Shakspeare, who migrated from Warwickshire to London, at that period, beside our poet, and his brother Edmond, and Thomas Shakspeare, who was one of the Queen's messengers, in 1577.

John Shakspeare, the father of the illustrious subject of our present narrative, as has been already observed, settled at Stratford, not very long after the year 1550. On April 30, 1556, and September 30, 1558, I find him one of the jury of the court leet; on the 12th of August, 1556, he was summoned on a jury in a civil action; and in June, 1557, he was one of the ale-tasters, an officer appointed and sworn at every leet to take care that the due assize was kept of all the bread, ale, and beer, sold within the jurisdiction of the leet⁴. At the leet, October 6, 1559, he was one of the four affeerors appointed to mulct those who had committed any offence which

⁴ Restal's Termes de la Ley, in v.

From the following entry it appears that he was fined while invested with this office, for three non-attendances in the bailiff's court, which was held once a fortnight.

“Stratford } Curia de recordo ibm tent. secundo die Junii,
Burgus. } anno regnorum Philippi et Mariæ tertio et quarto
[2 June, 1557]:

“viind. de Jōhe Shakspere, uno *testator* [*tentator*] *servicii burgi* pd. quia not venit ad exequend. officium suum p̄ iii Cur. Id. in mia. [miserecordia].”

For the oath and duties of an ale-taster, see Kitchen on the Jurisdiction of Courts Leet, p. 96.

was punishable arbitrarily, and for which no express penalty was prescribed by statute ⁵; and he was again chosen for the same purpose in May, 1561. It appears from a paper inserted below ⁶, that he was not a member of the corporation of Stratford antecedent to Michaelmas day, 1557; but he was certainly chosen a burgess either on that day, or very soon afterwards ⁷. In 1558, and the following year, he served the office of constable; which office, as well as that of ale-taster, all the most respectable members of the corporation filled, antecedent to their rising to

⁵ The oath of an affeeror was this:—"You shall swear, that you will truly and indifferently tax, assess, and affeer all such amerçiements as are presented at this court; wherein you shall spare no man for love, favour, affection, or corruption, nor raise nor inhançe upon any man, of malice, more grievous amerçiements than shall be thought reasonable, according to the quality of the offence, and the faults committed, and not otherwise. So help you God," &c. *Greenwood on Courts*, p. 346.

In some cases the jury of the leet ascertained the amerçiements themselves. So in the proceedings of the leet at Stratford, 30th Sept. 1558: "Mem. y^t the xii men did amerce the offenders, and no *Ferars* [Affeerors] chosen." That they had a right to do so, Sir Edward Coke has shown, 11 Rep. Godfrey's case.

⁶ See Appendix.

⁷ There were at that time four vacancies of the burgesses then assembled. John Lewes was the last; he being the last person who had been elected a burgess; and I find that at a subsequent period, a few years afterwards (Sept. 6, 1564), the name of John Shakspeare stands the second in the list of burgesses immediately following that of John Lewes; so that it is clear that Shakspeare, together with John Taylor, William Smyth, haberdasher, and John Jones, whose names immediately follow in that list, was elected a burgess in the latter end of the year 1557, or early in 1558, to fill up the four vacancies already mentioned.

higher stations in the borough⁸. Having discovered, among the archives of Stratford, several scattered fragments, containing an account of the proceedings of the court leet, twice a year, from 1554 to 1562, which I have since arranged and bound up together, I am indebted to them for most of these facts; and as some of the orders and presentments made in this court exhibit a curious picture of the times, I shall insert a few of them in their proper places⁹.

In September, 1561, Mr. John Shakspeare was elected one of the chamberlains of Stratford, which office he filled during the two succeeding years. On July 4, 1565, about fifteen months after our poet's birth, he was chosen an alderman; and on the 12th of September following he took the usual oath¹. The names of the aldermen, when he was chosen, are furnished by the books which contain an account of the proceedings of the corporation in their chamber; but their occupation was not so easily learned,

⁸ William Tyler was an ale-taster in 1557, and, like John Shakspeare, fined for non-attendance: Richard Hill executed the same office in 1556, William Perrot in 1558, and Thomas Dixon, otherwise Waterman, in 1559. All these persons were soon afterwards aldermen. William Tyler was bailiff in 1563, Richard Hill in 1564. Francis Harbage was constable in 1555, and bailiff in 1557; and Robert Perrot, who was bailiff in 1558, executed the office of constable in 1554, together with Adrian Queeny, who was bailiff in 1559. Humphry Plymley, who was bailiff in 1562, served the office of constable with John Shakspeare in 1558; and William Smith, haberdasher, and William Tyler, who has been already mentioned, together with John Taylor, were joined with him as constables in 1559.

⁹ See the Appendix.

¹ Registr. Burg. Stratford. A.

being scarcely ever noticed in those records, except in the instances already mentioned, for the purpose of distinguishing two persons of the same Christian and surname. However, from various researches for other purposes, I have been enabled to ascertain their several trades; and I subjoin them, as it may tend to make us more intimately acquainted with the state of Stratford at this time. The aldermen, when our poet's father was elected into that body, were, Richard Hill, woollen-draper, who was then bailiff; Lewis ap Williams, ironmonger, and afterwards innholder; William Smith, mercer; George Whateley, woollen-draper; Ralph Cawdrey, butcher; Robert Perrot, brewer; Adrian Quiney, grocer; Roger Sadler, baker; Humphrey Plymley, mercer; Robert Pratt, victualler and tipler; John Wheler, yeoman; William Tyler, grocer; John Jefferies, attorney, and soon afterwards steward or town-clerk of the borough.

In 1568 our poet's father attained the supreme honours of the borough of Stratford, being then elected high bailiff, an office which he held from Michaelmas, 1568, to Michaelmas, 1569; and two years afterwards, September 5, 1571, he was elected and sworn chief alderman for the ensuing year².

In the various leases granted by the corporation to several members of their own body, and to others, the occupation of the lessee is always mentioned; but our poet's father never having taken any lease from them (as far as I can find), after a reasonable waste of time, at Stratford, Worcester, and elsewhere, I began to

² Ibid.

despair of ever being able to obtain any certain intelligence concerning his trade; when, at length, I met with the following entry, in a very ancient manuscript, containing an account of the proceedings in the bailiff's court, which furnished me with the long sought-for information, and ascertains that the trade of our great poet's father was that of a *glover*.

“ Stretford, ss. Cur. Phi. et Mariæ Dei grā. &c. secundo et tercio, ibm̄ tent. die Marcurii. videlicet xvij. die Junii, ann. predict. [17 June, 1555,] coram Joh̄ni Burbage Ballivo, &c.

“ Thomas Sicke de Arscotte³ in com. Wigorn. querit.⁹ versus *Joh̄m Shakyspere* de Stretford, in Com. Warwic. *Glover*, in plac. quod reddat ei oct. libras, &c.”

The tradition that Mr. John Shakspeare was a woolman, or rather a *wool-driver*, for such was the denomination used at Stratford, in his time, perhaps arose, and certainly derived some little support, from a very slight circumstance. In a window of one of the houses in Stratford, which belonged to him, was formerly a piece of stained glass, now in my possession, on which are painted the arms of the merchant of the staple⁴; and the same arms may be observed

³ *Armiscotte*, in Worcestershire, was probably the place here meant. I suppose *Arscotte* was the usual pronunciation. In the 6th of Elizabeth I find a suit by Richard Hannes of *Armyscotte*, against John Lord, of Stratford.

Arlescote, is a small village near Edghill, in the hundred of Kington, in Warwickshire; I can find neither *Arscote*, nor *Alescote*, in Worcestershire.

⁴ Barry, Nebule of six argent and gules, on a chief of the second, a lion passant or.

on the front of the porch of the chapel at Stratford, built by Sir Hugh Clopton, who was Lord Mayor of London in the time of Henry the Seventh, and a merchant of the staple. But this circumstance, which I formerly mentioned as affording some support to the traditionary tale, must now yield to superior and unquestionable evidence. *Expressum facit cessare tacitum*, is good sense, as well as good law. This house, as we shall presently see, was purchased by John Shakspeare in 1574, and might have been previously possessed by a dealer in wool; or the stained glass above-mentioned, which, perhaps, in the days of fanaticism and rebellion, was taken out of the ancient chapel of the guild of Stratford, might have been placed there in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The trade of a glover, at least in the metropolis, should seem, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, not to have been an unprofitable one; for the demand for this article appears to have been very general. I find there were, at this time, at least five glovers in the town of Stratford⁵, and there may have been others, whose names I have not discovered. Gloves were

⁵ Thomas Nichols, Gilbert Bradley, John Davies, Richard Radman, John Coxe, and — Hyll, were all glovers at Stratford nearly at this period. One or two of them, however, may have been somewhat later. From an accompt made by Richard Hathaway and Wm. Smith, in 1618, it appears that the following seven persons were then glovers in Stratford: George Perry, jun. John Perkins, Henry Hill, Richard Nicholls, John Cawdrey, Augustine Boyse, Michael Hare. Besides these there were at least three other glovers then residing there, viz. John Smith, Robert Butler, and William Shaw, elder brother of Julius Shaw.

then a more ornamental part of dress than they are at present ; many of them being perfumed, and some decorated with gold ⁶. The high-topped gloves of bishops, judges, and others of the graver professions, were frequently trimmed with gold fringe ; and on

⁶ “ — their fingers must be deckt with gold, silver, and precious stones, their handes covered with their *sweete washed gloves, imbroidered with gold, silver, and what not.*” *Stubbes's Anatomie of Abuses*, 8vo. 1583.

“ Here, hold this glove, this milk-white cheveril glove,

“ Not quaintly overwrought with *curious knots* ;

“ Not deck'd with *golden spangs, nor silver spots*,

“ Yet wholesome for the hand, as thou shalt prove.”

Cynthia, a collection of Sonnets, by Richard Barnefield, 8vo. 1595, Son. xiv.

“ After that they presented to his Majesty a Greek Testament in folio. . . . and two pair of Oxford Gloves with deep fringe of gold, the turnovers being wrought with pearl ; the cost 6*l.* a pair.” *Account of King James's Reception at Oxford in 1605*, *Winwood's Mem.* ii. 140.

In the wardrobe account of Prince Henry, eldest son of James I. dated Sept. 28, 1607, the following articles occur :

“ One pair of gloves lined through with velvett, and laid with three gold laces, and gold fringe curled, 1*xs.*

“ Two pair of Cordevant gloves, perfumed and laid with broad silver lace, and fringe curled, at 32*s.* lxiii*js.*

“ Four pair of staggs leather gloves perfumed and fringed with gold and silver fringe at 16*s.* [per pair] lxiii*js.*

“ Six pair of plain gloves with coloured tops being very well perfumed, at 6*s.* [per pair] 36*s.*

“ Six pair plain gloves with coloured tops, and some white tops at 3*s.*

“ Twelve pair fine gloves stiched, the fingers and the tops white silk and silver, and some trymmed with taffata and reben, at 11*s.*” *Archæolog.* xi. 93.

In Chapman's *All Fools*, a comedy, 1606, gloves from half a crown to *twenty crowns* a pair are mentioned.

the celebration of weddings, and the presentation of new-year's gifts⁷, gloves were a very costly article.

"About the 14th or 15th year of Queen Elizabeth," [1571 or 1572,] says the continuator of Stowe's Annals, "the Right Hon. Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, came from Italy, and brought with him gloves, sweet bags, a perfumed leather jerkin, and other pleasant things; and that yeare the queene had a payre of perfumed gloves, trimmed *onlie* with four tuftes or roses of cullored silke⁸." The chronicler, writing near fifty years after the period mentioned, is not quite accurate as to the time when this fashion was imported; for the Earl of Oxford, as appears from Lord Burleigh's Diary⁹, did not return to England, from his travels in Italy, till the year 1576, which was the 18th year of Elizabeth. This foreign fashion, of perfuming and adorning gloves, ~~was,~~ without doubt, soon imitated by the English; and, accordingly, I find that perfumed gloves were sold in common, in London, only two years afterwards, in 1578¹: at a subsequent period, the pack of our poet's Autolycus is plentifully furnished with them². That a great number of persons followed this occupa-

⁷ In the Manuscript Diary of Edward Alleyn, the player, preserved at Dulwich College, is the following article:

"1618. Jan. 1. Given Mr. Austin a pair of gloves, 1*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*"

⁸ Stowe's Annals, published by E. Howes, fol. 1615, p. 868. The paragraph in question was an interpolation by the editor.

⁹ Murden's State Papers, p. 778.

¹ Florio's First Fruites, 4to. 1578.

² Gloves as sweet as damask roses,

Masks for faces, and for noses;

Come, buy," &c. *Winter's Tale*, Act IV. Sc. III.

tion, may be collected from a petition presented to the lords of the council, in 1594, by the glovers dwelling *within forty miles of London*, against the leather-sellers, who, by engrossing the skins used in the manufacture of gloves (which were chiefly those of deer and goats), had so enhanced the price of that commodity, that if some regulation were not made to restrain them, *thousands* of glovers (it was alleged) would be forced to beg in the streets³.

In the country, gloves of the most ordinary kind were, I find, sold at so low a price as four-pence the pair⁴; but those used by persons of a superior rank were undoubtedly much dearer; and sometimes, on marriages and other occasions, when gloves were intended to be given as presents, the country manufacturers vied with the Londoners in the ornament and expense of this part of dress. The great profits of trade, however, depend rather on an equal and constant sale, than on the caprice of fashion, or the casual demands made on extraordinary and incidental occasions; and in this surer basis of successful commerce, the trade of a glover was not deficient: for, at that period, in the country, and probably in the metropolis too, he furnished his customers with many articles, beside gloves, of more necessary and ordinary use; with leathern hose, aprons, belts, points, jerkins, pouches, wallets, satchels, and purses: each of which, except, perhaps, the last, the lower classes of society had frequent occasion to purchase.

³ Strype's Hist. of London.

⁴ This appears from various inventories of the effects of dealers in leather at Stratford.

SECTION VI.

The manufacture of gloves, which was, at this period, a very flourishing one, both at Stratford and Worcester (in which latter city it is still carried on with great success), however generally beneficial, should seem, from whatever cause, to have afforded our poet's father but a scanty maintenance. Of his circumstances, about the time of his eldest son's birth, some conjecture may be formed from a subscription entered into, for the relief of those that were visited by the plague, in 1564, and from other contributions towards the aid of the poor in the same year: the benefactions of John Shakspeare, at that time, seem to denote a moderate, though not the lowest, rank among the contributors ⁵. He was not,

⁵ " At a hall holden in oure garden, the 30 daye of Auguste, a°. 1564, money p^d towards the relief of the poure.

M^r Baylie, iis. iiij*d*.

John Taylor, viii*d*.

M^r Alderman, iis. viii*d*.

John Shackspere, xi*d*.

M^r Smyth, iis. vi*d*.

John Lewes, vi*d*.

M^r Jefferies, xi*d*.

Jhon Sadler, viii*d*.

M^r Cawdre, iis.

Jhon Aylmer, xi*d*.

M^r Adrian Quiney, iis. vi*d*.

Will^m Tyler, xi*d*.

M^r Lewis, iis.

W^m Smyth, haberdasher, xi*d*.

[i. e. Lewis ap Williams]

W^m Smyth, corvesar, iii*d*.

John Weler, iis. i*d*.

Jhon Belle, xi*d*.

Robert Bratte, vi*d*.

W^m Brace, ijs.

Robert Parot, iis. vi*d*.

Thomas Dixun, viii*d*.

M^r Botte, iiiis.

Th^s Dyer, ijs.

Rich^d Symens, viis. iiij*d*.

On the 6th of Sep. the bailif and six aldermen gave twelve pence each " to the relief of those that were visited ;" Mr. Quiney,

indeed, then an alderman. There is, however, abundant proof that, about twelve years after he had obtained that station, when our author was about fourteen years old, he was, by no means, in affluent, or even easy, circumstances. Though his wife was an heiress, and King Henry the Seventh had been very liberal to her grandfather, she brought to her husband, we have seen, no other land but the small estate of Ashbies, which was mortgaged, for forty pounds, to Mr. Edmond Lambart, in 1578; probably to pay for the purchase of two houses in Stratford, for which that sum, precisely, was disbursed. The valuable lease, which had been made to her grandfather, it should be remembered, expired in 1528, some years before she was born. With respect, however, to the distressed situation of Mr. Alderman Shakspeare, at this period, we have surer grounds to rest upon, than conjecture; for the following extracts, from the records of the borough of Stratford, afford a decisive proof of what has been suggested:

“Burgus } Ad aulam ībm tent. xxix^o die Janu.
Stratford. } arii, a^o regni dnæ Elizabeth, &c. vicesimo
[1577-8].

“At this hall yt is agreed that every alderman except such underwrytten excepted, shall paye towards the furniture of three pikemen, ij billmen,

1s. 6d.; Jn. Shakspeare, John Sadler, Wm. Smyth, haberdasher, Jn. Botte, and Jn. Taylor, 6d. each; and Rob. Brat, 4d.; and on the 27th of Sept. another donation nearly in the same proportion.

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and one archer, *vis. viijd.* and every burges, except such under wrytten excepted, shall paye *ijs. ivd.*

“ Mr. Plymley, *vs.* ⁶

“ Mr. Shaxpeare, *ij. ivd.*

“ John Walker, *ijs. vid.*

“ Robert Bratt, nothings in this place.

“ Thomas Brogden, *ijs. vid.*

“ William Brace, *ijs.*

“ Anthony Tanner, *ijs. vid.*

“ Sum *vili. xiiijd.*

“ The inhabitants of every ward are taxed as by the notes to them delivered yt may appear.”

“ Ad aulam *ibm* tent. *xix.*° die Novembris a° regni dnæ Elizabeth &c. *xxi.*° [1578] :

“ Itm yt is ordeined that every alderman shall paye weekly towards the releif of the poore *iiijd.* saving John Shaxpeare, and Robert Bratt, who shall not be taxed to paye anythings. Mr. Lewes and Mr. Plimley are taxed to pay weekly, eyther of them *iiijd.* apece, and every burgesses are taxed weekeley at *ijd.* apece ⁷.”

An account of money levied on the inhabitants, in the following year (1579), for the purpose of purchasing armour and weapons of defence, corresponds with the foregoing statements ; for the name of John Shakspeare is found among the defaulters ⁸.

⁶ Humphrey Plymley died in such poor circumstances in April, 1594, that the sum total of his effects, as appears from his inventory, amounted only to *6l. 15s. 2d.*

⁷ Registr. Burg. Stratford. A.

⁸ “ Accompt of money levied *xi.*° die Marcii An°. regine Elizabeth *xxi.*° [1578-9] : by John Smith and William Wilson :

A will, also, which I found some time ago, in the Prerogative Office, has furnished me with a further confirmation of the distressed circumstances of our

High strete warde—xls. *ij*d.

Ship strete warde—xxxis. *vid*.

Henley strete warde—xxxis. *vij*d. Sum *vi*l. *ijs*. *vij*d.

whereof disbursed *ij*li. xis. *xid*. so remaneth xxxis. *vij*d. w^{ch} was payd to M^r Barber, and not yet accounted for.

Accompt of Richard } Wood strete warde. Received xlis. *vij*d.

Court and James } Church strete warde - - xliiis. *vij*d.

Salisbury, for - } Bridge strete warde - - xxxijs. *xd*.

Sum *vi*l. xixs. *ij*d. not

accompted for; remaneth.

which was payd to Mr. Barber; whereof leid out by him

for *ij* corselets - - - - - *ij*l. xis.

for *ij* calivers with the furniture - - - - - xls.

for the cariage of them - - - - - vis. *ij*d.

Sum *vi*l. xviijs. *ij*d. Remaneth xxixs. *ij*d. dew by
M^r Barber.

John Eonge—*iiij*d.

George Badger—*xii*d.

Thomas Ward—*vid*.

M^r. Shaxpeare—*ijs*. *ij*d.

M^r Nashe—*ijs*. *iiij*d.

M^r Reynolds—*ijs*. *iiij*d.

William Brokes—*ijs*.

Bazill Burdit—*iiij*d.

Hugh Pyggyn—*vid*.

Widow Bell—*iiij*d.

} These somes are unpaid and unac-
compted for.

“ Richard Court ys to accompt for money collected by him for the hygh waye.”

I am aware that among the above defaulters, are some persons who were probably in easy circumstances; but though their neglect may not have arisen from want of money, the other proofs which have been given relative to the straitened circumstances of John Shakspeare, warrant us in supposing that *he* was a defaulter, from its not being convenient to him to pay the rate imposed,

poet's father, at this time. Mr. Roger Sadler, as has been already mentioned, was a baker, in Stratford; and, living in the same street with him, probably served him with bread. He died in the latter end of the year 1578. To his will, made on the 14th of November, in that year (in which he appoints his kinsman, and our author's friend, Hamnet Sadler, one of his residuary legatees, as well as one of his executors), he has subjoined a list of debts due to him (a common practice at that time); by which it appears, that John Shakspeare was then considered insolvent, if not as one depending rather on the credit of others than his own ¹.

The following extract from the register of the Bailiff's Court is also observable.

"Stratford } Curia dnæ Reginæ ibm tent. xiii. die Januarii, anno
Burgus. } regni &c. vicesimo octavo [1585-6].

"Ad hunc diem Servien. ad Clavam burgi predict. retorn. pr. [præceptum] de distr. eis direct. versus Johem Shackspere ad sect. Johis Browne, qa. predict. Johes Shackspere nihil habet unde distr. potest levare. Ideo fiat Ca [Capias] versus Johem Shackspere ad sect. Johis Browne, si petatur."

On the 2d of March following an *alias Capias* was issued against him.

1 "Debtes which are owing unto me Roger Sadler.

"Imprimis, of M^r. John Combes, the elder, for a horse, 3*l*.

"Item, of the same J. C., due to me by bond at Christmas next, 20*l*.

"Item, of Richard Hathaway, alias Gardyner, of Shottery, 6*l*. 8*s*. 4*d*.

"Item, of Edmond Lambart *, and Cornishe, *for the debt of M^r. John Shacksper, 5*l*.*"

* Mr. Edmond Lambart, who it appears had entered into a security for John Shakspeare to the amount of five pounds, and had also furnished him with forty pounds on a mortgage of his

In addition to all these concurring circumstances, we have the confession of our poet's father himself; for, in the bill which he exhibited in chancery, in 1597, he describes himself as a "*man of very small wealth*, and who had very few friends, or alliances, in the county of Warwick." This declaration, indeed, was made several years after the period now under consideration; but, at the same time, corresponding with all the various proofs here adduced, serves, in some degree, to corroborate them.

While this subject is under our consideration, the following notices, preserved in a manuscript, in the Herald's Office, which I have already had occasion to quote, require to be particularly considered.

At the bottom of the grant of arms to John Shakspeare, made in 1596, we are told—"This John

estate, lived, as we have already seen, at Barton on the Heath, in Warwickshire, where he died, according to his son's account, about the year 1586. He was perhaps a relation of Mary Shakspeare; for her mother, Agnes Arden, left a legacy to "*Joan Lambard*," who might have been the wife of Edmond. That Mr. Lambart was obliged to pay this debt for Mr. John Shakspeare, may be inferred from the statement made by Shakspeare himself in the bill which he filed against his son. See Appendix. The other friend of our poet's father, here mentioned, who, according to the mode of that time is familiarly called *Cornish*, was perhaps the son of Walter Cornish, who lived in Stratford, in Wood-street, as appears from the following entry in an account book of the bridge-wardens of Stratford:

"Anno regni regis Henrici Octavi decimo sexto.

"Item the saide Bruge-wardens lafte in the box at their departyng [a blank here in the original] the which was geven by the hole consent of the honesty of Stratford to the reparation of the tenement in Woode Streete in the tenure of Walter Cornyshe."

sheweth a patent thereof under Clarence Cook's hands in paper xx years past ².

"A *justice of peace*, and was baylif, officer, and chief of the towne of Stratforde upon Avon, xv or xvi years past ³.

"That he hath lands and tenements of good wealth and substance, 500*l*.

"That he married a daughter and heyre of Arden, a gent. of worship ⁴."

One of these assertions, it must be acknowledged, is wholly inconsistent with the account I have now given, concerning the distressed circumstances of John Shakspeare; but, when the history of this paper is known, it will not, I conceive, tend, in the smallest degree, to invalidate the foregoing statement.

It appears, from another manuscript in the same office ⁵, that Sir William Dethick, and Camden, had

² This grant was made by Robert Cook, Clarencieux; and if it was made to John Shakspeare whilst he was bailiff, it must have been made between Michaelmas, 1568, and Michaelmas, 1569, which was twenty-seven years at least before these notes were written. In the exemplification of 1599, the heralds expressly say that John Shakspeare obtained a grant of arms *while he was bailiff*.

³ This also, as appears from the foregoing note, is a great inaccuracy. "Twenty-six or twenty-seven years past" would have been nearer the truth.

⁴ Vincent, 157, No. 24.—A gentleman of worship was the phrase of the day, denoting a person of a respectable situation; if not wealthy, yet at least in easy circumstances.

⁵ W. Z. p. 274. "The Answer of William Dethick, Garter, principal king of arms, to two matters, among others, whereof he was accused by some of the officers, whereof information was

been charged, by some of the officers of the College of Arms, with having granted several arms wrongfully, either in respect of the arms themselves, which, in some cases, were said to be too similar to others already possessed by various ancient families, or in respect of the persons to whom they were granted, who, it was alleged, were either tradesmen, or persons of so low a condition as not to be entitled to such an honourable distinction. Among the persons to whom objection seems to have been made, on both these grounds, was John Shakspeare; and the notices or minutes concerning him, above given, appear to have been short hints, preparatory to the defence which was made in form, on the 10th of May, 1602, before Henry Lord Howard, Sir Robert Sidney, and Sir Edward Dier, chancellor of the order of the Garter, against *the libellous scrowl*, as Dethick terms it, which had been exhibited against him and Camden⁶; and, therefore, these notices are not to

heard the 1st day of May before the Right Hon. Henry Lord Howard [Qr. Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton], Sir Robert Sydney, Lord Governor of Flushing, and Sir Edward Dier, Chancellor of the order of the garter, and day given the said Garter to answer hereunto, namely, the 10th of May ensuing, 1602."

6 "The Answer of Garter and Clarenciaux, kings of arms, to a libellous scrowle against certen arms supposed to be wrongfully given.

"Right Honorable. The exceptions taken in the Scrowle of Arms exhibited, doo concerne these armes granted, or the persons to whom they have been granted. In both, right hon^{ble}, we hope to satisfy your Lordships."

They then mention twenty-three persons, to whom they were charged with having granted arms improperly, either in respect of

be implicitly relied on. It is observable, that when these officers made their defence in form, an extract from which is given below, they said nothing about

the persons, or of the arms granted. Among these is found John Shakspeare; against whom the charge seems to have been twofold; and without doubt, one of the allegations of the "scrowle," or bill of complaint (which I have in vain endeavoured to recover), was, that he was a tradesman.

The answer of the heralds (as far as we are concerned with it) is as follows:

"*Shakspeare*.—It may as well be said that Hareley, who beareth gould a bend between two cotizes sables, and all other that [bear] or and argent a bend sables, usurpe the coat of the Lo. Manley. As for the speare in bend, is a patible difference; and the person to whom it was granted hath borne magestracy, and was justice of peace at Stratford upon Avon. He married the daughter and heire of Arderne, and was able to maintain that estate."

I add a few of the other answers, as they serve to confirm what I have suggested, that the occupation of John Shakspeare was one of the grounds of the complaint.

"*Peake*.—Mr. Peake is no *grasier*, but he is a gentleman of Grayes Inn, well qualified in all good study and learning, and of competent living. But he made good prooffe that this coate of arms was borne by his grandfather, John Peake of Thurlangton in Leicestershire," &c.

"*Cowley*.—This Walter Cowley, who as it cannot be denied to be descended of that house of Cowley in the county of Staff. untruly called *Ironmonger*, being unwilling to prejudice the heir of that house," &c.

"*Whitmore*.—Mr. Whitmore a rich *marchant* of London, born in the countie of Salop, where he possessed fair *lands*," &c.

"*Elkyn. Lee*.—Mr. Elkin and Mr. Lee, who are depraved as *base tradesmen*, it is well knowen they have bin both Sheriffs of London, and Mr. Lee shortlie to be Maior of that cittie: so that it cannot be denied but unto men of that place of civil government, such honor of arms hath bin alwayes allowed in former ages." *MS. in Off. Arm. W. Z. p. 276.*

these "lands and tenements worth 500*l.*;" but only asserted, generally, that John Shakspeare married an heiress of good family, and was *able to maintain that estate*: and assuredly John Shakspeare never possessed property of such value. I have already had occasion to observe, that the confirmation of arms, in 1599, was obtained chiefly to do honour to our poet, as descended, by his mother, from the ancient and opulent house of Arden; and hence, probably, the insertion of the words, *great grandfather*, in that instrument, instead of *grandfather*, which is found in a former grant: Robert Arden, the favoured servant of King Henry the Seventh, being the grandfather of John Shakspeare's wife, and, consequently, the *great grandfather* of our poet, who was then more immediately the subject of the heralds' consideration than his father. It is extremely probable that they applied to *him*, on this occasion, for he was then in London⁷, to furnish them with materials for their defence; and as he, without doubt, stated to them the value of his own real property, at that time, they might, when they wrote these minutes, very naturally suppose that it had descended to him from his father, who had died about nine months before. It is remarkable that eight days before the hearing of this cause, our poet had completed a purchase (as we shall see hereafter), which, added to his former acquisitions, gave him lands and tenements nearly of the value of *five hundred pounds*. Being, however,

⁷ That our author was in London, in May, 1602, is proved by an endorsement on the back of a deed, which will be more particularly mentioned hereafter.

I suppose, in due time apprized of their error, the heralds, when they drew up their defence in form, deserted their original ground, and made no precise mention of the landed property of his father.

John Shakspeare was, however, certainly possessed of a freehold estate, derived from his wife, which I have already estimated; and of another small landed property, consisting of two houses, situated in Henley-street, in Stratford, with a garden and orchard annexed to each, which he purchased, in the year 1574, from Edmond and Emma Hall, for forty pounds⁸; and which, at his death, descended to his eldest son. Whether, antecedent to his purchasing these houses, he lived in either of them, as a tenant, is uncertain; and consequently the precise place of our poet's birth, like that of Homer, must remain undecided. At the court leet, held in October, 1556, the lease of a house in Greenhill-street was assigned to Mr. John Shak-

⁸ This appears from the chirograph of a fine now before me levied to John Shakspeare by Edmund Hall and Emma his wife, in Michaelmas term, 17 Eliz. [1574] which was obligingly communicated to me by the late Charles Boothby Schrympshire Clopton, Esq. grandson of Sir Hugh Clopton, of Stratford upon Avon. That these two houses were situated in Henley-street, is ascertained by a deed executed in 1639, by our author's granddaughter and her husband, for which I was indebted to the same gentleman. Joan Hart, our poet's sister, to whom by his last will he devised one of them for her life, lived in it in 1639; and Joan Hiccocks, widow, in the other. One of these houses, a few years afterwards (1647), was the Maidenhead Inn, which was then kept by John Rutter, and was, in 1794, the property of Thomas Hart, a butcher in Stratford, the sixth in descent from Joan Hart. The other was a few years ago sold by his father, Thomas Hart, to Mr. John Peyton of the same town.

speare, by George Turnor, who was one of the burgesses of Stratford, and kept a tavern or victualling-house there ; and another, in Henley-street, was, on the same day, assigned to him, by Edward West, a person of some consideration, who, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, had been frequently one of the wardens of the bridge of Stratford⁹. Concerning any other land that he possessed or occupied, beside that which has been already mentioned, I have met with no notice whatsoever, except what was furnished by various searches in the chapel of the rolls, where I found that, in the year 1570, he held, under William Clopton, of Clopton, Esquire, a field, of about fourteen acres, known by the name of “Ingon, alias Ington meadowe,” situated at a small distance from that estate which his son afterwards purchased¹. Of

⁹ “Stratford super Avon. Vis frā Pleg. cum cur. et Session pais tent. ibm. secundo die Octobris annis regnorum Philippi et Marie, Dei gratia, &c. tertio et quarto [October 2, 1556].

“It. pre. [presentant] quod Georgius Turnor alienavit Johē Shakespere et hered. suis unum tent. cum gardin. et croft. cum pertinent in Grenehyll stret, tent. de Dño libe p̄ cart. p̄ redd. inde dño p̄ annu vi^d et sect. cur. et idē Johes pd. in cur. fecit dño fidelitatem p̄ eisdem.

“It. quod Edwardus West alienavit pd. eo Johē Shakespere unū tent. cum gardin. adjacen. in *Henley street* p̄ redd. inde dño p̄ ann. vi^d. et sect. cur. et idē Johes pd. in cur. fecit fidelitatem.”

Greenhill-street, where one of these houses was situated, was at the end of Rother-street, and seems to have been partaker more of the country than the town ; for in the leet, Oct. 1, 1557, I find the following entry : “Raf Hilton [presented] for his wyfe beyng a hedge-breker, and takynge and carryeng away of Nichols *hedge* in Grenehyll stret. And he stands amersyd.”

¹ In an indenture made June 11, 1581, is (in substance) the following recital : “Whereas William Clopton by a former in-

this little farm, the annual rent was eight pounds²; which is above eleven shillings an acre, and near three times more than the usual rent of that time. Some peculiar circumstances attending the ground must have been the occasion of so high a price having been paid for it. Probably there was a good dwelling-house and orchard upon it³.

In the short notes, which I have had occasion particularly to consider, the heralds mention that Mr.

indenture tripartite dated Dec. 11, 13 Eliz. [1570] and enrolled, between William Clopton and William Sheldon of the first part, Rice Griffin of the second part, and Edward Griffin of the third part, in consideration of 1550*l.* did fully and absolutely give, grant, bargain and sell to the said Rice Griffin all and singular the lands, tenements, &c. in Bishop Hampton, Stratford upon Avon, Ingon, the old towne of Stratford, &c. in the said former indenture particularly mentioned, that is to say, one leasehold or pasture, &c. . . . and also one other freehold with the appurtenants, called or known by the name of Ingon alias Ingon meadowe, containing by estimation fourteen acres, be it more or less, then in the occupation of John Shaxpere or his assigns." *Rot. Claus. 23 Eliz.* p. 10.

This spelling of our author's name, which, as we have already seen, was then very common, ascertains beyond a doubt how it was pronounced in his own time.

² This appears from an indenture made May 30, 1568, between William Clopton, Esq. of the one part, and Sir Robert Throckmorton, Sir Thomas Lucy, Knight, Edmond Plowden, Esq. Ralph, son of William Sheldon, Esq. William Underhill, of Newbold Revel, in the county of Warwick, Esq. John Acombis, of Stratford upon Avon, in the said county of Warwick, gentleman (and others), on the other part. *Claus. 10 Eliz.* p. 13. Ingon meadow was not then in the possession of John Shakspeare.

³ This meadow, it is observable, is described as "a freehold, with the appurtenances." See *Claus. 13 Eliz.* p. 6, and *23 Eliz.* p. 10.

John Shakspeare was a justice of peace ; from which, however, we are not to suppose that he was in the commission of the peace for the county of Warwick. He was, in fact, only a justice of peace in Stratford, during the year when he exercised the office of bailiff, and the year when he was elected chief or capital alderman ; each of whom, while they filled those stations, were invested, by the charter, with the full power and authority belonging to a justice of peace, within the precincts of the borough ⁴. Lest, however, any doubt should be entertained on this subject, I think proper to add, that I have examined a manuscript list of the justices of peace, in each county in England ⁵, made, in the year 1579, by order of Lord Burghley, and that the name of John Shakspeare is not found among them.

⁴ See the list of aldermen in a lease made to Ralf Cawdrey in the year 1555, p. 71, n. 2.

⁵ MSS. Reg. 18 D. 3.

Another paper in the same volume furnishes a remarkable proof of the inaccuracy of our ancestors in the computation of miles ; and which, therefore, may be worth recording, though not connected with the present subject. It contains an account of the posts which, it is said, were laid towards Ireland, “for her majesties speedier and better service, both for the carrying of packets and expedition of messengers,” in 1579, 1580, and 1581. The road through Lichfield to Chester is estimated at one hundred and thirty-three miles ; and from Chester through Rhydland and Beaumarris to Holyhead, at fifty-four miles. Total from London to Holyhead, one hundred and eighty-seven miles. The real distance is two hundred and seventy-eight miles. At that time one packet-boat only sailed every week from Holyhead to Dublin.

SECTION VII.

In the age of Queen Elizabeth, to read and write, it is well known, was not nearly so common as at present, but was considered a valuable accomplishment. Fitzherbert, about thirty years before she ascended the throne, advises those *gentlemen* in the country, who could not write, to aid their memory by making notches on a stick⁶. About the time of our poet's birth, the majority of the corporation of Stratford appear to have been entitled to the eulogy bestowed by Jack Cade upon those who "do not use to write their names, but have a mark of their own, like honest plain-dealing men;" for out of nineteen persons who signed a paper, relative to one of their body who had been elected bailiff, ten of whom were aldermen, and the rest burgesses, seven only could write their names; and among the twelve marksmen is found John Shakspeare⁷. To the order that has furnished me with

⁶ "The Boke of Husbandry, very profitable and necessarie for all peisons." 8vo. 1534.

⁷ The *mark* of the bailiff is thus pompously introduced: "The *sign manuel* of George Whateley, *high Bailiff*." Among the aldermen, Roger Sadler, Ralph Cawdrey, and Lewis ap Williams, make their marks. Adrian Quiney, Humphrey Plymley, William Smythe, mercer, William Bott, and Richard Hill, sign their names.

The mark of John Shakspeare is considerably below his name, in consequence of the town clerk's having written it so close to the name immediately above, that if he had made his mark directly opposite to his name, it would have intrenched on that of the person who preceded him. It was, indeed, his usual custom to set his mark lower than his name. In the latter part of his

this intelligence, which is dated Sept. 27, 1564, the *high bailiff*, Mr. George Whatley, and three of the aldermen, assented by making their marks. Of the burgesses, one only (William Brace) subscribes his name. The mark then used by our poet's father, nearly resembles a capital A, and was perhaps chosen in honour of the lady whom he had married. The same mark appears opposite to his name as one of the affeerors, appointed at the court lect, in October, 1559. On the 29th of January, 1588-9, of twenty-seven persons who signed a paper in the council-chamber of Stratford, fourteen make their marks; and among the marksmen are found Mr. William Wilson, the *high-bailiff*, and four of the aldermen. Such, however, was the change, and so great the improvement in this respect, in a short period, that about eight years afterwards, out of twenty-eight persons who sanction another paper, on the 9th of January, 1596-7 (including all the aldermen and burgesses of Stratford), *seven* only were marksmen⁸; and of nineteen persons whose signatures are affixed to an order, made on the 27th of Sept. 1598, *six* only do not subscribe their names.

Our poet's father, however he might be countenanced by a great number of those with whom he lived in intimacy, who were equally deficient in this respect with himself, could not but have had frequent occasions in the course of his business to feel and lament the want of this useful accomplishment, and to

life he contented himself with making a cross instead of the A, which he had formerly used.

⁸ Registr. Burg. Stratford, A.

observe the solid advantages derived from literary attainments, even of the lowest class ; and therefore, we may be sure, would not neglect the education of his children. Perhaps a deficiency of this kind in a father of a good understanding, is one of the strongest incentives to take especial care that his son shall not labour under the same defect.

At Stratford, there had been, long before the charter of incorporation granted by King Edward the Sixth, a free school for the education of youth⁹. By that charter, this school, which was ordered from thenceforth to be called *The King's New School of Stratford upon Avon*, was confirmed and established

⁹ Hugh Clonne, scholemaister of Stretford, was admitted into the fraternity of the Guild of the Holy Cross in the year 1430 ; 9 Henry VI. *Registr. Gild.* fol. xxxviii. b.

The grammar school of Stratford, according to Leland (*Itin.* vol. iv. p 2, fol. 167, a.), “ was founded by one Jolepe, a Master of Arts, born in Stratford, whereabout he had some patrimony, and that he gave to this schoole.” But both he and Dugdale are mistaken in the name of the founder, who was Thomas Jolyffe, as appears by a rent-roll of the lands, &c. of the guild of the Holy Cross, made October 5, 1530 [22 Henry VIII.], and now among the archives of Stratford ; the last article of which is—“ *Redditus terrarum et tenementorum Magistri Thome Jolyffe.*” The land which he bequeathed lay in the hamlet of Dodwell. The whole value of a close there, and of his tenements in the old town, and in Rother-street, amounted at that time only to 2*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

The school seems to have been kept in our author's time in the chapel of the guild ; for on the 18th of February, 1594-5, the following order was made by the corporation of Stratford : “ At this halle yt ys agreed by the Bayliffe and the greater number of the company nowe present that there shalbe no schole kept in the chapel from this time followinge.”

for ever, with a salary of twenty pounds a-year to the master. Here, without doubt, our poet was placed; and if we suppose him to have been first made acquainted with the rudiments of literature in the year 1572, when he was eight years old, and to have continued his grammatical studies to the year 1578, his instructors must have been Mr. Thomas Hunt (curate of Luddington, a village in the neighbourhood of Stratford), and Mr. Thomas Jenkins, who were successively masters of the free school during that period¹.

¹ As it may gratify those persons who are more immediately connected with the town of Stratford, I subjoin as perfect a list as I have been able to form from various loose and unconnected papers, of the successive masters of the free school there, from the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth:

1546, William Dalam (not Dalum, as Dugdale has it).

1554, William Smart.

1563, ——— Allen.

1565, John Brownsworde.

1568, ——— Acton*.

1570, Walter Roche.

1572, Thomas Hunt. [ob. Ap. 7, 1612.]

1577, (or before), Thomas Jenkins.

1580, John Cotton.

1583, Alexander Aspinall†.

1624, John Trapp.

1669, John Johnson.

1689, Thomas Willes.

1716, Gabriel Barrodale.

1735, Joseph Greene.

* Cambridge Coll. Corp. Christi. 1572, Tho^r Acton, conv^r. 2dus, matriculated, perhaps the son of Acton, schoolmaster.

† Brazen Nose Coll. Alex^r Aspinall, Lanc. 20 ann. Oxon. venit 1573. Reg^m. Matric. So he must have been born in 1553.

Of his school-days, unfortunately, no account whatsoever has come down to us ; we are, therefore, unable to mark his gradual advancement, or to point out the early presages of future renown, which his extraordinary parts must have afforded ; for as it has been observed by a great writer of our own time, all whose remarks on human life are sagacious and profound,

1772, David Davenport.

1774, James Davenport.

1792, John Whitmore.

In a paper without date of year, containing a list of contributors of certain sums as “ a free and voluntary *present* to his Majesty, in pursuance to an act of parliament, and a commission thereupon issued, dated the 6th day of August last past ; ” signed by John Holbech, Rec. I find the name of “ Benjamin Beddome *Schoole-master* ; ” but I know not to what period he ought to be referred : perhaps to the reign of Edward VI. immediately after William Dalam.

During the years 1575, 1576, and part of 1577, in the chamberlain's accounts, from which, during those years, I derive my information, the annual stipend is only stated generally to have been made “ *to the schoolmaster* ” without specifying his name ; so that it is uncertain whether the office during that period was filled by Mr. Hunt or Mr. Jenkins, though from preceding and subsequent entries, it is certain that it was filled by one or the other of those gentlemen. Mr. Thomas Hunt, who had the honour to be one of our poet's school-masters, was buried at Stratford, April 12, 1612. Mr. Alexander Aspinhall, who was near forty years school-master of Stratford, and was chosen one of the burgesses, married Oct. 28, 1594, Anne, the sister of Julius Shaw, one of the witnesses to Shakspeare's will. William Dalam, the first person in the foregoing list, was one of the five priests of the guild of Stratford, as appears by an ancient deed, executed March 10, 35 Henry VIII. which is preserved among the archives of that corporation. The other four priests at that time were, Roger Egerton, Nicholas Coterel, John Payne, and Thomas Hakyns.

“there is no instance of any man, whose history has been minutely related, that did not in every part of life discover the same proportion of intellectual vigour².” Were our poet’s early history accurately known, it would unquestionably furnish us with many proofs of the truth of this observation; of his acuteness, facility, and fluency; of the playfulness of his fancy, and his love of pleasantry and humour; of his curiosity, discernment, candour, and liberality; of all those qualities, in a word, which afterwards rendered him the admiration of the age in which he lived.

How long he continued at school, or what proficiency he made there, we have now no means of ascertaining. I may, however, with the highest probability assume, that he acquired a competent, though perhaps not a profound knowledge, of the Latin language: for why should it be supposed, that he who surpassed all mankind in his maturer years, made less proficiency than his fellows in his youth, while he had the benefit of instructors equally skilful? His friend Mr. Richard Quincy, one of the aldermen of Stratford in his time, who had certainly been bred some years before our poet, at the same school, his family having been long established in Stratford, was so well acquainted with that language, that his brother-in-law, Mr. Abraham Sturley, who was also an alderman, frequently intermixed long Latin paragraphs in his letters to him, several of which I have read; nay, on one occasion I have found an entire Latin letter addressed to him³; and Mr. Sturley certainly would not have

² Dr. Johnson’s Life of Sydenham.

³ See Appendix.

written what his brother could not understand. His eldest son too, Richard Quiney, who afterwards became a grocer in London, but returned finally to his native town, where he died in 1656, sent his father, whilst he was employed in the metropolis on the business of the corporation, a Latin letter, which, though it had been required as an exercise from his master, it would have been ridiculous to send to one who could not read it⁴. In the school of Stratford, therefore, we have no reason to suppose that Shakspeare was outstripped by his contemporaries. Even Ben Jonson, who undoubtedly was inclined rather to depreciate than over-rate his rival's literary talents, allows, that he had some Latin. Dr. Farmer, indeed, has proved, by unanswerable arguments, that he was furnished by translations with most of those topicks which for half a century had been urged as indisputable proofs of his erudition⁵. But though his Essay is decisive in this respect, it by no means proves that he had not acquired, at the school of Stratford, a moderate knowledge of Latin, though perhaps he never attained such a mas-

⁴ The writing of Latin letters to their fathers, appears to have been a common exercise enjoined to the scholars of Shakspeare's age. Thus in the *Mastive*, or *Young Whelp of the Old Dogge* [a collection of epigrams and satires], 4to. 1615, Signat. D. verso :

“ Who dares say Doltas speaketh barbarisme,
 “ That scholar-like, can make a syllogisme ;
 “ Can cap a verse which may deserve commend,
 “ And hath his grammer rules at's finger's ende ;
 “ Can write a' pistle to his dad in Latin,” &c.

⁵ “ Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare, by the Rev. Richard Farmer, B. D.” 8vo. 1767.

tery of that language as to read it without the occasional aid of a dictionary. Like many other scholars who have not been thoroughly grounded in the ancient tongues, from desuetude in the progress of life, he probably found them daily more difficult; and hence, doubtless, indolence led him rather to English translations, than the original authors, of whose works he wished to avail himself in his dramatick compositions: on which occasion he was certainly too careless minutely to examine whether particular passages were faithfully rendered or not. That such a mind as his was not idle or incurious, and that at this period of his life he perused several of the easier Latin classicks, cannot, I think, reasonably be doubted; though perhaps he never attained a facility of reading those authors with whom he had not been familiarly acquainted at school. From Lilly's Grammar, which we know furnished him with the rudiments of the Latin tongue, and a small manual, entitled *Pueriles*⁶,

⁶ See the Dedication prefixed to his Arthur Gorges' Translation of Lucan, by his son Carew Gorges, folio, 1614. "I remember this sentence in my *Pueriles*, *Voluntas ubi desunt vires, est laudanda*, &c." From Peele's historical play of Edward I. 4to. 1593, if he did not intend a blunder, *Pueriles* and Cato's Moral Distichs should seem to have been the same book, with a double title: "It is an old sayde saying I remember I redde it in *Catoes Pueriles*, that *cantabit vacuus*," &c. But Drayton mentions them as different:

"And when that once *Pueriles* I had read,

"And newly had my Cato construed," &c.

Epistle to Henry Reynolds, Esq.

Tully's Offices was at that period a common school-book. "Whereunto (says Peacham) I might add Gyges' Ring and his [Tully's] Offices, which booke, let it not seeme contemptible

and the Moral Distichs of Cato, he proceeded, as was the fashion of that age, after reading Tully's Offices, to the Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus⁷, and those of Virgil; and from thence, probably, to Cornelius Nepos, some parts of Ovid (whom he has cited in the Taming of the Shrew, and from whom he has taken the motto prefixed to his first publication), and finally, perhaps, to the Æneid of Virgil. Such I imagine was the progress, and the extent of his scholastick attainment. He needed not, however, as Dryden has well observed, "the spectacles of books" to read men; and I have no doubt, that even from his youth he was a curious and diligent observer of the manners and characters, not only of his young associates, but of all around him; a study in which, unquestionably, he took great delight, and pursued with avidity during the whole course of his future life.

That his father was compelled by the narrowness of his circumstances, and the want of his son's assistance at home, to withdraw him from school, at least before

unto you, because it lyeth tossed and torne in every schoole." Comp. Gent. 4to. 1622, p. 45.

Lord Burghley, Peacham tells us, was so fond of Tully's Offices, that he always carried that book in his pocket.

Drayton's Epistle, above quoted, furnishes us with the first poetry then put into the hands of learners; Mantuan, and the Eclogues of Virgil.

For the method of teaching then adopted by school-masters, see Mount Tabor, or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner, 8vo. 1639, p. 10, by R. W. [i. e. R. Wallis,] Esq. The author was, like Shakspeare, born in 1564.

⁷ Of this author, then very popular, he has quoted the first line in Love's Labour's Lost.

the year 1578, to which period I suppose him to have remained there, though it is asserted by Mr. Rowe, no sufficient proof has been produced. At the free school of Stratford he was entitled to a gratuitous education; and he certainly could be of no great use to his father, before he had attained the fourteenth year of his age. He had, it should be remembered, three brothers: Gilbert, who was born in October, 1566, and without doubt derived his Christian name from Gilbert Bradley, a glover, who lived in the same street with John Shakspeare, and who was chosen a burgess on the same day that our poet's father was elected an alderman; Richard, baptized March 11th, 1573, whose godfather was probably Richard Hill^a, one of the aldermen of Stratford, and, I believe, related by marriage to his wife; and Edmond, who was baptized May 3, 1580, and, doubtless, derived his baptismal name from his father's friend, Mr. Edmond Lambarte, with whom at that time he appears to have been on amicable terms, though a few months afterwards a breach took place between them. Gilbert, the second son, was little more than two years younger than our poet, and, at the time now under our consideration, was as capable

^a Having found the will of Mr. Richard Hall in the Prerogative Office (which was made May 16, 1590, and proved Feb. 8, 1593-4, in the beginning of which year he died), I hoped to have been able to ascertain this circumstance; but was disappointed. He bequeaths "to every god child that he then had, 12*d.*," but does not mention any of them specifically by name. On an action on the case being brought in the bailiff's court against our poet's father, by Mr. Nicholas Lane, in Hilary term, 29 Eliz. [1587], Mr. Richard Hill entered into a special bail-bond for the appearance of the defendant.

of carrying out parcels of gloves for his father (all that a boy could do) as his elder brother. For this purpose, therefore, it was not necessary to impede the progress of the eldest son's education.

Instead of being brought home to assist his father in trade, various passages in his works incline me to believe, that our poet's ardent curiosity about that period, led him frequently to attend the court of record, which sat at Stratford once a fortnight; in which the bailiff, with the assistance of the steward, or town clerk, who was always a legal practitioner, heard and determined all causes arising within the jurisdiction of the borough, where the matter in contest did not amount to thirty pounds. In this court the proceedings appear to have been very regular and orderly; they had their appearances, their essoins, their imparlances, their demurrers, their issues knit, and their trials by jury, all in proper form. There were at that time, in Stratford, at least six attorneys who practised in this court, beside Mr. Henry Rogers, the steward or town-clerk¹, who was also an attorney.

¹ Mr. Henry Rogers was town clerk of Stratford in 1577, and continued to hold that office till Michaelmas, 1586.

This officer was called *town-clerk* at a very early period; Mr. Richard Symons being so described in the account of the proceedings of the leet, October 5, 1554.

Afterwards he was called *steward*, which name he uniformly bore from 1570 to 1610, when Mr. Thomas Greene, a solicitor in chancery, and a relation of our poet, is stated in the chamberlain's account to receive his salary by the name of *town-clerk*. From that time the two names were indiscriminately used. Sir Hugh Clopton, who filled the office in 1705, signs himself *seneschallus*. The salary of the office was then 10*l.* a year.

In the office of this person, who was immediately connected with the corporation, having a salary of seven pounds per annum, a part of which was given "for assisting the bailiff and chief alderman with his counsel, in affairs appertaining to their office," or with Mr. William Court, who appears to have been occasionally employed by Mr. John Shakspeare, I suppose our poet to have been placed for two or three years; and I think it very probable that his friendship with Mr. Francis Collins, who, I believe, was nearly of the same age, and afterwards was an eminent attorney at Stratford, commenced at this early period, in consequence of their passing some time in the same office. The comprehensive mind of our poet, it must be owned, embraced almost every object of nature, every trade, and every art, the manners of every description of men, and the general language of almost every profession: but his knowledge and application of legal terms, seems to me not merely such as might have been acquired by the casual observation of his all-comprehending mind; it has the appearance of technical skill; and he is so fond of displaying it on all

The successive town clerks of Stratford, in our author's time, were

Mr. Henry Higford, 1560.

Mr. John Jefferies, 1570.

Mr. Henry Rogers, 1577.

Mr. John Jefferies, jun. 1586.

Mr. Thomas Greene, 1603.

The principal attorneys of Stratford about the year 1580, were Mr. Henry Rogers above-mentioned, Mr. Thomas Trussel, Mr. William Court, alias Smith, Mr. Richard Spooner, Mr. Edward Davies, Mr. Richard Symmons, and Mr. William Bott.

occasions, that there is, I think, some ground for supposing that he was early initiated in at least the forms of law. Of this notion, which perhaps professional habits first suggested to me, I shall subjoin below, I will not say the proofs, but such circumstances as seem to me to render it extremely probable².

² “ — for what in me was *purchas'd*,

“ Falls upon thee in a much fairer sort.”

King Henry IV. P. II.

Purchase is here used in its strict legal sense, in contradistinction to an acquisition by *descent*.

“ Unless the devil have him in *fee-simple*, with *fine* and *recovery*.” *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

“ He is ’rested on the case.” *Comedy of Errors*.

“ — with *bills* on their necks, *Be it known unto all men by these presents*,” &c. *As You Like It*.

“ — who writes himself armigero, in any *bill*, *warrant*, *quit-tance*, or *obligation*.” *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

“ Go with me to a notary, seal me there

“ Your *single bond*.” *Merchant of Venice*.

“ Say, for non-payment that the debt should double.”

Venus and Adonis.

On a conditional bond’s becoming forfeited for non-payment of money borrowed, the whole penalty, which is usually the double of the principal sum lent by the obligee, was formerly recoverable at law. To this our poet here alludes.

“ But the defendant doth that plea deny ;

“ To ’cide his title, is impanelled

“ A quest of thoughts.” *Sonnet 46*.

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Dogberry charges the watch to keep their *fellows’ counsel and their own*. This Shakspeare transferred from the oath of a jury-man.

“ And let my officers of such a nature

“ Make an *extent* upon his house and lands.”

As You Like It.

“ He was taken *with the manner*.” *Love’s Labour’s Lost*.

“ *Enfeof’d* himself to popularity.”

King Henry IV. P. I.

However this may have been, our poet appears to have continued at Stratford at least till the year

"He will seal the fee-simple of his salvation, and cut the entail from all remainders, and a perpetual succession for it perpetually." *All's Well that Ends Well*.

"Why, let her *except before excepted*." *Twelfth Night*.

"— which is four terms, or two actions;—and he shall laugh without *intervallums*." *King Henry IV. P. II.*

"— keeps leets and *law-days*." *King Richard II.*

"*Pray in aid* for kindness." *Antony and Cleopatra*.

No writer but one who had been conversant with the technical language of leases and other conveyances, would have used *determination* as synonymous to *end*. Shakspeare frequently uses the word in that sense. See vol. xvii. p. 183, n. 3; and vol. xx. p. 235, n. 8. "From and after the *determination* of such term," is the regular language of conveyancers.

"Humbly complaining to your highness."

King Richard III.

"Humbly complaining to your lordship, your orator," &c. are the first words of every bill in chancery.

"A kiss in fee-farm! In witness whereof these parties interchangeably have set their hands and seals." *Troilus and Cressida*.

"Art thou a *feodary* for this act?" *Cymbeline*.

See the note on that passage, vol. xiii. p. 100, n. 6.

"Are those *precepts* served?" says Shallow to Davy in *King Henry IV.*

Precepts in this sense is a word only known in the office of a justice of peace.

"Tell me, what state, what dignity, what honour,

"Can'st thou *demise* to any child of mine?" *K. Richard III.*

"— hath *demised*, granted, and to farm let," is the constant language of leases. What poet but Shakspeare has used the word *demised* in this sense?

"This fellow might be in his time a great buyer of land, with his statutes, his recognizances, his fines, his *double vouchers*, his recoveries." *Hamlet*.

Perhaps it may be said, that our author in the same manner may be proved to have been equally conversant with the terms of

1585. "Upon his leaving school," says Mr. Rowe, "he seems to have given entirely into that way of living which his father proposed to him; and in order to settle in the world in a family manner, he thought fit to marry, while he was yet very young." Our poet, like many other persons at that period, entered into the matrimonial state when he was little more than eighteen years old; but that this measure was proposed to him by his father, we have no evidence whatsoever, nor is it very probable. His writings, as well as the testimony of his contemporaries, afford abundant proofs of the warmth, the tenderness, and the sensibility of his disposition; and this, much more than any recommendation of his father, was the occasion of his wishing, at an early period of life, to participate in "the sweet silent hours of marriage joys;" for I believe it will be found invariably true (and I wish to impress this truth on the minds of my fair countrywomen), that the most beautiful part of the creation have ever experienced the most ardent attachments in the bosoms of men whose manners were elegant, and

divinity or physick. Whenever as large a number of instances of his ecclesiastical or medicinal knowledge shall be produced, what has now been stated will certainly not be entitled to any weight. MALONE.

A large addition might be made to this list of the instances in which legal language has been used in Shakspeare. But as this notion, after it had been suggested by Mr. Malone, originally in a note appended to his Essay on the Chronological Order of Shakspeare's Plays, Art. Hamlet, was adopted both by Mr. Steevens and Mr. Ritson, these gentlemen have called the attention of the reader to many passages of this description in the course of their comments. BOSWELL.

whose understandings and taste were vigorous and refined :

“ ——— in the gentlest ³ hearts

“ Imperious love hath highest set his throne ⁴. ”

Anne Hathaway, whom our poet married, probably in June or July, 1582, was then in her twenty-sixth year, that is, seven years and a half older than her husband : a disproportion of age, which seldom fails, at a subsequent period of life, to be productive of unhappiness, and which, perhaps, about thirteen years afterwards, gave rise to a part of the following beautiful verses on the subject of marriage ; which no man who ever felt the passion of love, can read without emotion :

“ Ah, me ! for aught that I could ever read,

“ Could ever hear by tale or history,

“ The course of true love never did run smooth ;

“ But either it was different in blood,

“ Or else *misgraffed in respect of years*,

“ Or else it stood upon the choice of friends,

“ Or, if there were a sympathy in choice,

“ War, death, or sickness did lay siege to it ;

“ Making it momentany as a sound,

“ Swift as a shadow, short as any dream,

“ Brief as the lightning in the collied night,

“ That, in a spleen, unfolds both heaven and earth ;

“ And ere a man hath power to say, Behold !

“ The jaws of darkness do devour it up :

“ So quick bright things come to confusion ⁵. ”

Perhaps, indeed, the same feeling suggested the

³ *Gentle* was used by Spenser and his contemporaries with the sense of *generosus*, *bene moratus*.

⁴ To the truth of this sentiment our author himself bears testimony in his *Two Gentlemen of Verona* :

following judicious precept, at a still later period, when our poet was in his forty-third year :

- “ *Duke.* — What years, i’ faith ?
 “ *Viola.* About your years, my lord.
 “ *Duke.* Too old, by heaven ! Let still the woman take
 “ An elder than herself : so wears she to him ;
 “ So sways she level in her husband’s heart ;
 “ For, boy, however we do praise ourselves,
 “ Our fancies are more giddy and infirm,
 “ More longing, wavering, sooner lost and worn,
 “ Than women’s are. —————
 “ Then let thy love be younger than thyself,
 “ Or thy affection cannot hold the bent ⁶.”

From this inequality of years, I have sometimes fancied that the object of our poet’s choice was a widow⁷. They were not married at Stratford, no

- “ ————— as in the sweetest buds
 “ The eating canker dwells, so eating love
 “ Inhabits in the finest wits of all.”

⁵ A Midsummer Night’s Dream, Act I. Sc. I.

⁶ Twelfth Night, Act II. Sc. IV. vol. xi. p. 403.

⁷ This notion was first suggested to me by finding that Mr. William Wilson was married to Anne Hathaway, of Shottery, January 17, 1579-80 ; and I suspected that he died between that time and 1582. But, on a further examination, I found that Mr. William Wilson, who was an alderman of Stratford, lived to the year 1605. She could not, therefore, have married Shakspeare. Besides, as I have observed above, it is much more probable that our poet’s wife was of Luddington.

The late Mr. Joseph Greene, vicar of Welford, near Stratford, imagined that our poet’s wife was of Shottery ; induced, probably, by finding, in the Stratford register, the names of Richard Hathaway, otherwise Gardiner, of Shottery, and his descendants, frequently occur ; and he supposed that a remarkable house in Shottery, which in his time was the property of two ladies of the name of Tyler, and had formerly belonged to an old Mr.

entry of their marriage appearing in the register of that parish ; nor have I been able to ascertain the day

Quiney, might have descended from Thomas Quiney, on whose marriage, with the poet's second daughter, he might have settled this house, which, it was suggested, he might have acquired as a part of his wife's portion. But it is clear, from Shakspeare's will, that he had not paid his second daughter's portion, at the time of his death, though he had covenanted to give her 100*l.* which, accordingly, he does, in his will ; and he makes no mention of a house in Shottery.

Mr. Bartholomew Hathaway, a substantial yeoman, who was the possessor of the Shottery estate, and who, I believe, was the son of Mr. Richard Hathaway, born before the commencement of the register, died at a good old age, in 1624. From his will, which was made December 16, 1621, and proved at Stratford, December 6, 1624, I find that he had three sons ; John, Richard, and Edmond. To Richard he bequeaths twenty shillings ; to Edmond, his third son, 120*l.* to be paid in seven years after his decease ; and to his eldest son, John, his messuage, in Shottery, with the appurtenances, and two yard lands and a half [about seventy-five acres], lying in the fields of Shottery and Old Stratford ; limiting the said lands to him and the heirs of his body, remainder to his son Edmond, remainder to Richard. To each of the children of his son John, viz. Alice, Richard, Anne, and Ursula, one of his best ewes. To his own daughter, Anne, the now wife of Richard Edwards, the sum of thirty shillings ; and to each of her seven [q. six] children, Avery, Bartholomew, Alice, Thomas, Richard, and Ursula, 6*s.* viii*d.* His executor is his son John ; and Mr. John Hall, of Stratford, and Stephen Burman, of Shottery, his overseers ; to each of whom he leaves 2*s.* vi*d.* Avery Edwards, the person above-mentioned, lived, in the year 1622, at Luddington, as appears from the collector's subsidy book, 19 Jac. in the chamber of Stratford. Richard Hathaway, a baker, who was elected an alderman of Stratford, April 18, 1623, and died there in October, 1636, was probably the second son of the above-named Bartholomew.

I do not believe that there was any other person of the name of Hathaway, who had an estate at Shottery ; and Bartholomew's

or place of their union, though I have searched the registers of several of the neighbouring parishes for that purpose. The tradition, however, concerning the surname of his wife, is confirmed by the will of Lady Barnard, our poet's grand-daughter, which I discovered a few years ago; for she gives several legacies to the children of her *kinsman*, Mr. Thomas Hathaway, formerly of Stratford; and still more de-

daughter, Anne, we see, was married to Richard Edwards. The wife of our poet might, indeed, have been Bartholomew Hathaway's sister; but, as she was yet living when his will was made, and no mention is made of her in it, nor any memorial given to her, I think it improbable that she should have been his sister.

I may add, in confirmation of what I have suggested (that our poet's wife was not of Shottery), that Susanna, the daughter of Thomas Hathaway (Shakspeare's great nephew, as I believe), who was baptized at Stratford, June 11, 1648, and to whom, without doubt, Mrs. Susanna Hall was godmother, is described, in the parish register, as the daughter of Thomas Hathaway, without any addition; as are William, son to the same Thomas Hathaway, baptized April 19, 1640; Rose, his daughter, baptized November 6, 1642; and Elizabeth, another daughter, baptized January 10, 1646-7. Whereas, we find that Edmond, "son to John Hathaway, of Shottery," baptized November 23, 1628, and Elizabeth, daughter of the same John Hathaway, of Shottery, baptized January 22, 1625-6. This distinction is constantly preserved in the register. I mention these circumstances, as they show that the Hathaways, who were related to our poet's daughters, were not of Shottery. Mrs. Judith Quiney was, without doubt, sponsor for Judith, another daughter of the same Thomas Hathaway; and our poet's grand-daughter, Lady Barnard, bequeaths legacies to his several children *above-named*; Susanna, Judith, Rose, and Elizabeth; which last was certainly her own godchild. She calls him "her *kinsman* Thomas Hathaway, late of Stratford upon Avon."

cisively by a deed, which was executed June 2, 1647⁸, in order to lead the uses of a fine and recovery of our poet's estate, then in the possession of his eldest daughter, Susanna Hall; in which the parties were, that lady, and her daughter, Elizabeth Nash, of the first part; William Smith, of the second part; and William Hathaway, of Weston upon Avon, yeoman, and Thomas Hathaway, of Stratford, joiner, of the third part. This Thomas Hathaway was, without doubt, either the son or brother of William; and was originally not of Stratford, but, as I conjecture, of Weston, a town in Gloucestershire, about four miles from it. That he was not originally of Stratford, appears not only from there being no notice of his baptism in the register of that parish, but from his having paid, as a foreigner, on the 25th of March, 1636, *fifty* shillings for his freedom; of which sum twenty shillings were restored to him, as a grace, by the corporation⁹. We have seen already, that our poet was naturally connected with the family of Arden. Mr. William Arden, who appears to have been second cousin to his maternal grandfather, Robert Arden, married a daughter of Edward Conway, Esq.¹ a gentleman of large fortune, who was proprietor of Luddington, a village about two miles from Stratford. Some persons of the name

⁸ Penes Charles Boothby Schrymshire Clopton, Esquire.

⁹ Registr. Burg. Stratford, B. The ordinary sum paid by a *native* was but 3s. 4d.

Mr. Thomas Hathaway died at Stratford, where he was buried, January 15, 1654-5.

¹ Cod. MS. in Officio Arm.

of Hathaway, were tenants to his grandson, Sir John Conway, early in the reign of Elizabeth, though one of them is said to have had a little patrimony of his own, probably at Weston; and the Marquis of Hertford, to whom Luddington belongs, has informed me, that in his youth he remembers a person of the name of Hathaway, a tenant on that estate². Here, therefore, it is not improbable, Shakspeare found his wife; and the marriage, in consequence of her father having some property at Weston, was perhaps celebrated either there (rather than Stratford, in which parish Luddington is), or at Billesley, of which parish the church is very little distant from Wilmecote, the original residence of his mother. The ancient registers of Weston and Billesley having, like many other ancient registers, been thrown by and lost, as soon as they were filled with names, and it became necessary to procure a new blank book, it is now impossible to ascertain this point³.

² I have since learned that Mr. John Hathaway farmed part of this estate, till the year 1775, when he died.

³ The earliest register of the parish of Weston now extant, begins in 1680. Weston being in the diocese of Gloucester, I hoped to have found, in the proper office there, a duplicate of the several entries contained in the more ancient register, which has been lost; but, after taking a journey to Gloucester expressly for the purpose, I was disappointed; no transcript of the names of any persons married in the year 1582, being there extant. These very useful transmisses were, indeed, first enjoined to be sent from the various parishes, in each diocese, by the canons made in 1601; but, I apprehend, the practice, in some places, prevailed before. Though Cromwell's injunctions for the orderly registering of all marriages, baptisms, and burials, were not issued till 1538, I have seen some registers of an earlier date.

In May, 1583, our poet's wife brought him a daughter, who was named Susanna; a name which she, perhaps, derived from Mrs. Susanna Collins, the wife of Mr. Francis Collins, already mentioned; and, about eighteen months afterwards, she was delivered of twins, a son and a daughter, who were baptized (Feb. 2, 1584-5) by the names of Hamnet⁴ and Judith. Shakspeare's friend, Mr. Hamnet Sadler, and his wife, Judith Sadler, were, without doubt, sponsors to these children. Our author's wife does not appear to have ever brought him another child.

SECTION VIII.

The course of the present narrative now leads us to advert to a circumstance, in our poet's life, of the utmost moment; since to it, if the tradition is to be trusted, we are indebted for his removal from Stratford to London, and for the rich legacy which, in consequence of his connexion with the stage, he afterwards bequeathed to posterity; and, if it be a mere fiction, it is the bounden duty of the historian

The ancient register of Billesley is also lost. It is observable, that our poet's grand-daughter was married to her second husband in the church of Billesley (which is but three miles from Stratford); perhaps, in consequence of her grandfather's having been married there.

⁴ In consequence of a mistake committed by the late Rev. Joseph Green, in making an extract from the register of the parish of Stratford, which he gave to the late Mr. James West, in 1770, our poet's only son was, for a long time, erroneously supposed to have been baptized by the name of *Samuel*. His true name I recovered from the register.

of his life, minutely and explicitly to refute an unfounded calumny. The deviation from truth which the inquiries I have made have enabled me to detect, in several received accounts concerning our poet and his family, which, for a century, have been considered as authentick, did not originally much incline me to place an implicit confidence in the traditionary tale which I am now to relate: and a minute examination of it has, by no means, contributed to give it any additional support. I do not, however, mean to shake the credit of all traditionary evidence. There is, certainly, a great difference between traditions; and some are much more worthy of credit than others. Where a tradition has been handed down, by a very industrious and careful inquirer, who has derived it from persons most likely to be accurately informed concerning the fact related, and subjoins his authority, such a species of tradition must always carry great weight along with it.

For the tradition which I am now to mention, we have no such authority. Our poet, we are told, at some period in his youth, gave Sir Thomas Lucy, a gentleman who lived about five miles from Stratford, such offence, that he was obliged, on this account, to quit his native country, and to seek a refuge in London. "He had," says Mr. Rowe, "by a misfortune common enough to young fellows, fallen into ill company; and, amongst them, some that made a frequent practice of deer-stealing, engaged him, more than once, in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, near Stratford. For this, he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and, in order to

revenge the ill-usage, he made a ballad upon him. And though this, probably the first, essay of his poetry be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter, that it redoubled the prosecution against him, to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warwickshire, for some time, and shelter himself in London."

Such is the tale which was transmitted to Mr. Rowe⁵, near a century after the death of our author.

⁵ Probably by Mr. Betterton, who made a journey to Stratford, to collect information respecting our poet. In the manuscript papers of the late Mr. Oldys, as Mr. Steevens relates, "it is said that one Boman ('according to Chetwood, p. 143, an actor more than half an age on the London theatres'), was unwilling to allow that his associate and contemporary, Betterton, had ever undertaken this journey."

This assertion of Mr. Oldys appears to me altogether unworthy of credit, not that I believe he meant to deceive, but he certainly must have misapprehended Mr. Boman. Why any doubt should be insinuated, or entertained, concerning Mr. Betterton's having visited Stratford, after Rowe's positive assertion that he did so, it is not easy to conceive. Mr. Rowe did not go there himself; and how could he have collected the few circumstances relative to Shakspeare and his family, which he has told, if he had not obtained information from some friend, who examined the register of the parish of Stratford, and made personal inquiries on the subject?

"Boman," we are told, "was *unwilling to believe*," &c. But the fact disputed did not require any exercise of his *belief*. Mr. Boman, who died in 1739, near eighty years old, was married to the daughter of Sir Francis Watson, Bart. the gentleman with whom Betterton joined in an adventure to the East Indies, whose name the writer of Betterton's Life, in the Biographia Britannica, has so studiously concealed. By that unfortunate scheme, Betterton lost above 2000*l.*; Dr. Ratcliffe, 6000*l.*; and Sir Francis Watson, his whole fortune. On his death, soon after the year 1692, Mr. Betterton generously took his daughter under his protection, and

There is nothing in which stories of this kind are more deficient than dates. Their relaters seldom descend to such minute particulars, for special good reasons ; or rather, most carefully avoid them ; and we are generally left, as in the present case, to find out, as we can, the time when the supposed fact happened. Allowing, for a moment, its reality, it cannot, with probability, be supposed to have happened till some years after our poet's marriage, and after his wife had borne him three children ; for those children were born and baptized at Stratford. Sir Thomas Lucy, and Sir Fulk Greville, the elder, we shall presently find, were chosen arbitrators, to make an award, in a suit between our poet's friend, Hamnet Sadler, and Ananias Nason (a farmer), in January, 1583-4. At that time, therefore, we may be certain, Sir Thomas Lucy had not exercised any severity against Shakespeare ; for, had that been the case, his friend would not have chosen the knight as an arbitrator, or, if he was named by his opponent, have submitted to such a nomination.

Mr. Rowe is, I believe, the first person who has mentioned this story in print ; but I have found it noticed, with some exaggeration, among the manuscript collections of an industrious and very learned antiquary of the last century, Mr. William Fulman⁶,

educated her in his house. Here Boman married her ; from which period he continued to live in the most friendly correspondence with Mr. Betterton, and must have *known* whether he went to Stratford or not.

⁶ See an account of him in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 823, edit. 1721. He was born at Penshurst, in Kent, in 1632, and elected

which are preserved in the archives of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford. Among Mr. Fulman's various and valuable literary stores, are found some biographical notices concerning the most eminent English poets. His researches appear to have been begun about the year 1670. At his death, which happened in 1688, he bequeathed his papers to his friend, Mr. Richard Davies, of Sandford, in Oxfordshire, rector of Saperton⁷, in Gloucestershire, and archdeacon of Lichfield, who made several additions to the labours of Mr. Fulman; and, on his death, in the year 1707, their united collections were given to the college above-mentioned, by Mr. Wood, executor to Archdeacon Davies. Under the article *Shakspeare*, Mr. Fulman has left little more than the dates of his birth

a scholar of Corpus Christi College in 1647. Being afterwards ejected by the parliamentary visitors, he became tutor to the children of Mr. Peto, of Chesterton, in Warwickshire, where, for seven years, he found a comfortable retreat during the Usurpation. After the Restoration, he was elected a fellow of Corpus Christi College, and was presented by the president and fellows of his house to the rectory of Moysey Hampton, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire, where he died ("to the reluctancy," says Wood, "of many learned men") June 28, 1688. The *Life of Charles the First*, which goes under the name of Dr. Richard Perenchief, was compiled from the papers of this learned man. Having, in his youth, been amanuensis to Dr. Hammond, *The Whole Duty of Man* has been, without sufficient foundation, ascribed to him, among many others. Anthony Wood derived much information from him, as appears by several of his letters to Mr. Fulman; whose biographical collections he much laments that he was not permitted to peruse.

⁷ This place has been celebrated by Pope :

"From Cotswold hills to *Saperton's* fair dale."

Har. Imit. b. ii. ep. ii.

and death, intending, probably, had he not been prevented, by a fever, which proved fatal to him, to subjoin, at some future period, such other particulars as he could collect: but Mr. Davies, who appears to have possessed none of the sagacity and erudition of his friend, has added to Fulman's notes, respecting our poet, that "he was much given to all unluckynesse, in stealing *venison* and *rabbits*; particularly from Sir Lucy [for he did not even know the knight's Christian name], who had him *oft whipt*, and sometimes *imprisoned*, and at last made him fly his native country, to his great advancement. But his reveng was so great, that he is his *Justice Clodpate*; and ⁸ calls him a great man, and that, in allusion to his name, bore three *lowses* rampant for his arms ⁹." This addition to Fulman's notes, I believe, was made about the year 1690.

Sir Thomas Lucy was certainly a man of great consideration in the county of Warwick, where his family had been settled for several generations. He was born early in the year 1532¹, the son of Sir

⁸ This omission of the personal pronoun was not uncommon in the last age. See the Essay on the Metre and Phraseology of Shakspeare and his Contemporaries.

⁹ Fulman's MSS. vol. xv. article, Shakspeare.

¹ The register of Charlecote, not commencing till after the birth of Sir Thomas Lucy, gives no information on this subject; and his tomb is equally silent; but it appears, from an inquisition taken at Warwick, September 23, 1551, on the death of his father, William Lucy, that he was of the age of nineteen years, two months, and upwards, at the time of his father's death, which happened June 24, 1551. He was, therefore, born in or before April, 1532. Esc. 5 Ed. VI. p. 2, n. 89.

William Lucy, knight, and the eldest of ten children, of whom five were daughters²; and he put "his unhoused free condition" into that "circumscription and confine," which every man, of any sensibility, must prefer to cheerless celibacy, at a still earlier period than our poet; having married a rich heiress, Joice, the daughter of Thomas Acton, of Sutton, in Gloucestershire, Esq. when he was not fifteen years old³. In 1558, about seven years after his father's

² They are all enumerated in the will of his father, William Lucy; which was made June 23, 1551, the day before his death.

³ Et predict. Willus Lucye sic de et in predictis maneriis, advocaconibus, messuagiis terris, tenementis et cæteris premissis cum suis pertinent. seisitus existens, in consideracōne cujusdam maritagii inter Thomam Lucye, armigerum, tunc filium et heredem apparentem dicti Willielmi Lucye et Jocosa[m] adhunc et modum uxorem ejusdem Thomæ, filiam et hæredem Thome Acton nup[er] de Sutton in com. Wigorn. armigeri defuncti, tunc habit. et solem[n]izat. (quæ quidem Jocosa in plena vita et ætatis sexdecim annorum et amplius modo existit apud Charlecotte predict. Ac etiam pro diversis promissis et agreament. ex parte dicti Thomæ Acton cum prefato Willmo Lucye fact. tunc vere observat.; Necnon in consideracōne et per implement. quorundam agreament. e C***** prefat. Willm. Lucye cum prefat. Thome Acton per antea fact. et habit. idem Willus Lucye per cartam suam indenta juratoribus predictis super capcōnem hujus Inquisitionis in evidens. ostentatam cujus dat primo die mensis Augusti anno regni nuper regis Angliæ Henrici Octavi tricesimo octavo [1546] dedit concessit, &c. *Esc. 5 Ed. VI. p. 2. n. 89.*

It is remarkable that Sir Thomas Lucy, in an elaborate epitaph which he wrote for his wife, and which I shall hereafter have occasion to quote, says that she was *sixty-three* when she died Feb. 10, 1595-6. If the words relative to her in this inquisition are cited from the deed of 1546, then she must have been born in the year 1530, and consequently must have been *sixty-si*

death, he rebuilt the family mansion-house, at Charlecote; and, in honour of his royal mistress, Elizabeth, it may be observed, that it is constructed in the form of the letter E; a species of gallantry, in which Henry the Second, of France, had set him an illustrious example, not long before. To repay him for this testimony of his attachment and loyalty, she knighted him, in 1565, and honoured him with a visit, in August, 1572.

In the reign of that queen, ten new parliaments were summoned. In her third parliament, which met April 2, 1571 (13 Eliz.), Sir Thomas Lucy, and John Hubaud, esquire (who was afterwards knighted), a friend and favourite of the great Earl of Leicester, represented the county of Warwick. This parliament, having sat not quite two months, was dissolved on the 29th of May. In the following parliament, which met May 8, 1572, Sir Thomas Lucy was not a member; he, and his former colleague, being probably defeated, after a contest, by Mr. William Devereux⁴, and Mr. Clement Throckmorton, a gentleman of considerable property in Warwickshire, which he had represented in a preceding parliament, assembled in January, 1562-3. The parliament of 1572 having continued, in a very unusual

when she died: if they relate to the time of taking the inquisition (Sept. 23, 1551), she must have been born some time in the year 1535, and could not have been more than sixty-one when she died. This is not the only instance in which I have found tombstones inaccurate.

⁴ Mr. Devereux having died soon after his election, Sir John Hubaud was elected in his room.

manner, for nearly eleven years, Sir Thomas Lucy had not an opportunity of again offering his services to the county till the year 1584, when he was a second time elected to represent it, in conjunction with George Digby, Esq. This parliament, after having sat from the 27th of November, 1584, to the 29th of March in the following year, was then prorogued, and never met again; being dissolved September 14, 1586. Sir Thomas Lucy, therefore, was probably invested with the dignity of a county member, at the period when our poet is said to have incurred his displeasure.

From the parliamentary history of those times, he appears to have taken an active part in the House of Commons, in several matters of importance; and to have been one of that puritanical party⁵, who, about

⁵ Mr. Strickland, a zealous puritan, or, in the words of my author, "a grave and ancient man of great *zeal*," April 6, 1571, made a long discourse to induce the house to order the preachers of the gospel to publish a confession of faith, as had been done at Strasburgh, Frankfort, &c. and to take order to *purge* the common prayer-book, and free it from certain superstitious ceremonies, as using the sign of the cross in baptism, &c. He said Mr. Norton, a member of that house, had a book composed for the purpose of effecting this kind of reformation, a reformation which he contended was "not contrariant, but directly pursuant to our profession, that is, to have all things brought to the *purity* of the primitive church and institution of Christ."

Mr. Norton said, that he had such a book, but that it was not composed by him, but by virtue of an act of parliament, passed in 1532, by which eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight temporal lawyers, were appointed to make ecclesiastical constitutions: in consequence of which the work was undertaken by Dr. Haddon, who composed the scheme or plan of the book, which was penned by Mr. Cheeke. This book, which

the middle of the Queen's reign, while they resisted some unwarrantable extensions of prerogative, began

was printed, was tendered to the house. Whereupon the following persons were appointed for the redress of sundry defections in those matters; viz. all the Privy Council being members of the house, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Thomas Thynne, Sir Thomas Lucy, Mr. Norton, Mr. Strickland, and ten others." *Parl. Hist.* iv. 105. *D'Ewe's Journ.* 156.

In the Journals of the House of Commons this matter is thus stated:

"Veneris, 6 Apr. 1571.

"Upon a motion for uniformity of religion, and the mention of certain bills drawn for that purpose the last parliament, and for redress of sundry defections in those matters, a Committee is by the House appointed of these following; viz. all the Privy Council that are of this house, Sir Henry Neville, Sir John Thynne, Sir Thomas Lucy, Mr. Strickland," &c.

We again find Sir Thomas Lucy united with Mr. Strickland and Mr. Norton on a subsequent occasion:

"Martis, prima die Maii, 1571.

"Mr. Attorney-General and Mr. Doctor Huyoke do desire, from the Lords, that some of this house may attend upon six of the Lords to-morrow morning at eight of the clock, for conference touching the bill against priests disguising themselves in serving-men's apparel; which is granted; and thereupon Mr. Treasurer, Sir Thomas Scotte, Sir Owen Hopton, Sir Thomas Lucye, Sir Henry Jones, Mr. Servient Manwood, Mr. Clare, Mr. Thomas Browne, Mr. Norton, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Mounson, and Mr. Thomas Hussey, are appointed for that purpose." *Com. Journ.* l. 87.

"The bill for respite of homage, with the bill for coming to church, and receiving the communion, was sent to the Lords by M^r. Treasurer, M^r. Comptroller, M^r. Chan^r. of the Dutchy, M^r. Chan^r. of the Excheq^r. S^r. Thomas Smith, S^r. Thomas Scotte, S^r. Thomas Lucy, M^r. Norton, M^r. Yelverton, M^r. Strickland, &c. 6 May. 1571." *Com. Journ.* l. 88.

Towards the close of this session, I find Sir Thomas Lucy joined

to broach those republican doctrines, and to attempt those innovations, which, at a subsequent period,

with many other respectable members, in vindicating the honour of the House against a charge of corruption.

“Lunæ, vicesimo octavo Maii, 1571.

“All the privy council being of this house, S^r. Nic^s. Arnolde, S^r. Th^s. Scott, S^r. Thomas Lucy, Sir Humphry Gilbert, M^r. Recorder of London, M^r. Mounson, M^r. Yelverton, and M^r. Wrothe, are upon some speeches uttered to this house, that some of the members of this house sh^d take money for their voices, appointed to meet this afternoon in the Starchamber; and to examine what persons being members of this house, have taken any fees or rewards for their voices, in the furtherance or hindiance of any bills offered into this house; and then afterwards to make report of the particularities thereof unto this house accordingly.”

“Martis, vicesimo nono Maii, 1571.

“The Comittees for examination of fees or rewards, taken for voices in the house, do make report, That they cannot learn of any that hath sold his voice in this house, or any way dealt unlawfully, or indirectly, in that behalf; and thereupon M^r. Norton, declaring that he heard that some had him in suspicion that way, justifieth himself, and is, upon the question, purged by the voice of the whole house: and their good opinion of him and of his honest and dutiful dealing and great pains-taking in the service of this house, are in very good and acceptable part declared and affirmed by the like voice of the whole house.” *Com. Journ.* l. 93.

In the next parliament in which Sir Thomas Lucy sat, on Monday, the 14th of Dec. [1584] three petitions touching *the liberty of godly preachers*, and to exercise and continue their ministeries, and also for the speedy supply of able and sufficient men into divers places now destitute, and void of the ordinary means of salvation, were offered unto the house; the first by Sir Thomas Lucy, the second by Sir Edward Dymock, and the third by Mr. Gates, which were all thereupon read, and further proceedings therein deferred until a more convenient time. *D'Ewe's Journ.* p. 889.

These petitions, it should be observed, were drawn up in the name of the Commons, to be presented to the House of Lords.

after having been duly matured in the detestable school of Geneva, contributed, under the manage-

What was meant by *the liberty of godly preachers*, &c. may be collected from the fourth, sixth, and eighth articles of these petitions :

“ 4. Further, that forasmuch as it is prescribed in the form of ordering ministers, that the bishops with the priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the heads of every one that receiveth order, without any mention of any certain number of priests that shall be present ; and that in a statute made 21 of King H. the eighth, is affirmed that a bishop must occupy six chaplains at giving of orders ; it may be considered whether it may be meet to provide that no bishop shall ordain any minister of the word and sacraments *but with the assistance of six other ministers at the least*, and thereto such only be chosen as be of good report for their life, learned, continually resiant upon their benefices with cure, and which do give testimony of their cure for the church of God, by their diligence in teaching and preaching in their charge : and that the said ministers do testify their presence at the admission of such ministers by subscription of their hands to some act, importing the same : and further that this admission be had and done publickly, and not in any private house or chapel.

“ 6. That it be likewise considered whether for the better assurance that none creep into the charge and cures, being men of corrupt life, or not known diligent, it might be provided that none be instituted or by collation preferred to any benefice with cure of souls, or received to be curate in any charge, *without some competent notice before given to the parishes where they take charge, and some reasonable time allowed, wherein it may be lawful to such as can discover any defect in conversation of life in the person who is to be so placed as is aforesaid, to come and object the same.*

“ 8. Whereas sundry ministers of this realm diligent in their calling, and of godly conversation and life, have of late years been grieved with indictments in temporal courts, and molested by some exercising ecclesiastical jurisdictions, for omitting small portions or some ceremony prescribed in the book of Common Prayer, to the great disgrace of their ministry, and imboldening of men either hardly affected in religion, or void of all zeal to the

ment of a band of wicked and artful hypocrites, to destroy, at once, the church, the nobility, and even the monarchy itself. He was, however, sturdily attached to his sovereign ⁶. From a circumstance, re-

same, which also hath ministered no small occasion of discouragement to the forwardness of such as would otherwise enter into the ministry ; some good and charitable means may be by their honourable discretions devised, that such ministers as in the public service of the church, and in the administration of the sacraments, do use the book of common prayer allowed by the statutes of this realm and none other, be not from henceforth called to question *for omission or change of some portion or rite* as is aforesaid, so their doings therein be void of contempt."

⁶ On Tuesday, Feb. 23, 1584-5, "upon a motion began by Sir Thomas Lucy, and continued [i. e. seconded] by Sir Thomas Moore, that those of this house which are of her Majesties Privy Council, may in the name of this whole house be humble suitors unto her Majesty, that, forasmuch as that villainous traitor, Parry, was a member of this house in the time of some of his most horrible and traiterous conspiracies and attempts against her Majesties most royal person (whom Almighty God long preserve) her Majesty would vouchsafe to give licence to this house, for that many are of the fellowship of the Association, to proceed to the devising and making of some law for his execution after his conviction, as may be thought fittest for his so extraordinary and horrible treason: It was resolved that those of this house being of her Majesties most honourable Privy Council, and now present at this motion, to wit, M^r. Treasurer and M^r. Vice Chamberlain, shall exhibit the same humble suit of the House unto her Majesty accordingly at their convenient opportunity." *D'Ewes's Journ.* 355.

Sir Thomas Lucy was, without doubt, one of the *Associators* above-mentioned. Of the origin of this association, which in our own time was so happily imitated at a moment when the whole nation was almost benumbed with the well-founded apprehension of the horrors of French anarchy, bloodshed, and impiety, being introduced into this country by domestick traitors acting in con-

corded by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, he appears not to have confined his cares solely to the promotion of a *godly ministry*, but to have extended them to matters of comparatively slight importance, and to have been very active in the preservation of the game⁷; an activity that gives some colour to the story already mentioned, and which we shall presently have occasion to review. He had twice served the office of

cert with the vilest of the human race in France, Camden gives us the following account :

“Hinc et ingruentibus undique periculorum rumoribus, ut pravis seditiorum consiliis insidiisque occurreretur, et reginæ salutis, a quo et regnum et religio dependit, consuleretur; plurimi, Leicestrio auctore, ex omni hominum ordine per Angliam ex communi charitate, dum non illam sed de illa timuerunt, se *associatione* quadam mutuis votis, subscriptionibus, et sigillis obstrinxerunt, ad eos omnibus viribus ad mortem usque persequendos qui in reginam aliquid attentaverint.” *Annal.* ii. 418.

On the next day (February 24, 1584-5), I find Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Philip Sydney, the Lord Russel, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Cecil, &c. composing a committee to consider “in what measure and manner they should supply her majesty by subsidy.”

⁷ “The bill for the preservation of grain and game, was, upon the second reading, committed to Sir Edward Hobby, Sir John Tracy, Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Henry Nevill, Sir Thomas Lucy, and others; and the bill was delivered to the said Sir Thomas Lucy, who, with the rest, was appointed to meet this afternoon [March 4, 1584-5], in the parliament house or parlour of the Middle Temple.” *D'Ewes's Journ.* 363.

No act, on this subject, being found among the statutes enacted this year, it appears that this bill, in some subsequent stage, was rejected. The purport of it was probably the same as that of an act passed in the seventh year of King James, c. 11, entitled “An Act to prevent the Spoil of Corn and Grain, by untimely Hawking, and for the better Preservation of Pheasants and Partridges.”

sheriff; in 1569, for the counties of Warwick and Leicester (the shrievalty of those two counties being then united), and in 1578, for his own county. He was also very particularly connected with the town of Stratford, which he visited frequently, either as an arbitrator, to decide controversies between the inhabitants, as a commissioner for assessing subsidies, as a justice of peace at the quarter sessions, or to review the trained soldiers which the borough was obliged to furnish for carrying on the Irish war, or for other purposes. If, therefore, our author was so unfortunate as to offend him, he certainly could afterwards find no safe or comfortable abiding in his native town, where he could not escape the constant notice of his prosecutor.

To form a right judgment on this, as on many other subjects, it is necessary to take into our consideration the prevalent opinions and practices of the time. If these be attended to, in the present case, the act which has been imputed to our poet (with what propriety we shall presently see), however unjustifiable, will rather appear in the light of a youthful indiscretion, in which light it is frequently represented, than as a very criminal offence. That it was a common practice among the young men of those days, and, being wholly unmixed with any sordid or lucrative motive (for the venison thus obtained was not sold, but freely participated at a convivial board), was considered merely a juvenile frolick, may be inferred from a passage in a tract of that age, where it is classed with the other ordinary levities and amusements of youth. "Time of recreation," (says a

writer against stage-plays, in 1599), "is necessarie, I graunt, and thinke as necessarie for scholars, that are scholars in decde, as it is for any. Yet in my opinion it were not fit for them to play at stoole-ball among weinches, nor at chance or maw with idle loose companions, nor at trunkes in guile-hals, nor to danse about May-poles, nor to rife [ruffle] in ale-houses, nor to carouse in tavernes, nor to *steale deere*, nor to *rob orchards*⁸." In like manner, Antony Wood, speaking of Dr. John Thornborough, who was admitted a member of Magdalen College in Oxford, in 1570, at the age of eighteen, and was successively bishop of Limerick in Ireland, and bishop of Bristol and Worcester in England, informs us, that he and his kinsman, Robert Pinkney, "seldom studied or gave themselves to their books; but," (as is related by Simon Forman⁹, then a poor scholar of the same college, who was chiefly maintained by their bounty, and with whom they frequently associated), "spent their time in the *fencing-schools* and *dancing-schools*, in *stealing deer* and *conies*, in *hunting the hare*, and *wooing girls*¹." At the time here referred to, Thornborough was a bachelor of arts, and twenty-two years old.

The following quibbling verses also, written by a contemporary of our poet, afford another testimony to the same point:

⁸ The Overthrow of Stage Plaies, 4to. 1599, p. 23.

⁹ Afterwards the celebrated astrologer, who died in 1613. Probably, the passage quoted by Wood is found in one of Forman's MSS. in the Ashmole Museum, in Oxford.

¹ Athen. Oxon. i. 371.

“ ON DEARE-STEALING.

“ Some colts, (wild-youngsters,) that ne’er broken were,
 “ Hold it a *doughty deed* to steal a deare :
 “ If cleanly they come off, they *feast* anon :
 “ And say their pray is good fat venison ;
 “ If otherwise, by them it doth appeare,
 “ That that which they have stollen, then is deare ².”

It is clear, therefore, that this kind of trespass, even were it justly imputable to Shakspeare, would

² Wit’s Bedlam, Ep. 93, 8vo. 1617. Written by John Davies, of Hereford, as appears from a passage in which the author says he was a native of that town, and a writing-master. That this kind of juvenile frolick was generally unconnected with any lucrative motive, may also be inferred from the following verses, by the same author, in his *Scourge of Folly*, without date, but published about the year 1611 :

“ Of Drusus his *deere-hunting*.

“ Drusus in stealing of a deere was kill’d,
 “ So dyed, ere he had his belly fill’d ;
 “ Thus, like a flea, in seeking but for food,
 “ Ere he was full, he lost his life and blood.”

How very common the practice of stealing deer formerly was, may further appear from the following verses of Bishop Corbet, in his *Iter Boreale*, which was written at some time between 1614 and 1620. He is describing his fare at an inn, at Flower, in Northamptonshire, about three miles from Daventry :

“ Now whether it were providence or luck,
 “ Whether the keeper’s, or the *stealer’s* buck,
 “ There we had venison.” *Poems*, p. 2, edit. 1672.

To the same purpose may be cited the following passage in Fuller’s *Worthies* (Lincolnshire, 102), which shows manifestly how common deer-stealing continued to be, even to his time [1658] :

not leave any very deep stain on his character ; being, in his time, considered merely as a playful “ trick of youth.” Let us now examine the ground on which he has been charged with it.

From Mr. Davies’s account of this transaction, it should seem that he either thought the trespass, which, according to him, consisted in purloining not only venison, but rabbits, was committed at so early a period of life, that Sir Thomas Lucy could, with propriety, punish the youthful trespassers by corporal chastisement ; or, supposing them to have been adult, that the law inflicted such a punishment. The former of these suppositions, I have already shown to be highly improbable ; and the other is equally erroneous. By the statute 5 Eliz. ch. 21³, it was

“ I will insert [says he], a letter of Lady Elizabeth, written to him [Peregrine Bertie] with her own hand ; and, Reader, deale in matters of this nature, as *when venison is set before thee, eat the one, and read the other, never asking whence either came.*”

³ This act was certainly considered an important one, for I find the bill on which it was founded was either brought in by Mr. Comptroller of her Majesty’s household [Sir Edward Rogers], or committed to him and others ; and when it passed the Commons, it was carried up to the Lords, by Mr. Secretary Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley. *Com. Journ.* i. 64—68, compared with D’Ewes, 83.

It appears to have been much contested in its progress ; and in the different stages of the bill to have assumed different shapes and titles :

“ Jovis. Jan. 24, 1562-3.

“ The bill [for breaking of ponds, and stealing fish and coney].” *Com. Journ.* i. 63.

“ Merc. 3. Febr.

“ The bill for robbing of ponds, and stealing of coneyes, to be felony. Mr. Comptroller.” *Com. Journ.* i. 64.

enacted, that if any person, by night or day, break into or wrongfully enter any park, or other ground,

It is afterwards called "The bill for punishment of unlawful taking of fish, *conies*, or *deer*, out of parks and enclosed grounds." It was engrossed on the 25th of February. The House divided on it, on the 8th of March, and it was carried to the Lords on the 11th, under the title of "A Bill to prevent the stealing of fish, *deer*, or *hawks*;" the article of *conies* having, in the progress of the bill, been omitted, and the punishment of felony, which was originally proposed, changed to that mentioned in the text. On the 29th of March, an additional clause or proviso to this bill was brought from the Lords, and there was a division on that proviso, on the 31st of the same month. Com. Journ. i. 71. This proviso was, without doubt, the second in the Act, which enables the party aggrieved, on certain conditions, to release the offender from his recognizance for his good behaviour.

Thus, we find, this bill was above two months in its progress to a law, and the session lasted but three; from the 12th of January to the 10th of the following April.

By a former statute, made about twenty years before, 32 Hen. VIII. ch. 2. (to which this reasonable preamble is prefixed, "Forasmuch as justice and equity requireth that every inheritor and possessor of manors, lands, or tenements, within the realme of England should, according to their estates or possessions, peaceably and quietly have, take, and enjoy the profits, revenues and commodities of the same, as well in things of pleasure, as in things commonly valuable, without injury, rapine, or other extort wrong to be committed or done to any of them within or upon the same—"), it was enacted, that if any person, with his face hid with hood or visor, or with painted face, or otherwise disguised, to the intent he should not be known, should steal deer or *conies*, in the day-time, in a lawful park or warren; or if any person should steal deer or *conies*, in a lawful park or warren, in the night-time, he should be adjudged guilty of felony of death. But this severe act subsisted but seven years, being repealed by 1 Edward VI. c. 12. Afterwards, it was revived for three years, by 3 & 4 Edward VI. c. 17; again, by the 7th of the same King, c. 11; and once more finally repealed by

enclosed and used for keeping deer, before the making of this statute, or afterwards enclosed, by licence of the Queen, and hunt, drive out, hurt, or kill, any deer there, he shall, on conviction, pay to the party aggrieved treble damages, be imprisoned for three months, and, after the expiration of that time, find security for his good abearing for seven years; the party aggrieved, however, is empowered, at any time within the seven years, or *before*, to release, at his pleasure, the said suretyship for good behaviour, the offender having first satisfied him in damages, and confessed his fault before the justices in open session. Corporal correction, therefore, we see, was no part of the punishment appropriated by law to this offence.

The penalties of the act of Elizabeth were founded on a former law, repealed some years before, by which this offence, in certain cases, was made felony. If Shakspeare had been indicted on the statute of Elizabeth, he undoubtedly could easily have found the security required; nor could there have been any difficulty in making a compensation for the damage done; but he could not so easily commute the imprisonment of his person. Without, however, in-

1 Mar. sess. 1. c. i. Hence, however, it was, that when the bill was brought in first, in 1562-3, it was proposed to make the offence felony, and the stealing of *conies* as criminal as the stealing of *deer*.

In the parliament which met in the 14th year of Elizabeth, in which Sir Thomas Lucy was not a member, another ineffectual attempt was made to punish the destroyers of *rabbits* :

“ May 20, 1572. The Bill against hunting, and killing of conies, the first reading, and *rejected*.” *Com. Journ.* 1. 96.

forming us whether he was imprisoned or not, the more modern relater of this anecdote tells us, that "thinking he was prosecuted somewhat too severely, he revenged himself on his prosecutor by making a ballad on him ⁴." And here, as formerly, we are left to explore, by conjecture, the date of this early essay of our poet's muse. If he was indicted, this certainly was not a likely mode to conciliate the knight of Charlecote, and to induce him to release the recognizance for good behaviour, to which the law entitled him. On the other hand, if he was only threatened with a prosecution, a lampoon would not contribute to mitigate his adversary's wrath, or to defend the criminal from its effects. We are, therefore, compelled to suppose, that our poet did not choose to abide the consequences of the prosecution; and, before it could be commenced, fled from his native country, leaving it to some friend to affix his verses on the *park gate* of the lord of Charlecote; for such is the tale which the late Mr. Oldys, and a Mr. Thomas Wilkes, have transmitted unto us. According to Mr. Wilkes, the story is said to have come originally from Mr. Thomas Jones, a gentleman, who, I find, lived at Turbich, a village in Worcestershire, about eighteen miles from Stratford, and died there in 1703, aged upwards of ninety. "He remembered (we are told) to have heard, from several old people of Stratford, the story of Shakspeare's robbing Sir Thomas Lucy's park; and their account (Mr. Wilkes observes) agreed with Mr. Rowe's; with this addition, that the ballad

⁴ Rowe's Life of Shakspeare.

written by Shakspeare, against Sir Thomas Lucy, was stuck upon his *park gate*; which exasperating the knight, he applied to a lawyer, at Warwick, to proceed against him ⁵." Mr. Jones, it is added, recollected the first stanza of this ballad, which was all that he could remember of it; and to Mr. Wilkes, grandson of the gentleman to whom he repeated it, we are indebted for this fragment; which was given to the publick, in 1778, by Mr. Steevens, from the manuscript collection of the late Mr. Oldys⁶, to whom

⁵ It was not known that there were not less than five or six attorneys at Stratford, at this time. Hence it is that a Warwick lawyer was introduced on this occasion.

According to this improbable account, our author commits an offence against a gentleman, who takes no notice of him; and then he writes a lampoon on the person whom he has injured, who becomes so exasperated that he determines to prosecute the offender. These relaters seem to suppose that our poet acted on the principle of his own Richard:

"I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl."

⁶ I have endeavoured to exhibit what Mr. Capel has left on this subject, in intelligible language; but am not sure that I understand him rightly. As a specimen of his style, I will add his own words, which the reader will interpret as he can:

"The writer of his '*Life*,' (the first modern) speaks of a '*lost ballad*,' which added fuel, he says, to '*the knight's before conceived anger*,' and '*redoubled the prosecution*,' and calls the ballad '*the first essay of Shakspeare's poetry*:' one stanza of it which has the appearance of genuine was put into the editor's hands many years ago by an ingenious gentleman (grandson of its preserver) with this account of the way in which it descended to him. Mr. Thomas Jones who dwelt at Turbich a village in Worcestershire a few miles from Stratford upon Avon, and died in the year 1703, aged upwards of ninety, remembered to have heard from several old people at Stratford the story of Shakspeare's robbing Sir Thomas Lucy's park, and their account of it

also this anecdote was communicated, by a relation of Mr. Jones. I have since been furnished with the *entire* song, which was found in a chest of drawers,

agreed with Mr. Rowe's, with this addition,—that the ballad written against Sir Thomas by Shakspeare was stuck upon his park-gate, which exasperated the knight to apply to a lawyer at Warwick to proceed against him. Mr. Jones had put down in writing the first stanza of this ballad, which was all he remembered of it, and Mr. Thomas Wilkes (my grandfather) transmitted it to my father by memory, who also took it down in writing, and his copy is this [Mr. Capel then gives the first stanza]. An exact transcript, bating the *O* [Sing o lowsie Lucy]: "to which is added a note, telling us that "the people of those parts pronounce *Lowsie* like *Lucy*." "Mr. Jones of whom we had it [this stanza] originally was also the hander-down of *that* anecdote which has been given you in a note upon *As You Like It* [in Mr. Capel's commentaries on Shakspeare, in quarto], and of *this* anecdote Mr. Wilkes quotes another confirmation in the person of Mr. Oldys, a late stage antiquarian."

[Query. Of which of these anecdotes does this writer mean to name Mr. Oldys as the voucher? I suppose of that in *As You Like It*; though the word *this*, which he has used, should seem to relate to that which we are now considering.]

As I have not the smallest doubt that the whole of this ballad is a modern invention, it is hardly worth while to examine the evidence concerning this first stanza: nor, indeed, is it very easy to comprehend Mr. Capel's account. He first tells us, that this stanza was put into his hands, many years ago, by an ingenious gentleman, grandson of its preserver. I suppose, "by the ingenious gentleman," he means Mr. Thomas Wilkes, whom he afterwards calls his grandfather. He then tells us, that though Mr. Jones had put it down in writing, and, we are to presume, gave it in writing to Mr. Wilkes, that gentleman transmitted it to his [Mr. Capel's] father *by memory*; and from his father's *written copy*, thus founded on a memorial copy, he gives it to his readers, though he has previously told them that, many years ago, a *written* copy was put into his hands by the grandson of the preserver

that formerly belonged to Mrs. Dorothy Tyler⁷, of Shottery, near Stratford, who died in 1778, at the age of eighty, and which I shall insert in the Appendix ; being fully persuaded that one part of this ballad is just as genuine as the other; that is, that the whole is a forgery. The greater part of it is evidently

of this rarity, which, being one step nearer the original, should seem to carry with it more authority.

I may add, that the other anecdote, which is said to be also derived from Mr. Jones [that one of Shakspeare's brothers lived till after the Restoration, and recollected having seen our poet play the part of Adam, in *As You Like It*], is utterly impossible to be true, as I shall show in its proper place. So much for Mr. Capel's account of these verses.

Mr. Oldys thus introduces the stanza of this ballad preserved by him, which corresponds exactly with Mr. Capel's copy :

" There was a very aged gentleman living in the neighbourhood of Stratford (where he died fifty years since), who had not only heard from several old people in that town of Shakspeare's transgression, but could remember the first stanza of that bitter ballad, which, repeating to one of his acquaintance, *he preserved* it in writing, and here it is, neither better nor worse, but faithfully transcribed from the copy, which his relation very courteously communicated to me :

" A parliemente member, a justice of peace,

" At home a poor scare-crowe, at London an asse,

" If lowsie is Lucy, as some volke miscalle it,

" Then Lucy is lowsie whatever befall it :

" He thinks himself greate,

" Yet an asse in his state

" We allowe by his ears but with asses to mate.

" If Lucy is lowsie, as some volke miscalle it,

" Sing lowsie Lucy, whatever befall it."

⁷ She was sister to Samuel Tyler, Esquire, who purchased an estate, at Shottery, from the heir of Mr. Richard Quiney of London, and died at Shottery, in June, 1768, aged seventy.

formed on various passages in the first scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which certainly afford ground for believing that our author, on some account or other, had not the most profound respect for Sir Thomas Lucy. The *dozen* white *lucies*, however, which Shallow is made to commend as "a good coat," was not Sir Thomas Lucy's coat of arms; though Mr. Theobald asserts that it is found on the monument of one of the family, as represented by Dugdale. No such coat certainly is found, either in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, or in the church of Charlecote, where I, in vain, sought for it. It is probable that the deviation from the real coat of the Lucies, which was gules, *three lucies hariant*, argent⁸, was

⁸ It is remarkable, that the seal used by Sir Thomas Lucy, was not that which is placed over his tomb, and which all the heralds have ascribed to his family, "gules, three Lucies *hariant* argent," but three of the same little fishes *braced* or *entwined*; similar, in this respect, to a coat assigned to another ancient family. See Ferne's *Blazon of Gentry*, 4to. 1584, p. 232. "This [the shield in the margin] you will *confess* to agree with the name; and yet it is honourable as may be. It is the coat of Geoffrey Lord Lucy. He did bear gules, three lucies *hariant*, argent."

In a subsequent page, the same author adds, "In like manner, Troutbeck hath taken up three trouts, whose coat, for the order of bearing the charge, I will set before your face, in this scutcheon. This shield is azure, three trouts *braced in triangles* argent, borne by the name of Troutbeck."

A similar conceit may be observed in the arms of the Arundel family, which are sable, six *swallows* argent. In like manner, the family of Roche, who were Viscounts Fermoy, in Ireland, bore three *roches* in their arms.

The quibble in the first scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, without question, was intended to allude to the arms of Sir

intentionally made by our poet, that the application might not be too direct, and give offence to Sir Thomas Lucy's son, who, when this play was written, was living ⁹, and much respected, at Stratford.

Other attempts have been made to recover this much sought-for ballad; and, if we are to believe the author of a Manuscript History of the Stage, full of forgeries and falsehoods of various kinds ¹, which I

Thomas Lucy, and the pronunciation of the time aided the allusion. *Lowzy*, I have no doubt, was pronounced, as it is yet in Scotland, *Loozy*; and the name of *Lucy*, as pronounced in Warwickshire [*Loosy*], had a very similar sound.

In allusion to this coat of arms, and to his surname, Dr. William Lucy (grandson to Shakspeare's Sir Thomas Lucy), who finally became Bishop of St. David's, published in 1657, "*Observations, &c. on Hobbes's Leviathan*," under the disguised name of Christopher Pike; on which Waller very gravely observes, that "no Englishman, who had not dabbled into Latin, would have changed so good a name as Lucy into that of a fish." But we see, the Bishop did not need to have recourse to the Latin, *lucius*; the language of heraldry, at least, furnished him the same word anglicised.

⁹ Sir Thomas Lucy, the elder, the supposed prosecutor of Shakspeare, died at Charlecote, in the year 1600, as appears from the following entry in the register of that parish:

"Sir Thomas Lucy, Knight, departed this life the 6th day of July, 1600, and was buried the 16th of the same month."

He was, therefore, at his death, in the sixty-ninth year of his age [see the note quoted in p. 123]. In the inquisition taken upon his death, at Warwick, September 26, 43 Eliz. 1601, he is said to have died on the 7th of July; and so says his funeral certificate, authenticated by his son. The same inquisition states that his son, Sir Thomas, was, at the time of taking it, forty-three years old, and upwards. Esc. 43 Eliz. p. 6. n. 7.

¹ William Chetwood, formerly prompter of Drury Lane theatre, the unblushing fabricator of numerous unseen and non-existing

perused some years ago, two stanzas of it were rescued from oblivion by the learned Joshua Barnes, from a songstress in Stratford, about the year 1690. The writer of these spurious verses, which are given below, unluckily did not know that the wife of Sir Thomas Lucy, whom he has represented as a wanton, was a lady of the most exemplary piety and virtue; and that a very high eulogy on her excellent qualities is yet to be seen in the church of Charlecote, written, as the author of it has mentioned, "by him who knew her best;" without doubt, her husband, who has particularly praised her for her exemption

editions of Shakspeare's plays, of which he published a fictitious catalogue, in 1751, while he was in the Marshalsea of Dublin, was, I suspect, the author of this Manuscript History of the Stage, which, from some circumstances mentioned in it, appears to have been written some time between April, 1727, and October, 1730. The passage alluded to is as follows:

"Here we shall observe, that the learned Mr. Joshua Barnes, late Greek Professor of the University of Cambridge, baiting about forty years ago at an inn in Stratford, and hearing an old woman singing part of the above-said song, such was his respect for Mr. Shakspeare's genius, that he gave her a new gown for the two following stanzas in it; and, could she have said it all, he would (as he often said in company, when any discourse has casually arose about him) have given her ten guineas:

"Sir Thomas was too covetous,

"To covet so much deer,

"When horns enough upon his head

"Most plainly did appear.

"Had not his worship one deer left?

"What then? He had a wife

"Took pains enough to find him horns

"Should last him during life."

“from any crime or vice,” and for “her love and truth, and faithfull adherence to her marriage vows².”

But to this, which has passed current for above a century, and to all the circumstantial evidence by which it seems to be supported, I have a very plain tale to oppose. I conceive it will very readily be granted that Sir Thomas Lucy could not lose that of which he never was possessed; that from him who is not master of any deer, no deer could be stolen. It is agreed, that there never was a park at Charlecote; and, if the knight never eat any venison but what came out of the park of Fulbroke, he certainly never partook of that delicacy; for he never was possessed of Fulbroke, nor was it enclosed in his time; having

² In the church of Charlecote is the following inscription, in honour of this lady:

“Here entombed lyeth the Lady Joyce Lucy, wife of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote in the county of Warwick, Knight, daughter and heir of Thomas Acton of Sutton in the county of Worcester, who departed out of this wretched world to her heavenly kingdome, the 10th day of Feb^r. in the year of our Lord God 1595 [1595-6], and of her age Ix and three; All the time of her life a true and faithful servant of her good God; never detected of any crime or vice; in religion—most sound, *in love to her husband most faithful and true*; in friendship most constant; to what in trust was committed to her, most secret; in wisdom excelling; in governing her house and bringing up of youth in the fear of God, that did converse with her, most rare, and singular. A great maintainer of hospitality; greatly esteemed of her betters; misliked of none unless of the envious. When all is spoken that can be said, a woman so furnished and garnished with virtue, as not to be bettered, and hardly to be equalled of any. As she lived most virtuously, so she dyed most godly.

“Set down by him that best did know what hath been written to be true, THOMAS LUCY.”

been disparked before he arrived at the age of manhood, in which state it continued during the whole of his life. In the first year of King Edward VI. John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, obtained a grant of the inheritance of this park; and on his attainder 1 Mar. the Queen [March 8, 1554-5] gave the pannage and herbage of it to Sir Francis Englefield, who was one of her principal favourites, and Master of the Court of Wards; and, a few years afterwards (4 & 5 Ph. & M.), she granted him the reversion of this *disparked* park (for so it is, again and again, expressly called), to hold of herself *in capite*. In the first year of Elizabeth, Sir Francis Englefield went into foreign parts; from whence, I believe, he never returned. Being a Roman Catholick, and leagued with the enemies of the Queen on the throne, on the 27th of March, in the thirteenth year of her reign [1571], a commission was issued, to seize all such lands as belonged to him into the Queen's hands. Whether he had, before that time, passed from him the disparked grounds of Fulbroke, I have not been able to ascertain; but, however that may be, they assuredly were not purchased by our Sir Thomas Lucy, nor was he ever possessed of them; as appears by the inquisition taken at Warwick, after his death [September 26, 1601], which recites all the lands of which he was seized, in the county of Warwick and elsewhere, and does not mention Fulbroke. Neither was his son, Sir Thomas Lucy, who survived his father but five years, ever possessed of this manor. The fact is, that it was purchased some time in the reign of James the First, by Sir Thomas Lucy, grandson of our Sir Thomas, who, as Dugdale has

truly stated, *renewed* the park, which, as we have seen, from the year 1554, had been disparked and unenclosed, and, by the addition of Hampton Woods, enlarged it considerably.

In further confirmation of what I have now stated, it may be observed, that, though Sir Thomas Lucy lived on a very amicable footing with the corporation of Stratford, we never find any notice of their receiving a buck from him, which they undoubtedly would have done, had he been possessed of a park so near them. To Sir John Hubaud, who lived at Ipsley, not many miles from Stratford, and to Sir Fulke Greville, the elder, of Beauchamps Court, near Alcester, and his son (afterwards Lord Broke), to these gentlemen alone, from 1576 to the year 1600, they appear to have been indebted for their venison feasts.

If, after all, it shall be said that Sir Thomas Lucy, though he had no park either at Charlecote, might yet, without any royal leave, have had some deer in his grounds, and that still our poet may have been guilty of the trespass which has been imputed to him, the objector must be told that no such grounds³ were protected by the common law, every one having right to kill thereon all beasts of chase as *feræ naturæ*; and that the penalties of the statute

³ "A park is an enclosed chace, extending only over a man's own grounds. The word park, indeed, properly signifies an enclosure: but yet it is not every field or common, which a gentleman chuses to surround with a wall or paling, and to stock with a herd of deer, that is thereby constituted a legal park; for the king's grant, or, at least, immemorial prescription, is necessary to make it so." *Blackstone*, ii. 38.

of Elizabeth, already mentioned⁴, as well as preceding statutes on this subject, extended only to offences committed in a legal park, our author, had he even been guilty of the act imputed to him, would not have fallen within the peril of the law. He might, indeed, have been proceeded against by an action of trespass; but it never has been alleged that any civil suit was instituted against Shakspeare on this ground. In truth, the objection which I have now stated is scarcely worth considering; for of keeping deer in unenclosed grounds no example can be produced.

That there never was a park at Charlecote, is very easily proved. It is well known that, from the time of the Norman conquest, in consequence of the principle of the feudal law, that the king is the ultimate proprietor of all the lands of the kingdom, which are all considered as derived from him, and of his right by the common law, and by virtue of his royal prerogative, to all *bona vacantia*, which all beasts of chase are supposed to be, no person could possess a legal park but by royal licence, or immemorial prescription. Hence it follows that, strictly speaking, no man was entitled, at common law, to hunt or sport even upon his own soil. By the grant of a chase licence to make a park or free warren, becoming, as Sir William Blackstone has well expressed it, a royal game-keeper, he obtained not only the power, but the sole and exclusive power of killing all beasts of venery, and all fowls of warren, so far as his chase, park, or warren, extended; and it was unlawful, at common law, for any other person to kill any beasts

⁴ See p. 135.

of chase, or fowls of warren, within its precincts. Leland, whose journeys through England, as has been already mentioned, were made between the years 1536 and 1542, never fails to take notice of every park that he passed by ; but does not mention any park belonging to the Lucy family, though he rode by the mansion-house and demesne of Sir William Lucy, the father of Sir Thomas, which he has briefly described in his journey from Warwick to Stratford : Charlecote, therefore, certainly could not boast of any park by prescription or immemorial usage. If it shall be said that his son, Sir Thomas Lucy, at a subsequent period, might have made a park there, the answer is, that this could not have been done without a royal grant or licence : and it appears that he never did obtain any such franchise ; no trace of such a grant being to be found on the patent rolls, during the whole reign of Elizabeth.

SECTION IX.

When our poet's mind was first applied to theatrical subjects, is a curious speculation, on which, however, I am not furnished with sufficient documents to warrant any certain conclusion. At what time soever he removed from Stratford, he certainly had an opportunity of observing many modes of life in his native town, and his resolution to tread the stage might have been formed before he had ever seen London. While he was yet a child, so early as 1569, the year when his father was chief magistrate, the Queen's company of comedians, and the Earl of Worcester's servants, visited Stratford ; in 1573, Lord Leicester's players were

there; in the following year the comedians of Lord Warwick, and those of Lord Worcester; and in 1576 the latter company and Lord Leicester's servants again visited that town⁵. In the period between 1579, when our poet was fifteen years old, and 1587, in which, or the preceding year, he may be supposed to have migrated to the metropolis, some distinguished company of players entertained the inhabitants of Stratford and its neighbourhood, by their dramattick exhibitions every year but one; Lord Strange's servants, and the company licensed by the Countess Dowager of Essex, in 1579; Lord Derby's servants, in 1580; Lord Worcester's and Lord Berkeley's, in 1581; Lord Worcester's alone, in 1582; the servants of Lord Berkeley and Lord Chandois, in 1583; the servants of Lord Oxford, Lord Warwick, and Lord Essex, in 1584; and a company of which the name is not specified, in 1586. In the following year, no less than four different companies of comedians visited this town, among which were her Majesty's servants⁶.

⁵ In the chamberlain's account for 1569, I find the following articles:

"Item, payd to the Quenes players, ix*s*.

"Item, payd to the erle of Worcesters pleers, xii*d*."

In 1573—"Item, p^d to Mr. Bayly for the Erle of Leicesters players, vi*s*. viii*d*."

In 1574—"Given my lord of Warwicks players, xvi*s*.

"P^d the earle of Worcesters players, v*s*. viii*d*."

In 1577, "P^d to my lord of Leicesters players, xv*s*.

"P^d to my lord of Wosters players, ii*s*. iiij*d*."

⁶ 1579. "Item paid to my Lord Strange men the xith day of February at the cōmaundement of M^r Bayliffe, v*s*.

"P^d at the cōmandement of M^r Baliffe to the countys of Essex plears, xiv*s*. vi*d*."

The usual place of representation appears to have been the Guildhall, which seems somewhat extraordinary, as perhaps no town in England had in it at that time more barns, any one of which should seem to have been better adapted to such exhibitions than the chamber or guildhall, and would certainly have held a more numerous audience. During several of the following years, with which we have less concern,

1510. "P^d to the earle of Darbyes players at the cōmaundement of M^r Baliffe, viiis. ivd."

1581. "P^d to the earl of Worcester his players, iijs. iiijd.

"P^d to the Lord Bartlett his players, iijs. ijd."

[*Bartley* was often written formerly for *Berkeley*.]

Thus, in Dugdale's *Chronica Series*, p. 105, we have "*Robert Bartley* similiter, 28 Feb. Pat. 2 Car. p. 15;" and in the next page but one, the same person is called *Robert Barkley*:

"Rob. Barkley constit. serv. regis ad legem, 12 April, Pat. 3 Car. p. 8."

1582. "Payed to Henry Russel for the earle of Worcesters players, vs."

1583. "Payd to M^r Alderman that he layd downe to the Lord Bartlitte his players, vs."

"P^d to the Lord Shandowes players, iiis. ijd."

1584. "Geven to my lord of Oxfords pleers, iijs. iiijd.

"Geven to the earle of Warr. pleers, iijs. iiijd.

"P^d to the earle of Essex pleers, iijs. viijd."

1586. "P^d to M^r Tiler for *the* pleyers, vs."

1587. "Item, p^d for mending of a forme that was broken by the *Quenes* players, xviid.

"Item, Gyven to the *Quenes* players, xxs.

"It. Gyven to my lord of Essex players, vs.

"It. Gyven to therle of Leycester his players, xs.

"It. Gyven to another companye, iijs. iiijd.

"It. gyven to my lord of Staffords men, iijs. iiijd."

Accounts of the chamberlains of Stratford in the respective years.

various companies of players occasionally visited Stratford⁷. At length, at the very end of the Queen's reign, this town appears to have been infected by the new and illiberal doctrines of puritanism, which afterwards overturned the church and state, and banished every art and every elegance from England. Before, however, the dominion of the *Saints* was completely established, their disciples at Stratford were able to procure the following anathema to be issued out by the corporation, against the itinerant sons of Thespis:

“ 17 Dec. 45 Eliz. 1602.

“ At this Hall yt is ordered, that there shall be no

⁷ 1592. “ Paid to the Queenes players, xxs.” *The account of Henry Wilson, chamberlain for 1592.*

1593. “ Paid unto the Queenes players, xxs.” *Account of John Sadler for 1593.*

1596. “ July 16 and 17, paid the Queens plairs, xs.” *Memorandum made by Richard Quiney at the end of a paper containing an account of the charges of his journey to London in that year.*

It appears by another memorandum on the same paper, that Lord Derby's and Lord Ogle's servants also visited Stratford in that year.

1597. “ Item. p^d for four company of players, xixs. iiij^d.” *Account of John Smith, chamberlain for 1597.*

At Stratford, however, what old Ben complains of in his *Discoveries*, was experienced as well as at London, and “ the puppets were seen in spight of the players,” as appears by an item in the account of 1597: “ Item, P^d to a man at Mr. Lewis by the appointment of Mr. Sturley then Bailiffe for *the Show of the citie of Norwiche*, iiis. iiij^d.”

So also in the chamberlain's account for 1583:

“ Payd to Davi Jones and his companye for his pastyme at Whitsontyde, xiiis. iiij^d.”

Davy Jones was an inhabitant of Stratford.

plays or interludes played in the chamber, the guild-hall, nor in any parte of the howse or courte, from hensforward, upon payne that whoever of the baylicf, aldermen, or burgesses of the boroughe shall gyve leave or license thereunto, shall forfeyt for everie offence—xs.⁸”

In consequence of this order, during the whole reign of James the First, I have found but two theatrical performances at Stratford; and at length the puritanical zeal went so far, that in the year 1622 the king's players were paid for *not* playing in the hall⁹.

In his native town, as I have already observed, Shakspeare had an opportunity of seeing a good deal of life in miniature, and many of those objects which he afterwards delineated with such a masterly hand. Stratford was by no means so inconsiderable a town, even in his time, as I believe it has been generally supposed. Camden, in 1586, calls it *emporium non inelegans*; and at a still earlier period it is represented as “one of the fairest market towns in Warwickshire.”

⁸ Registr. Burg. Stratf. B.

⁹ The account of Richard Robins, chamberlain for the year 1622. The sum paid to the King's company for depriving the town of the entertainment which these comedians meant to have given, was only *six shillings*.

We find the same puritanical disposition in other places about this period. So in an account of the chamberlains of Kingston upon Thames, in 1621: “P^d by M^r Bailiff to a company of Players, because they *should not play* in the Townhall, Ol. 10s. Od.” See Lysons's *Environs of London*, i. 234.

Again, in 1625: “To the Kings Players, because *they should not play* in the Townhall nor in the towne, for *five yeares*, Ol. 10s. Od.” Ibid.

The number of houses was, I believe, not less than three hundred in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth; in the parish, which, we have already seen, was in circuit fourteen miles, there were "fifteen hundred *houſeling* people," that is, persons who received the communion, before she ascended the throne; and in 1590 the parish was supposed to contain three thousand souls. They had two great fairs every year, to which many persons from the adjoining counties repaired. Though the charter did not invest the corporation with the power of holding courts-leet, they exercised this and several other rights by prescription, with the sanction of the lord of the manor, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, who frequently made them a personal visit¹; and at Easter and Michaelmas every year their court-leet sat. The leet was usually held at the college mansion-house², of which some account

¹ "P^d for the chardges at the Swanne the fyrste of October, when my Lorde of Warrwick was here, xiis. iiijd.

"Payed to Willyam Smyth for halfe a pound of sugar y^t was geven to my Lord when he was here, xd.

"Payed for an oxe for my Lord of Warr. viil. xis. Od.

"Payed for grass and dryving of the same oxe, iis."

Account of Thomas Gordayne, chamberlain for 1582.

"P^d John Smith upon his bill for wyne bestowed upon my Lord of Warricke, xis. viiid.

"Item for a pottel of claret wyne a pottel of sacke and half a pound of sugar for my lords officers at the *grete Leet*, iij^s. id."

Account of Richard Courte, from Mich. 1583, to Mich. 1584.

In the chamberlain's account for 1576, I find this entry:

"Paid for candells the Lete court day at night, iiijd."

² "Item paid for wyne to the Colledge when the Leight [Leet] was, vs." *Account of John Taylor and Anthony Tanner, chamberlains for 1578.*

already has been given. They had, we have seen, a court of justice, which sat every fortnight in the year, and was attended by several skilful attorneys, some of whom resided in the town. They were frequently visited by the principal justices of peace for the county,

“ Payd for a pottel of clarett, and pottel of sacke and half a pound of suger to my lords officers at the Lyght [Leet], iiis. ijd.”

Account of Richard Courte from Mich. 1582, to Mich. 1583.

Again, in the account for the year 1585:

“ Paide for one gallant of clarett wine sent to my Lords officers when they kept the Lete, ijs.

“ One pottle of sacke, xvid.

“ Sugar halfe a lb. ix*d*.

“ Paide for wine sent to my Lo. his officers at the Lete after Michaelmas, one pottle of sacke, xvid.

“ One pottle of claret wyne, xii*d*.

“ Sugar, halfe a lb. ix*d*.”

In the account for 1586:

“ P^d for ij quarts of clarett wyne and a quart of sack at the Lete in April, ijs. vid.

“ P^d for half a pound of sugar, viii*d*.

“ P^d to M^r Bailiffe for wine and sugar that he gave to my Lo. his [my Lord's] Steward, ijs. ijd.”

In the account for 1587:

“ Item for wyne and sugar bestowed upon my Lord of Warr. hys Steward at the two Letes, iiij*s*. id.”

Again, in 1588:

“ It. for wyne and sugar the 21 of April bestowed on the Steward of the Lete, xvid.

“ It. for wyne and sugar bestowed upon hym at the Lete in October, 1588, xxiid.”

The leet was, however, sometimes held at one of the principal inns, as appears by the account of John Smith, chamberlain for the year 1601:

“ Paid for a potell of claret wyn and a quart of sacke at the Swaŋe when M^r Ballye did dynner with M^r Fauster at the *Beare*, at the great Leat there then kept, ijs. iiij*d*.”

(Sir Fulke Greville the elder, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir John Harrington, Mr. Ralph Verney, Mr. Clement Throckmorton, Mr. Henry Goodcere, Mr. Roger Burgoyne, &c.) as reviewers of the trained men, as commissioners of subsidy³, and at the quarter sessions⁴; who, without doubt, furnished the admiring crowd with many "wise saws and modern instances." In consequence of the criminal jurisdiction of the leet and sessions, they had stocks, a pillory, and a gaol⁵; in which our poet could not fail of finding a "wild *Halfcan*," and some "rapier-and-dagger men:" while

³ See Appendix.

⁴ "1587. It. payd by Mr Jefferies for the fyne and for the fees for a presentment of a highe wey at the Quarter Sessions, *xs. viiijd.*

"1604. P^d for lyme to mend the guildhall before the Quarter Sessions, Sep. xxviii. *ixd.*

"P^d for ij bottles of claret wyne bestowed on the Justices at the Quarter Sessions, Octob. 2. *ijjs.*

"It. to Heminge [the Beadle] for candles used at the Quarter Sessions, *id.*

"1570. Item paid to Humphrey Getley for mending of the stoxe, *xiid.*

"1566. Item paid to M^r Tyler towards the reparacōn of the Pyllorie, xvijjs. *vid.*

"1583. P^d to Richard Cowell for mending the pillory and gunne stooles, *xiid.*

"1580. P^d to Richard Hornbie for lincks and staples to make fast the prisoners, *xiid.*

"1592. P^d the iij day of Julie to Richard Waterman for a sill for the Guile hall, *ijjs.*"

Chamberlain's Accounts for the respective years.

⁵ The gaol was in Bridge-street, as appears from a memorandum in A Survey of the estate of the corporation made 24 Nov. 1582: "The Jayle haull lacketh a syll on the syde towards Trowt's house." Trowt, who was a butcher, lived in Bridge-street.

he annual muster of the trained soldiers could not exhibit *Mouldys*, *Bullcalfs*, and *Feebles*, in abundance.

Supposing this extraordinary man to have left Stratford, from whatsoever cause, about the year 1586 or 1587, it is now our business to attend him to the metropolis. And here we are presented with another anecdote concerning him, to which, in my apprehension, no credit ought to be given.

“In the time of Elizabeth (says Dr. Johnson), coaches being yet uncommon, and hired coaches not at all in use, those who were too proud, too tender, or too idle to walk, went on horseback to any distant business or diversion. Many came on horseback to the play; and when Shakspeare fled to London from the error of a criminal prosecution, his first expedient was to wait at the door of the playhouse, and hold the horses of those that had no servants, that they might be ready again after the performance. In this office he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness, that in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will. Shakspeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse, while Will. Shakspeare could be had. This was the first dawn of better fortune. Shakspeare, finding more horses put into his hands than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when Will. Shakspeare was summoned, were immediately to present themselves, *I am Shakspeare’s boy, Sir*. In time Shakspeare found higher employment; but as long as the practice of riding to the playhouse continued, the waiters that held the horses retained the appellation of *Shakspeare’s boys*.”

The genealogy of this story, it must be acknowledged, is very correctly deduced. It first appeared in print in *The Lives of the English Poets*, published in 1753, under the name of Mr. Cibber. "Sir William D'Avenant (says the author of that book) told it to Mr. Betterton, who communicated it to Mr. Rowe; Mr. Rowe told it to Mr. Pope, and Mr. Pope told it to Dr. Newton, the late editor of *Milton*; and from a gentleman who heard it from him, 'tis here related⁶." This gentleman, without doubt, was Dr. Johnson, who was a school-fellow of Bishop Newton's, and has himself introduced the anecdote in his edition of *Shakspeare*, published in 1765, and whose amanuensis, Mr. Robert Shiels, had a considerable share in the compilation above-mentioned⁷. We have here cer-

⁶ Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, vol. i. p. 130.

⁷ As this anecdote does not stand on the authority of Mr. Shiels, or Mr. Theophilus Cibber, the person here meant, it is unnecessary to enter into any disquisition concerning their respective claims to the work here quoted. However, as this curious circumstance of literary history has been involved in some confusion, it may not be improper to make some observations upon it. It is observable that Dr. Johnson told Mr. Boswell, "that the work was entirely composed by Mr. Shiels. The booksellers (he added) gave Theophilus Cibber, who was then in prison, ten guineas to allow Mr. Cibber to be put in the title-page as the author: by this a double imposition was intended; in the first place, that it was the work of a Cibber at all, and in the second place, that it was the work of old Cibber." *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 8vo. ii. 392.

Mr. Boswell adds, that Dr. Johnson has given the same account in his *Life of Hammond*, where he says, "the manuscript of Shiels is now in my possession."

The writer of an article in the *Monthly Review* for May, 1792, has strenuously endeavoured to refute this statement. "The alleged design of making the complement pass for the work of old

tainly a very fair pedigree ; notwithstanding which, I am utterly incredulous with respect to this first introduction of our poet to theatrical reputation. I do

Mr. Cibber (he asserts) is founded on an uncharitable construction, no such thought being harboured either by the proprietors or first designer of the work." To this, on the part of Dr. Johnson, it is only necessary to reply, that the thoughts or intentions of men are inscrutable ; we can only judge of them by their actions. With what possible view could the name of Mr. Cibber be put to this work, but that it should be supposed to be the production of the father, who was known throughout England by that designation, and not that of his son, with whom for more than twenty years the publick had been acquainted by the title of *Theophilus Cibber*, and who during his father's life-time had no title to the designation here given him ?

"The materials for this work (according to the same anonymous writer's account) were collected and digested by Mr. Shiels, for which he was paid seventy pounds ; but his work was revised and corrected in the *proof sheets*, by Theophilus Cibber, who added some new lives and notes, and received for his trouble twenty guineas in the first instance, and at a subsequent period some additional sum ; and *soon afterwards* (we are further told) embarked for Dublin, but the ship was cast away, and every person on board perished." He embarked for Dublin five or six years after this transaction, in the year 1758. I do not perceive any material difference between these two accounts. Mr. Theophilus Cibber is, indeed, not here acknowledged to have been in prison, though, I believe, this was the fact ; and there is a slight mistake in the sum said by Dr. Johnson to have been paid him ; nor does Dr. Johnson appear to have been acquainted with his labours, as a corrector, vamer, and reviser of the printed proof sheets of Shiels's work ; but *his* work undoubtedly it *originally* was ; and Dr. Johnson had probably perused it in its original form ; and in that form, it is believed, it was destroyed, with several of his own manuscripts.

The true state of the case, however, yet remains to be disclosed. The fact, I believe, is, that the only valuable additional information inserted in this work by Theophilus Cibber, was de-

not, however, object to this anecdote, because, as has been suggested by Mr. Steevens, Mr. Rowe, having omitted to insert it in his *Life of Shakspeare*, must therefore be supposed not to have believed it; for though he did believe it, he might not think it worth insertion: nor do I object to it on another ground taken by Mr. Steevens, who doubts whether it was then the custom to ride on horseback to the play. "The most popular of the theatres (says that gentle-

rived from the notes of the late Mr. Oldys and Mr. Coxeter. "When I left London (says Oldys, in his manuscript notes on *Langbaine*) in the year 1724, to reside in Yorkshire, I left in the care of the Rev. Mr. B——'s family, with whom I had several years lodged, among many other books, goods, &c. a copy of this *Langbaine*, in which I had written several notes, and references to further knowledge of these poets. When I returned to London in 1730, I understood my books had been dispersed; and afterwards becoming acquainted with Mr. Coxeter, I found that he had bought my *Langbaine* of a bookseller. As he was a great collector of plays and poetical books, this must have been of service to him; and he has kept it so *carefully* from my sight, that I never could have the opportunity of transcribing into this I am now writing in, the notes I had collected in that. He died on the 10th of April, being Easter Sunday, 1747, of a fever, which grew from a cold caught at an auction of books over Exeter Change, or by sitting up late at the tavern afterwards."

After Mr. Coxeter's death, his books and MSS. were purchased by Osborne, the well-known bookseller of Gray's Inn, and were offered for sale in the year 1748. The book in question, No. 10181, in Osborne's catalogue for that year, was purchased either by T. Cibber, or by some bookseller who afterwards put it into his hands; and from the notes of Oldys and Coxeter, the principal part of the additional matter furnished by Cibber for the *Lives of the Poets*, was unquestionably derived. Mr. Coxeter's MSS. are mentioned in the title-page, but Oldys is unnoticed. Probably the secret history of this business was not then known.

man) were on the **Bankside**; and we are told by the satirical writers of the time, that the usual mode of conveyance to these places was by water; but not a single writer so much as hints at the custom of riding to them, or at the practice of having horses held during the time of the exhibition.”—In this and many other disquisitions, a little attention to dates will save much trouble. It should be recollected, that we are now speaking of the year 1586, or 1587, at which time, though Southwark was not without a theatre, the most popular playhouses appear to have been that specifically called the Theatre, which was situated at Newington Butts, and the Green Curtain in Shoreditch⁸. To the former of these two theatres in summer, and to the latter in winter, as well as to the plays performed by the choir-boys of St. Paul’s, and the representations at the Bull in Bishopsgate-street, the Cross Keys in Gracechurch-street, and the Bell-Savage on Ludgate-hill, the spectators were under the neces-

⁸ The Lord Chamberlain’s servants, in which company Shakspeare first entered himself, performed, till the year 1600, at The Curtain in Shoreditch. See The History of the Stage, vol. iii. There had been a theatre in Whitefriars, but it was pulled down before the period we are now speaking of.

In a sermon preached by John Stockwood in 1578, the preacher, computing the whole sum made by the theatre in a year, speaks of eight places for stage exhibitions in the *city*. As his object was to aggravate the mischief arising from plays, he undoubtedly would not have left Southwark out of his account, had there been any playhouses on the Bankside.—Stephen Gosson, in his *Plays confuted in Five several Actions*, no date, but written about 1580, mentions exhibitions at Paul’s [St. Paul’s school-room], the Blackfriars, and every other playhouse in London, but says not a word of Southwark.

sity of going either on foot or on horseback, coaches being then certainly not in ordinary use⁹. Nor is it true, that no writer of the time has alluded to this mode of conveyance to the theatre; for Sir John Davies, and Dekker, himself a dramattick writer, expressly allude to it¹. Though the fine gentleman

⁹ According to the writer of an old pamphlet called A Dialogue between Coach and Sedan, the first coach used in England was one given by the Earl of Arundel to Queen Elizabeth, in which she went to St. Paul's cross, to hear a sermon [preached on account of a victory] obtained over the Spaniards in 1588. Anderson, in his Hist. of Commerce, p. 421, says Fitzallan, Earl of Arundel, introduced the use of coaches in England in 1580; and the continuator of Stowe's Annals says a coach was made for the Queen by a Dutchman in 1564. However this may have been, it is certain that coaches were not in ordinary use when Shakespeare may be supposed to have first visited London.

* "Faustus, nor lord, nor knight, nor wise, nor old,

"To every place about the Towne doth ride;

"*He rides into the fields, Playes to behold,*" &c.

Epigrams written about the year 1590; printed at Middlebourg, no date, but about 1598.

See also The Guls Horne-booke, by Thomas Dekker, 4to. 1609:

"By this time [he is describing an ordinary] the pairings of fruit and cheese are in the voyder, cardes and dice lie stinking in the fire; the guests are all up, the guilt rapiers ready to be hanged, the French lacquey and Irish footboy shrugging at the doores, *with their masters hobby horses to ride to the new play; that's the rendezvous, thither they are gallopt in post; let us take a pair of oares and row lustily after them.*" Here we see that even when the Globe theatre on the Bankside, in Southwark, was in high reputation, gentlemen frequently rode thither, instead of going by water.

Actors themselves rode to the playhouses in London. See Taylor's Wit and Mirth, § 30. "Master Field, the player, *riding up Fleet-street a great pace* [going probably to the play-house in Blackfriars], a gentleman called him and asked him what play was played that day;" &c.

whom he describes going from an ordinary to the play-house on horseback, appears to have been attended by a lackey, yet many of inferior rank, without doubt, rode thither, unaccompanied by a servant; and it is very natural to suppose, that the horses of such persons should have been held during the representation by boys, each of whom might obtain a livelihood by taking charge of several of those animals. I do not, therefore, I say, object to this anecdote on any of these grounds; but for the following reasons:

1. Because Sir William D'Avenant does not appear at an early period to have obtained any correct information concerning Shakspeare; as is evinced by another fact, which Mr. Rowe has expressly stated as derived from him; I mean Lord Southampton's large donation to our poet, which I shall hereafter prove to have been extremely exaggerated; and Mr. Betterton, though he was born about twenty years after Shakspeare's death, and had trod the stage before the Restoration, instead of making any inquiry about him in his youth, when that inquiry might perhaps have been attended with success, was obliged to go to Stratford in 1708, when he was above seventy years old, and our poet had been dead near a century, to pick up what intelligence he could get concerning him: and almost every part of the intelligence which he did procure, either there or elsewhere, proves to be erroneous.

2. Because I have myself discovered several circumstances relative to our author, and one particularly concerning his youngest brother, Edmond, immediately connected with his theatrical history, which neither D'Avenant nor Betterton appear to have

known; and which D'Avenant, if at an early period he had made any inquiries from Lowin or Taylor, or any of the old actors, concerning our poet's connexion with the stage, undoubtedly would have known. On this ground, therefore, I have also a right to assume that no such inquiries were made.

3. But, lastly, and principally, this anecdote is altogether unworthy of belief, because our author's circumstances and situation at this time, and the various extracts which I have just now given from the Records of Stratford, loudly reclaim against it. The original framer or relater of it should seem to have supposed him at this time a mere boy, "hanging loose upon society," without connexions and without friends; whereas, on the contrary, he had already "given hostages to fortune," having a wife and three children. His father had been bailiff of Stratford; and though about this time he withdrew from the corporation², and was not, as it should seem, in opulent, or even

² "Stratford } Ad aulam ibid. tent. vi. die Septembris anno
Burgus, } regni dñæ Elizabethe vicesimo octavo [1586]
William Tyler, Bailif.

"At this hall William Smythe and Richard Courte are chosen to be aldermen in the place of John Wheler and John Shaxspere; for that Mr. Wheler doth desyer to be put out of the companye, and Mr. Shaxspere doth not come to the halles, when they be warned, nor hath not done of long tyme." *Registr. Burg. Stratf. A.*

I find, on inspecting the records, that our poet's father had not attended at any hall for the seven preceding years.

John Shakspeare, the shoemaker, was sworn a constable the same day that his namesake was removed from his place as alderman.

easy circumstances, there is no reason to suppose that he did not still carry on his trade. He had himself visited the metropolis, together with his wife, a few years before; and it is not improbable that he had some connexions there. Whatever might induce his eldest son to remove from Stratford to London, it cannot be imagined that his father would there desert him, or leave him to gain a precarious livelihood by the menial office of holding horses at the door of a theatre; where, I may add, the having a number of youths under him, publicly distinguished by the name of *Shakspeare's boys*, was an expedient not very likely to contribute to that concealment, which his situation at that time has been supposed to require. Our poet's friend, Hamnet Sadler, who appears to have been godfather to his only son, and who was a substantial baker at Stratford, would certainly, in such an extremity, not have left him unassisted. Mr. Richard Quiney (the son of Adrian Quiney, an alderman and grocer of Stratford), who was not many years older than our poet, had doubtless been bred at the same school, and lived in intimacy with him, would also, without doubt, have lent him his assistance, and, had it been necessary, could have recommended him to Mr. Bartholomew Quiney (probably a relation), a rich cloth-worker, who was settled in London³. And it is not reasonable to suppose, that his countryman,

³ I found in the Prerogative Office, the will of Mr. Bartholomew Quiney, of Fleet-street, citizen and cloth-worker, made Feb. 27, 1593-4, and proved the 27th of March following. The name being very uncommon, I suspect he was a relation of the Quineys of Stratford.

Mr. Richard Field, the son of a tanner in Stratford, and a very eminent printer in London, whom our poet in 1593 employed to issue "the first *heir* of his invention" to the world, would have suffered an amiable and worthy youth to have remained in so degraded a state, without making some effort to rescue him from it. All these circumstances decidedly prove, in my apprehension, that this anecdote is a mere fiction. Even supposing that our author was driven from Stratford, which, from the circumstances already stated, is extremely improbable, may we not be perfectly assured, that antecedent to that time his inclination for the theatre had manifested itself (for he was now twenty-two or twenty-three years old), and that he had formed some acquaintance with Lord Warwick's, Lord Leicester's, or the Queen's company of comedians. The two former companies were the retainers of noblemen living within a few miles of Stratford (to one of whom the manor belonged), and frequently resorted to that town; and the latter visited it in 1587; perhaps also in the preceding year. And if he had formed any such acquaintance with those who belonged to the inside of the theatre, could he possibly be under the necessity of standing in an obscure situation at the outside of it? It is, I think, much more probable, that his own lively disposition made him acquainted with some of the principal performers who visited Stratford, the elder Burbage, or Knell, or Bentley; and that there he first determined to engage in that profession. Lord Leicester's servants, among whom was one of the performers just mentioned, James Burbage, the father of the celebrated tragedian,

had been honoured with a royal licence in 1574⁴, With this company, therefore, or the Queen's, or Lord Warwick's comedians, it is reasonable to suppose, that he agreed to enroll himself, and that with one or the other of them he first visited the metropolis.

SECTION X.

The period at which Shakspeare began to write for the stage, will, I fear, never be precisely ascertained, unless some manuscript or printed document, relating to him, which has hitherto eluded all our researches, shall fortunately be hereafter discovered. The books of the time, however, afford some glimpses of information on this interesting point, and may enable us to form at least a probable opinion upon it. Every circumstance, therefore, which may be found in them, in any way applicable to a question of great importance in the history of every literary man, should be sifted and examined with our utmost industry and care; every hint, however slight, must be seized and investigated, and every allusion, however dark or mysterious, must, if possible, be unfolded and explained. If, after all our pains, we shall not be able to gain our object, we yet may make a near approach to it; and shall at least have the satisfaction of reflecting—that nothing has been omitted to be done, which had the remotest tendency to attain it.

In forming a conjecture on this subject, some lines in Spencer's *Tears of the Muses* demand our particular attention; since if they related to Shakspeare,

⁴ See the *Historical Account of the English Stage*, vol. iii. p. 47.

as by some has been supposed, they would ascertain that he had acquired a considerable share of celebrity as a dramattick writer, some years before the end of 1590, when that piece was first published. That the reader may be fully master of the question, I shall here transcribe the whole passage. The subject of the poem, it should be remembered, is the decay of literature and patronage, which the Nine Muses in succession pathetically lament. After Calliope and Melpomene have uttered their complaints, Thalia, the Muse of Comedy, is introduced speaking as follows :

- “ Where be the sweete delights of *learning's* treasure ⁵,
 “ That wont with *comick* sock to beautifie
 “ The painted theatres, and fill with pleasure
 “ The listeners' eyes and eares with melodie;
 “ In which I *late* was wont to raine as Queene,
 “ And maske in mirth, with graces well besene?
 “ O, all is gone, and all that goodly glee
 “ Which wont to be the glorie of gay wits,
 “ Is laid abed, and no where now to see;
 “ And, in her roome, unseemly *Sorrow* ⁶ sits;

⁵ The words in this stanza exhibited in Italicks, are not so printed in the original edition of Spencer's poem. They are here thus distinguished, because some argument is founded upon them.

⁶ “Unseemly Sorrow, ugly Barbarisme.” We learn from Spencer's Ruins of Time, that he was in England in the latter end of the year 1588. In the summer of the following year, Sir Walter Raleigh having visited him in Ireland, he accompanied Raleigh in the autumn to England, and he appears to have resided there during the remainder of that year and part of the next, during which time, the first three books of his Faery Queen were printed. His representation of the degraded state of the stage, therefore, may be supposed to relate

“ With hollow brows and greisly countenance

“ Marring my joyous gentle dalliaunce :

principally to this period, and was doubtless drawn from his own observation. During several preceding years, his time was chiefly passed in Ireland; yet occasional visits even during that period gave him an opportunity of partaking of the “unhurtful sport” then furnished by theatrical exhibitions. The present poem, though in its title-page we find 1591, was certainly written in 1590 or before, and published probably in January or February, 1590-91; for in the Stationers’ Register, I find the following entry: “William Ponsonby, 29 *December*, 1590. For his copie under the hands of D’cor Stuller and both the Wardens, a booke entituled, Complaints, conteyning sundrye small poemes of the worlds vanity, *vid.*”

The wretched state of the stage in 1589 and 1590, is ascertained by the history and the productions of that period.

Of the tragedies which were then in vogue, or, as the poet expresses it, “tyranized over the minds of men,” and which, though the “offspring of *ugly barbarism* and brutish ignorance,” were preferred to any of the productions of the comick muse, the greater part have perished. Such of them, however, as have been preserved, fully justify the description here given of the miserable taste of that period. See particularly Tamburlain the Great, The Spanish Tragedy, The Battle of Alcazar, Selimus Emperour of the Turkes, The Wars of Cyrus, Solyman and Perseda, &c.

The preface to Tamburlaine, 8vo. 1590, as well as the piece itself, may afford a good comment on the poet’s words :

“Gentlemen, and courteous Readers whatsoever. I have hercin published in print for your sakes the tragicall discourse of the Scythian Shepheard, My hope is, that it will be now no lesse acceptable unto you, to reade after your serious affairs and studies, than it hath been latelie delightfull for manie of you to see, when the same was shewed in London upon stages. I have purposely omitted and left out some *fond and frivolous gestures*, digressing and in my opinion farre unmeet for the matter; which I thought might seeme rather tedious unto the wise, then any way else to be regarded; *though happilye they have bene of some con-*

" And, him beside, sits ugly Barbarisme,
 " And brutish Ignorance, ycrept of late
 " Out of dread darknes of the deep abysme,
 " Where being bredd, he light and heaven doth hate :
 " They in the mindes of men now tyrannize,
 " And the faire scene with rudenes foule disguise.

ceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what times they were shewed upon the stage in their graced deformities."

Of the comedies of this period, very few have come down to us ; but *Wily Beguiled*, *Mucedorus*, and the old *Taming of a Shrew*, which were highly admired, may serve to show, of what materials those of an inferior quality, which have perished, were made. The *jiggs* and other buffooneries, with which both tragedies and comedies were then frequently accompanied, are almost all lost.

In the plays exhibited at this period, the authors and actors took such liberties, that the state was obliged to interfere. Strype, in his *Additions to Stowe's Survey*, mentions that in 1589, the servants of the Lord Strange and the Lord Admiral were, on the suggestion of Mr. Tylney [then Master of the Revels], restrained from playing, for their scurrilitie and licentiousness. In the same year (Nov. 12), the very period when Spencer appears to have visited England, and to which his verses seem particularly to relate, the Privy Council wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor of London (of which a minute may be found in the *History of the English Stage*), commanding him "to appoint a sufficient person, learned and of judgment, to join with the Master of the Revels and a Divine to be named by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the reforming of the plays daily exercised and presented publickly about the city of London ; where [in] the players take upon them *without judgment or decorum* to handle matters of divinity and state." This is the first notice which is found of a licenser for stage entertainments, to which appointment the "scoffing scurrility" alluded to by Spencer, appears to have given rise ; as, in the last century, a similar degree of licentiousness produced an Act of Parliament for the same purpose.

In an old tract entitled *Martin's Months Mind*, which also ap-

" All places they with follie have possesst,
 " And with vaine toyes the vulgare entertaine,
 " But me have banished, with all the rest
 " That whilome wont to waite upon my traine;—
 " Fine Counterfesaunce ⁷ and unhurtful Sport,
 " Delight and Laughter, deckt in seemly sort.

peared in 1589, we find a further confirmation of what has been here stated: " Never," says the writer, " were greater tragedies tendered abroad, nor *higher comedies* traversed at home."—" Roscius plays in the Senate house; asses play upon harpes, the stage is brought into the church, and *Vices make plaies of church-matters*."

⁷ By *counterfaisance*, Spencer appears to have meant *counterfeit* or fictitious representation, imitating real life. So, again, in Mother Hubbard's Tale:

" — the fond ape him selfe uprearing hy,
 " Upon his tip-toes stalketh statelie by,
 " As if he were some great Magnifico,
 " And boldly doth among the boldest go:
 " And his man Reynard with fine *counterfaisance*
 " Supports his credit and his countenance."

Again, in The Faery Queen, b. i. c. viii. st. 49:

" Such is the face of falshood, such the sight
 " Of fowle Duessa, when her borrowed light
 " Is ta'en away, and *counterfaisance* knowne."

Again, *ibid.* b. iii. c. viii. st. 8:

" A wicked spright,——
 " Him needed not instruct which way were best
 " Him selfe to *fashion* likest Florimell,
 " Ne how to *speak*, ne how to use his *gest*,
 " For he in *counterfesaunce* did excell."

See also Cotgrave's French Dict. fol. 1611:

" *Farcerie*. A playing, jesting, &c. a *counterfeiting*.

" *Farceur*. A comedian or stage-player; a common jeaster, or *counterfeiter* of mens gestures."

See also Puttenham's Arte of Poesie, 4to. 1589, p. 228, " the boy-bishop with his *counterfeit* speeches," and p. 243, " — a buffoon or *counterfeit clown*."

" All these, and all that els the comick stage
 " With season'd wit and goodly pleasaunce graced,
 " By which mans life in his likest image
 " Was limned forth, are wholly now defaced ;
 " And those sweete witts ⁸, which wont the like to frame
 " Are now despiz'd, and made a laughing game.

⁸ One of the comick writers whom Spencer had here in contemplation, I have no doubt, was a person who was bred at the same college where he had been educated, and who is highly praised by his contemporary Meres, in the following passage: " The best for comedye amongst us bee, Edward Earl of Oxford, Dr. Gager of Oxford, Maister Rowley, once a rare scholar of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwards of her Majesties Chapell, eloquent and wittie John Lillye, &c." *Wit's Treasury*, 1598, p. 280, b. The time when Mr. Rowley flourished, as well as his Christian name, have been hitherto unascertained ; and in consequence of a mistake of Antony Wood, he has been confounded with *William* Rowley, who was originally an actor about the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and became a popular dramattick writer in that of her successor. Wood in his first work, published in 1674, grounding himself manifestly on the passage above quoted from Meres, rightly describes this *rare schollar*, in the account which he has given of their poet's contemporaries : " Gulielmus Gager (says his Latin translator) poeta eximius erat, et quoad comedias conscribendas primum semper locum inter cœvos obtinebat ; *posthabitis*, nimirum, Edwardo Comiti Oxoniensi, *Magistro Rowley*, (is Aulam Pembrochianam apud Cantabrigienses ingenio ornavit), Ricardo Edwards, Johanni Lilly," &c. (*Hist. et Antiq. Acad. Oxon. P. II. p. 267*) ; but he was afterwards led into an error, probably by having met in Phillips or Winstanley with the name of *William* Rowley as a dramattick writer ; and in his subsequent English work (*Ath. Oxon. 1690, i. col. 366*), he observes, that " Gager was reputed the best comedian of his time, whether it was Edward Earl of Oxford, William Rowley, the once ornament for wit and ingenuity of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Richard Edwards John Lilly," &c. Here first we find the Christian name of this comick poet : but Wood was unquestionably mistaken ; for " the

“ And HE, the man whom Nature selfe 9 had made
 “ To mock her selfe, and truth to imitate

rare scholar of learned Pembroke Hall” was not *William* Rowley the actor, who had never reposed in academick bowers, but *Ralph* Rowley, a learned fellow of that house, whose theatrical exertions, it may be presumed, were made a few years before Spencer’s poem was published. It is clear from the words—“learned Pembroke Hall,” that Meres was in Wood’s contemplation in both his works, and that in each of them he is speaking of the same person. Beside, however, the misnomer in the *Athenæ*, he is inaccurate in both these works, in saying that Gager (who appears to have written only Latin dramas) was *preferred* to Rowley and the rest. Meres furnishes no authority for such pre-eminence. They are all classed under the same general term,—“*the best* for comedy.” Wood should seem to have supposed that Gager, being first named, was also first in reputation; but Meres appears to have arranged these poets in chronological order.

Ralph Rowley, I believe, was born in the same year with our author (1564); for I find that he became a student of Pembroke Hall in 1579, being on the first of October in that year matriculated as a member of the University. (Registr. Acad. Cantab.) In 1582-3, he took his first degree in arts; in Nov. 1583, he was elected a fellow of his house; and in 1586-7, he proceeded Master of Arts. In 1587, he was appointed Lecturer in Mathematics, and also, in conjunction with Mr. Hall, read the Greek lecture. See a list of the fellows of Pembroke College, MS. Harl. 7029, p. 383: “Rad Rowley, scholaris collegii, A. B. electus eodem tempore [Nov. 2, 1583], Anno 1586 [1586-7], incipit in art. An. 1587, Magistro Halls in usum Magistri Rowley ex parte prælecturæ Græcæ, 1^{lib}. 10^a. Eodem anno prælector fit in academia Mathematicas. Anno 1589, cautio Magistri Rowley exposita est cistæ Lyndwood et Pyke, et habet in toto 2^{lib}.” It is probable, that either in 1586, before he was chosen mathematical lecturer, or in 1588, the comick vein for which he is so highly celebrated by his contemporary Meres (who was also of Pembroke Hall, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1587), led him to attempt dramatick composition, and

“ With kindly counter¹, under mimick shade,—
 “ Our pleasaunt *Willy*, ah, is dead of late² ;

that he furnished the stage at St. Paul's with some of those comedies, “ the fine counterfaisanse and due decorum ” of which appeared to Spencer so admirable. Not long afterwards, he entirely relinquished his theatrical pursuits, and went into holy orders. In 1593, he became rector of Alphamston in Essex, which he exchanged, in 1597, [for the rectory of Chelmsford, in the same county. (Newcourt's Repertor, ii. 8.—129.) This benefice he appears to have enjoyed till his death, which happened in 1604 ; and it should seem, from the following entry in the register of Chelmsford (obligingly communicated to me, by the Rev. Mr. Morgan), that he died at Cambridge : “ Mr. Ralphe Rowley, late Parson of this towne, was buried in St. Marie's chancell in Cambridge, the ixth daie of Aprile, 1604.” The only production of this “ rare scholar ” that I have met with, is a short Latin poem, in the Cambridge Verses on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, 4to. 1587.

It is, I trust, unnecessary to apologize for this long note, in commemoration of one who was probably a friend of Spencer's and who, though a comick poet of considerable celebrity, appears to have been unknown to all our biographical antiquaries and dramatiſtick historians of the last century.

9 i. e. Nature *her* self. Such was the phraseology of Spencer's age ; not, as we should now write, *Nature's* self. So, in The Faery Queen, b. iii. c. viii. st. 5 :

“ That even *Nature self* envide the same.”

Again, in the same canto :

“ ———— thought

“ She were the *lady self* whom he so long had sought.”

Again, *ibid.* b. iii. c. i. st. 6 :

“ But *Guyon self* ere well he was aware—.”

Again, *b.* iii. c. iv. st. 38 :

“ Sad life worse than glad death ; and greater crosse

“ To see frends grave, then dead the *grave self* to engrosse.”
 Again, in Colin Clout :

“ With whom all joy and jolly merriment
 “ Is also deaded, and in dolour drent ³.
 “ Instead thereof, scoffing Scurrilitie,
 “ And scornfull Follie, with contempt is crept,
 “ Rolling in rymes of shameles ribaudrie ⁴,
 “ Without regard or *due decorum* kept :

“ Whose service high so basely they ensew,
 “ That *Cupid selfe* of them ashamed is.”

So also, Sidney, *Arcadia*, 1598, p. 379 :

“ The ‘*pestle selfe*,’ &c.

At a subsequent period, this phraseology became obsolete ;
 as D’Avenant wrote, perhaps, with less propriety (*Works*, 1673,
 . 243) :

“ It shew’d like *Nature’s self*, when she did bring

“ All she can promise by an early spring.”

¹ *Kindly* means *natural*, or rather, *agreeable to truth and real-
 fe*. So, in the *Glosse* on Spencer’s *Eclogue* for February :
 — a manner of supplication, wherein is *kindly* coloured
 the affection and speech of ambitious men.” *Counter* is, I
 believe, here licentiously used for *counterfeiting*, or *counter-
 itisance*. A late writer (*Supplem. to Johnson’s Dict.* 4to.
 801), says, it means—“ trial of skill,” and that it is deduced
 from the *adverb* ;” but, when *counter* is used in the com-
 pound, *counter-action*, &c. *opposite* action is meant ; and, there-
 fore, if we suppose a substantive to be thus formed, it would
 mean, not “ trial of skill,” but *opposition* ; a sense not admissible
 here.

² So, in Colin Clout :

“ Whilst thou wert hence, all *dead* in dole did lie.”

Again, in Shakspeare’s *King Henry IV. Part II.* :

“ Even such a man, so faint and spiritless,

“ So dull, so *dead* in look, so woe-begone—.”

Again, in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* :

“ So should a murderer look ; so *dead*, so grim.”

³ Drenched.

⁴ Spencer sometimes borrows from himself. See his tenth
 clogue :

“ And roll with rest in rhymes of ribaudry.”

" Each idle Wit at will presumes to make ⁵,
 " And doth the *learneds* taske upon him take.

" But that same gentle spirit, from whose pen
 " Large streames of honnie and sweete nectar flowe,
 " Scorning the boldnes of such base-borne men,
 " Which dare their follies forth so rashlie throwe,
 " Doth rather choose to sit in idle cell,
 " Than so him selfe to mockerie to sell.

" So am I made the servant of the manie,
 " And laughing-stock of all that list to scorne ;
 " Not honoured nor cared for of anie,
 " But loath'd of losels⁶, and a thing forlorne :
 " Therefore I mourne and sorrow with the rest,
 " Untill my cause of sorrow be redrest."

The sixth, seventh, and eighth of these stanzas were inserted by Rowe in the first edition of his short account of Shakspeare; and he then supposed that they related to our poet; alluding, as he thought, to his having withdrawn himself for some time from the publick, and discontinued dramatick compositions, from " a disgust he had taken to the then ill taste of the town, and the mean condition of the stage." But as he suppressed the passage in his second edition (published in 1714, about five years after the first), it may be presumed, that he found reason to change his opinion. Dryden, however, he informs us, always thought that these verses related to Shakspeare. But

⁵ " To rime and versifie; for in this word, *making*, our olde English poets were wont to comprehend all the skill of poetrie, according to the Greeke word *poiein*, to make; whence commeth the name of *poets*." *Glosse by E. K. on Spencer's fourth Eclogue.*

⁶ Worthless persons.

with all due deference to these great poets, their authority on either side is in this instance of no weight ; because, in their time, little attention was given to the gradual progress and changes of our language, and they appear to have been very slightly acquainted with the literary history of the former age. It must, however, be acknowledged that, at the first view, this passage, in some respects, seems peculiarly applicable to our great dramati^ck writer, and admirably descriptive of the character and powers of a poet, of whom it may be said with the strictest propriety, in the words of a learned and accomplished statesman⁷ of the seventeenth century, that “ Nature never had before so noble and so true an interpreter, never so inward a secretary of her cabinet⁸.” But supposing even that chronology and the dramati^ck history of that period did not stand in our way, as they certainly do, these lines cannot relate to Shakspeare ; for on a closer inspection it will be found, that one part of the description not only does not apply to him, but is totally inconsistent with the now received, and no longer controverted, account of his moderate literary attainments.

When I published my first edition of his works, the evidence on each side of this question appeared to me so equally balanced, that I found myself unable to form any decided opinion on the subject ; inclining, how-

⁷ Sir Henry Wotton, speaking of Bacon.

⁸ It is remarkable that these words are almost a translation of part of the passage found in Snidas concerning Aristotle, which I suggested to Mr. Steevens several years ago, as an apposite motto for the plays of Shakspeare ; and which since has been prefixed to the several editions of this author that have been published.

ever, against the application of these verses to Shakspeare, for the reason just now assigned⁹: but a more minute investigation has entirely dispelled my doubts; and I think I shall be able, not only to show that our illustrious dramatist was not here pointed at, but to ascertain the person alluded to; whose fame, high as it was in his own time, must acquire additional celebrity from the eulogy of so great a poet as Spenser.

On an attentive consideration of these stanzas it will be found,

1. That they must relate to some contemporary author, who was peculiarly celebrated for his comick talents.

⁹ In a note on *The Tears of the Muses*, the Rev. Mr. Todd, in his late edition of Spenser, vol. vii. p. 335, speaking of my first edition of Shakspeare, says, that I there "*strenuously maintained* the belief" that our poet was the person in Spenser's contemplation in the lines above quoted. But, I conceive, the learned editor has inadvertently made this assertion; and have no doubt that his candour will induce him to agree to the statement here made in the text, when he peruses the following passage in the very same page which he has quoted, and which, by some means, seems to have escaped his attention: "If these lines [those quoted from *The Tears of the Muses*] were intended to allude to our author, then he must have written some comedies in or before the year 1591, and the date which I have assigned to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is erroneous. I cannot expect to influence the decision of my reader, on a subject *on which I have not been able to form a decided opinion* myself; and, therefore, shall content myself with merely stating the difficulties on each side." Surely those words do not furnish any ground for thinking that I then *strenuously maintained* the opinion ascribed to me.

[Mr. Todd supposes that these lines allude to Sir Philip Sidney.
BOSWELL.]

2. That the writer alluded to was a distinguished scholar.

3. That at an antecedent period he had furnished the scene with *several comedies*, which had been acted with great success.

4. That in his dramatick writings he had been studious to observe a *due decorum*, and to construct his pieces according to the legitimate rules of the drama, observing this decorum, to use the words of an ancient writer, “in personages, in seasons, in matter, in speech¹.” And,

5. That, for some time previous to the composition of Spenser’s poem, he had discontinued writing for the stage, and retired from London to some sequestered spot, disgusted by the applause which the low ribaldry of some of his contemporary poets had met with for a year or two before these verses were written.

If this be a just comment on them, the consequence follows, that they could not be intended to describe the *untutored* Shakspeare; who, however we may be disposed to allow him a certain degree of literature (and no one is more willing to do so than the present writer), unquestionably cannot be rated as a *learned man*, and who, we have some grounds for believing, had not produced, I will not say several comedies, but any drama whatsoever, before the date of the poem under our consideration: and, if a stage-poet can be pointed out, the period of whose principal exertions, and whose character and celebrity as a writer at that

¹ See the Preliminary Observations prefixed to Spenser’s Shepheard’s Calender, by E. K.

period, correspond with the description here given, all difficulty, I conceive, will be done away.

It should be recollected that Thalia is the speaker, and that comedy alone is here in Spenser's contemplation. In the outset she asks,

“ Where be the sweet delights of *learning's* treasure,
 “ That wont with *comick* sock to beautify
 “ The painted theatres,” &c.

She then says, that all the innocent mirth which formerly was the delight of the ingenious, is now nowhere to be found; and that nothing prevails on the stage, but either dismal and barbarous tragedies, which are preferred to all other exhibitions, or vulgar buffoonery under the name of comedy; instead of that natural representation and harmless merriment, which formerly afforded the frequenters of the theatre so much entertainment. The lively and pleasant poet (she adds), who so truly exhibited human life in all its variety, has *of late* been idle and unemployed; and instead of his classical and Terentian comedies, with which the publick formerly were gratified, each miserable scoffer produces on the scene, pieces of low ribaldry, constructed without any regard to decorum, and takes upon him that task which the learned writer alluded to had so happily performed; while this admired *scholar* sits retired in his cell², rather than

² It is observable, that in speaking of that retirement from the stage, which Spenser so much laments, he says, the writer who had been once so popular, now sits “in idle cell,” a word descriptive of the sequestered habitation of an academick. So, in *The Return from Parnassus*, a comedy, 1606:

descend from the dignity of his character, and accommodate his productions to the gross and vulgar taste which then prevailed.

The whole context, therefore, shows, that the person here commended was a man of learning, and a comick poet who had observed a strict classical propriety in his dramas ; a circumstance that, with others furnished by an attentive survey of the theatrical history of that period, will enable us to discover his name, and to dispel the cloud with which he has for more than two hundred years been enveloped.

Spenser's description, I have no doubt, was intended for John Lilly, "the *eloquent* and *wittie* John Lilly," as he is denominated by one of his contemporaries³ ; a poet, whose learning sufficiently entitled him to a part of this encomium : and if in other re-

"*Academico*. I'll haste me to my Cambridge *cell* again,

"My fortunes cannot wax, but they may waine."

"When I left the freedom of my *cell*, which was my *college* (said Hooker to the Archbishop of York, when he wished to be removed from the Mastership of the Temple), yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage." *Walton's Life of Hooker*.

It is not very clear what is meant by the title of one of Greene's pamphlets, published in 1589 ; yet it perhaps alludes to Lilly's retirement from the stage, which I have supposed to have taken place in that year. The title to which I allude is, "Menaphon, Camilla's alarum to *slumbering* Euphues in his melancholy *cell* in Silixedra," &c. Silixedra, it is true, is mentioned by Lilly at the end of his work ; yet Greene might have had here a double meaning.

³ Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury, being the second part of Wit's Commonwealth, by Francis Meres, M. A. 8vo. 1598, p. 283, b.

spects it should be thought to exceed his real merits, let it be remembered, that in this point we are not to be governed by our own judgments, but to transport ourselves two centuries backwards, and not only to judge with the eyes, and ears, and opinions, of his contemporaries, all of whom speak of his comick talents with the highest praise, but also to make some allowance for the particular taste and partiality of Spenser. How apt he was to exceed in the eulogy of his friends,—whether from good nature, or a disposition easy to be pleased,—is evinced by his high commendation of another poet of that age, which I shall presently have occasion to quote, and which certainly greatly exceeds what we should now be willing to allow him*. We should also bear in mind, that there are the strongest grounds for believing that Shakspeare had not *yet* afforded Spenser any specimen of higher excellence; that at all periods, he who far surpasses his contemporaries, must be allowed a considerable degree of merit; and that in comedy, which alone was here in the writer's contemplation, the reputation of the poet supposed to be alluded to, was at this time unrivalled.

* See the verses on Daniel, *infra*, quoted from Spenser's Colin Clout's Come Home Again. Drayton's eulogy on Marlowe, though a poet of considerable merit, is not less extravagant. In his "Epistle concerning Poetry and Poets," he seems to place him in a higher rank than Shakspeare :

" Next Marlowe, bathed in the Thespian springs,
 " Had in him those brave translunary things,
 " That the first poets had ; his raptures were
 " All air and fire, which made his verses clear ;
 " For that fine madness still he did retain,
 " Which rightly should possess a poet's brain."

When the genius of Shakspeare afterwards blazed out, we shall hereafter find that Spenser was not insensible to his merits.

Edward Blount, who was at once a bookseller and a writer, and who had undoubtedly often seen the effect produced by his comedies ⁵, describes as the *rarest* poet of that time (that is, his own time,—the period previous to the appearance of Shakspeare), “the witty, comical, facetiously quick, and *unparalleled* John Lilly⁶.” His contemporaries Webbe⁷, Nashe⁸,

⁵ Edward Blount, who was one of the original publishers of Shakspeare's plays, in folio, was probably born in 1564, having been bound an apprentice to William Ponsonby, for ten years, from Midsummer, 1578. He was admitted to the freedom of the Stationers' Company in June, 1588.

⁶ In 1632, Edward Blount published six of his comedies under the following title: “Sixe Court Comedies, often presented and acted before Queen Elizabeth by the Children of her Majesties Chappell and the Children of Paules. Written by the only rare poet of that time, the wittie, comicall, facetiously quicke and unparalleled, John Lilly, Master of Artes. *Decies repetita placebunt.*”

In his Dedication to Richard Lord Viscount Lumley, he observes, “It can be no dishonour to listen to this poet's musike, whose tunes alighted in the eares of a great and ever famous Queene: his invention was so curiously strung, that Elizaes Court held his notes in admiration.” Lilly, he adds, “sat at the Sunne's table: Apollo gave him a wreathe of his own bayes without snatching: the lyre he played on had no borrowed strings.” In his Preface, he says, “Reader I have for the love I beare to posteritie, dig'd up the grave of a rare and excellent poet, whom Queene Elizabeth then heard, *graced* and *rewarded*. These papers of his lay like dead lawrels in a churchyard; but I have gathered the scattered branches up, and by charme, gotten from Apollo, made them greene againe, and set them up as epitaphes to his memory. . . . A sinne it were to suffer these rare monuments

and Meres², give him no less praise; and Lodge¹ highly commends his “extraordinary facility of dis-

of wit to be covered in dust. . . . Oblivion shall not so trample on a sonne of the Muses, and such a sonne as they called their *darling*. . . . *These his playes crowned him with applause and the spectators with pleasure.* Thou cannot repent the reading of them over. When old John Lilly is merry with thee in thy chamber, thou shalt see few or none of our poets now [1632] are such *wittie* companions, and thank me that brought him to thy acquaintance.”

The six plays here collected, are, *Endymion*, *Alexander and Campaspe*, *Sappho and Phao*, *Galathea*, *Mydas*, and *Mother Bombie*. They had originally been printed in quarto; but being, as he said, scattered and unconnected, he had the merit of making them more accessible, by printing them together in a small volume; and he added, from manuscript, the numerous songs which had been omitted in the original editions. The plays of Lilly, which were not collected in this volume, are, *The Woman in the Moon*, printed in quarto, in 1597, and a pastoral, entitled *Loves Metamorphosis*, quarto, 1600. Kirkman, a bookseller, after the Restoration, ascribed also to this author *The Maids Metamorphosis*; but it was printed anonymously in 1600; and on that, and other grounds, it may be doubted whether it was Lilly's composition.

Wood erroneously calls the collector of Lilly's plays Sir Henry Blount.

² Discourse of English Poetry, quarto, 1586.

¹ See Nashe's Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse, quarto, 1598, signat. G 4. (He is speaking of Lilly, and the person whom he addresses is Gabriel Harvey.) “He that threatned to conjure up Martin's wit, hath written something in thy praise in *Pap-hatchet* [a pamphlet written by Lilly in 1589] for all you accuse him to have covertlie incenst the Earle of Oxford against you. Mark him well; he is but a little fellow, but *hee hath one of the best wits in England*. Should he take thee in hand againe (as he flieth from such inferior concertation), I propheticke there would be more gentle readers die of a merrie mortalitie ingendred by the *eternal jests* he would maule thee with, than there have done this

course," by which he may have meant dialogue. But the strongest proof, perhaps, that can be adduced to show how highly his comick talents were rated, is found in the encomiastick verses on Shakspeare, written by Jonson; who, knowing the opinions of the former age, and the high estimation in which the productions that we are now considering had been held, thought he could not, in a few words, more forcibly describe our great dramattick poet's comick excellence, than by saying *he out-shone* even Lilly in comedy, as he surpassed the admired and lofty stories of Marlowe in the tragick drama:

"That I not mix thee so, my brain excuses;

"I mean, with great, but *disproportion'd* ² Muses;

last infection. I my self that enjoy but a *mite* of wit in comparison of his talent, in pure affection to my native country make my style carry a presse sail,—am faine to cut off half the streame of thy sport-breeding confusion, for feare it should cause a general hicket throughout England." See also his *I Have With You to Saffron Walden*, quarto, 1596, signat. X 2. b.

⁹ Ubi supra.

¹ "Divine wits, for many things as sufficient as all antiquity, (I speake it not on light surmise, but considerate judgment,) to you belongs the death that doth nourish this poison; to you the paine that endure the reproofe. Lilly, the famous for facility in discourse; Spencer, best read in ancient poetry; Daniel, choice in word and invention; Drayton, diligent and formal; Th. Nashe, true English Arctine;—all you unnamed professors or friends of poetry, but by me inwardly honoured; knit your industries in private, to unite our fames in publike, . . . and all so embattle your selves, that hate of virtue may not embase you." *Wits Miserie and the Worlds Madnesse*, by Thomas Lodge, 4to. 1596.

² Chaucer, Spenser, and Beaumont. He considered the last

" For, if I thought my judgement were of years,
 " I should commit thee surely with thy peers ³,
 " And tell, how far thou dost our *Lilly* outshine,
 " Or sporting Kyd ⁴, or Marlowe's ⁵ mighty line."

Supposing, however, that Spenser's eulogy were beyond the opinions of that age, which does not appear to have been the case, some allowance, as has been already hinted, may be claimed for the kindness of friendship, and for the feelings of this exquisite tender and moral poet, whose taste would naturally prefer scenick productions, founded, as Lilly's generally were, on classick fables, and conducted in some instances with a pastoral simplicity, to any other. Whenever Spenser visited the playhouse, we may be confident that he directed his steps to the theatre where Lilly's comedies were performed by the singing boys of St. Paul's, or the children of the Revels rather than to the city theatres (the Red Bull, &c. where the compositions of Greene, Peele, and Marlowe, were represented ⁶.

named writer, though a dramatist, as *disproportioned*, probably on account of his superior learning.

³ The dramatick poets.

⁴ This epithet appears to have been chosen merely in allusion to Kyd's name; yet not a single comedy of his has come down to us. He was the author of *The Spanish Tragedy* (to which Jonson himself made additions); the tragedy of *Cornelia*, but not printed; and probably several others, that have been lost.

⁵ Of Marlowe, some account will be given hereafter.

⁶ How congenial the sentiments of Spenser and Lilly were with respect to the decorum of the stage, and the true end and objects of comedy, appears from the following passage in Lilly's prologue, at Blackfriars, to *Sappho and Phaon*, 1591, which, when compared with the verses already quoted from

John Lilly was born in Kent, about the same year with Spenser⁷ (1553); and it is not improbable that when Spenser quitted his residence in the North, and came into Kent⁸, about the year 1577 or 1578, he might have formed a friendship with this poet, then, I believe, newly returned from abroad, and perhaps a visitor in his native county. Lilly, in 1569, at sixteen years of age, became a member of Magdalen College in Oxford; in 1573 he took the degree of Bachelor, and that of Master of Arts in 1575-6⁹. He seems afterwards to have travelled; and in 1579, if not before, after his return from foreign parts, his cele-

Tears of the Muses, afford considerable support to my interpretation of that passage. See particularly the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh stanzas :

“ Our intent was at this time, to more *inwarde delight*, not outwardelighnes, and to breede, if it might be, *soft smiling*, not lowd laughing : knowing it to the wise to be as great pleasure to heare counsell mixed with witte, as to the foolish to have sport mingled with rudenesse. They were banished the theater at Athens and from Rome hissed, that brought parasites on the stage with apish actions, or fooles with uncivill habites, or curtizans with immodest words. We have endeavored to be as far from unseemly speeches, to make your eares glow, as we hope you will be free from unkinde reportes, to make our cheekes blush.”

⁷ In his Euphues and his England (signat. Hh 2 b.), he says, he can speak little of Queen Mary's reign, being then *scarce born*. Mary ascended the throne, June 1, 1553. I find, from the register of the University (in which he is described as “*plebeii filius*”), that he was matriculated in 1571. He is there said to be seventeen; which does not exactly agree with Wood's account.

⁸ See the Commentary on Spenser's Fifth Eclogue, 4to. 1579.

⁹ Ath. Oxon. i. 295.

brated work, entitled *Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit*¹, was published ; and in the following year appeared *Euphues and his England*, a composition not less admired than his former production, of which it may be considered the sequel or second part. In both these works, though written in a quaint, affected, and reprehensible style, which yet at that time, and for many years afterwards, was extravagantly admired, are found a vein of good sense, and many just observations on mankind. Probably in consequence of the high reputation acquired by the first of these productions, he was, in 1579, incorporated a Master of Arts in Cambridge. It is a creditable circumstance to Lilly, that he was patronized by Edward Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, whom he calls his master ; who appears to have been the most distinguished nobleman of his time for learning and poetical talents, and was himself an admired comick writer. Between the years 1580 and 1586, or 1587, Lilly, it may be conjectured, produced five comedies ; *Alexander and Campaspe*,

¹ In Mr. Capell's collection, in Trinity College, Cambridge, is an edition of Lilly's *Euphues*, without date ; which I believe to be the first. It consists of eighty-one leaves, and has not the apologetical address to the University of Oxford, which appears to have been written in consequence of some offence taken, by the Oxonians, at his book. My edition, which is dated 1579, and is said, in the title-page, to be "corrected and augmented," has that address ; and I, therefore, suppose it to be the second. The work, having been entered in the Stationers' register, in 1578, I imagine, was published either in the end of that year, or early in 1579. Lilly himself tells us it was first published in winter. The second edition appeared in the summer or autumn of the same year (1579).

Galathea, Sappho and Phao, Midas, and Endymion ; all of which were represented by the choir-boys of St. Paul's, in their singing school-room, and often acted by them at court before Queen Elizabeth, with great applause. He had, as he himself tells us, been "entertained her Majesty's servant by her gracious favour," and had been taught to hope, that he might have been rewarded with the reversion of the office of Master of the Revels, or with that of Master of the Tents and Toils ; but after thirteen years' service and expectation, he found, "when he had cast up the inventory of his friends, hopes, promises, and times, that the sum total amounted to just nothing." His complaints on this subject were poured forth in two petitions to the Queen ², the latter of which, I conjecture, from a circumstance mentioned in it, was presented in 1588 ; and it may be presumed, that not long afterwards, finding his hopes of preferment disappointed, and the publick taste so vitiated that nothing but *folly* and *vain toys* could succeed on the stage, he retired for some time either to Oxford or to a cottage in his native county ³. Soon afterwards, the theatre,

² Catal. Lib. Manuscript. Angliæ, &c. Col. Univers. 152, 13. MS. Harl. 1877.

³ About two years after Lilly appears to have made a temporary retreat from the stage, the choir-boys of St. Paul's were prohibited from playing : and in 1591, or before, their playhouse was shut up, probably on account of the scurrility and licentiousness which had prevailed for two or three preceding years in many of the theatres ; and this prohibition, I believe, continued for about ten years. In the preface to Lilly's *Endymion*, published in 1591, the printer says, "Since the *playes in Paules were dissolved*,

in which his comedies had been represented, was shut up by authority, on account of that licentiousness and ribaldry to which Spenser alludes.

The character of Lilly, as a dramattick writer, has been unjustly depreciated in modern times, in consequence, I conceive, of its being supposed that his scenick productions are written in the same faulty

there are certain comedies come to my handes, which were presented before her Majestie at severall tymes by the Children of Paules. This is the first," &c. See also Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 4to. 1596 (signat. G 4. b.), "Troth, I would hee might for mee, (that's all the harme I wish him,) for then we neede never wish the playes at Paules *up againe*; but if we werè wearie with walking, and loth to goe too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him [Gabriel Harvey] plead, which would be a merrier comedie than ever was old Mother Bombie" [one of Lilly's plays].

In 1600, or 1601, this interdiction was taken off, and the children of St. Paul's were again permitted to play. Martin's *Antonio and Mellida*, Jack Drum's *Entertainment*, and Dekker's *Satiromastix*, were performed by them in 1601.

Lilly, after having retired for some years, appears to have again resumed the pen; for his *Woman in the Moon* was entered in the Stationers' register, September 22, 1595, and published in 1597; but the theatre where his former pieces were represented being then shut, it appears to have been acted only at Court, probably by the children of his Majesty's chapel, or the children of the Revels. It may, however, have been presented at a former period,

That Lilly was living in 1597, is ascertained by his verses prefixed to a book entitled *Christian Passions*, by H. Lok, published in that year. The exact time of his death is not known, but it probably happened soon after the year 1600. No particulars of his person, or private life, have come down to us, except that he was married; that he was a little man, and a great taker of tobacco.

style with his other works ; and that they all abound with perpetual allusions to a kind of fabulous natural history, in which he and some of his contemporaries frequently indulged themselves, and for which he has been justly censured by Drayton and others. But this is not the fact ; for though in three of his comedies he has too often fallen into this kind of impropriety, the general tenour of the other three is different ; and, notwithstanding his defects, many of which in his own time were thought beauties, he unquestionably makes a nearer approach to a just delineation of character and life, than any comick poet that preceded Shakspeare. That they are free from quaintness, a too frequent play upon words (which at that time, however, was esteemed genuine wit), and some other faults, cannot be asserted with truth ; but these defects are, in some degree, balanced by a livelier dialogue, and a more natural representation than his contemporaries produced. In the greater part of his plays, the division into acts and scenes is critically attended to, and the unities of action, time, and place, are well observed. It may also be remarked, that Lilly has not produced a single tragedy, and that all his comedies are replete with “learning’s treasure ;” for they not only are founded on classick fables, as the plays performed by the choir-boys of St. Paul’s generally were⁴, but abound with allusions to mytho-

⁴ See the passage quoted in note 6, next page, where they are spoken of as “musty fopperies of antiquity.” In the History of the English Stage, it will be seen that the following plays, founded on classical subjects, were performed by the children of St. Paul’s, between the years 1571 and 1589 :

logy, and quotations from the Roman poets. If it should be objected, that in this respect he has little preserved that *due decorum* so much admired by Spenser, his courtiers, peasants, servants, husbandmen, nymphs, and chambermaids, all occasionally speaking Latin, and all equally well, it should be recollected that this practice was not peculiar to him⁵. A fact also should be remembered, which, I think, has escaped the notice of all our dramatick historians, though some of the passages by which it is ascertained have been quoted for other purposes. The circumstance to which I allude is, that the audience usually assembled in the room behind the Convocation-House of St. Paul's, where all his plays were represented, was of a higher order, and composed of very different persons from those who frequented common theatres; for it should seem to have principally consisted of *gentlemen and scholars*⁶, without any intermixture

1571, *Iphigenia*.

1573-4, *Alcmeon*.

Timoclea at the Siege of Thebes.

Perseus and Andromeda.

1576, *History of Errour* (doubtless from Plautus).

Before 1579, *Cupid and Psyche*.

1579, *Scipio Africanus*.

1580, *Pompey*.

1584, *Alexander and Campaspe*.

Sappho and Phaon.

Galathea.

Between 1585 and 1589, *Endymion, Midas*.

⁵ Latin quotations are frequently found in the plays produced at the period here spoken of, particularly in those which were represented by the choristers of St. Paul's.

⁶ This appears from the following passages in an old play.

of females; and appears to have borne some resemblance to the audiences now annually collected to

entitled "Jack Drum's Entertainment, or the Comedy of Pasquil and Katherine, 4to. 1601, which was acted by the Children of St. Paul's. In the Introduction, in answer to the Tyerman, who complains that the Author had snatched the play-book from him, and with violence kept the boys from entering on the stage, one of the children says,—

"You much mistake the action, Tyerman;

"His violence proceeds not from a mind

"That grudgeth pleasure to this *generous* presence,

"But doth protest all due respect and love

"Unto this *choice selected audience*."

Again, in the fifth Act:

"*Sir Edw.* Now by my troth, and [if] I had thought on't, too

"I would have had a play; i' faith, I would.

"I saw *the Children of Pauls* last night,

"And troth they pleas'd me pretty pretty well;

"The apes in time will do it handsomely.

"*Pla.* I' faith,

"I like *the audience that frequenteth there*

"*With much applause. A man shall not be choked*

"*With the stench of garlick, nor be pasted to*

"*The barmy jacket of a beer-brewer.*

"*Brah. Jun.* Tis a good *gentle Audience*; and I hope the boys

"Will come one day into the Court of Requests."

[This, I believe, is nothing more than a poor pun: 'I hope they will one day be *in request*']

"*Brah. Sen.* Ay, and [if] they had good plays; but they produce

"Such *musty fopperies of antiquity*,

"And do not suit the humorous age's back

"With cloaths in fashion."

See also the Prologue to Antonio and Mellda, 1601, acted by the children of St. Paul's:

hear one of Terence's comedies acted by the young gentlemen of Westminster school. Such dramas,

"The wreath of pleasure and delicious sweets
 "Begirt the *gentle* front of this fair troop.
 "Silent and most respected auditors,
 "For wit's sake do not dream of miracles.
 "Alas, we shall but falter, if you lay
 "The least sad weight of an unused hope
 "Upon our weakness: only we give up
 "The worthless present of slight idleness
 "To your *authentick censure*. . . .
 "But oh, the healthy dryness of her braine
 "Foil to *your fertile spirits*, is ashamed
 "To breathe her blushing numbers to *such curs*:
 "Yet, *most ingenious*, deign to veil our wants."

So also, Lilly himself, in the Prologue to his *Campuspe*:
 "We here conclude; wishing that although there be in *your precise judgments* an universal dislike, yet we may enjoy by *your wonted courtesies*, a general silence."

Again, in the Prologue to *Sapho and Phaon*, 1594, when it was acted at Blackfriars: "—yet we have ventured to present our exercise before your judgments, when we know them [their exercise] full of weak matter, yielding rather to the curtesie which we have ever found than to the *preciseness* which we ought to feare."

Again, in the Prologue to his *Mydas*:

"We are jealous of your judgments, because you are wise; of our own performance, because we are unperfect; of our author's device, because he is idle. Only this doth encourage us;—that presenting our studies before *gentlemen*, though they receive an inward dislike, we shall not be *hiss'd* with an open disgrace.

Stirps rudis urtica est; stirps generosa rosa"

See also the concluding speech of Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, performed at St. Paul's, in 1601 or 1602:

"And O if ever time create a Muse
 "That to the immortal fame of virgin faith
 "Dares once engage his pen to write her death,

perhaps it may be urged, were little suited to a courtly audience, composed of both sexes, before which they sometimes were exhibited: but let it be remembered that they were not originally intended for such an audience; and even at court, we know that many of the female nobility, and attendants on the Queen, were, like her Majesty, acquainted with the Latin language; consequently neither his allusions nor his quotations, could even there fail of being understood by a large portion of his auditors; and

“ Presenting it in some black tragedy,

* * * * *

“ May it have *gentle* presence, and the scenes suckd up

“ By *calm attention of choice audience.*”

That the audience at this theatre consisted only of men, appears from Marston's Epilogue to Antonio and Mellida; in which, as well as in some of Lilly's plays, the address is only to the male sex; “ *Gentlemen.* Though I remain an armed Epilogue,” &c.

See also Lilly's Prologue to Midas: “ *Gentlemen*; so nice is the world,” &c.; and the quotation above, from a subsequent part of the same prologue. So, in the Induction of Jack Drum's Entertainment, played at St. Paul's: “ In good faith, *gentlemen*, I think we shall be forced to give you right Jack Drums Entertainment,” &c. The Epilogue to Lilly's Galathea, where we find “ You *ladies* may see,” &c. was a court epilogue.

In the theatres, where women were admitted as well as men, those supplicatory addresses are to both sexes. See the Epilogue to As You Like It, and many other plays.

The price of admission into the theatre of St. Paul's, appears to have been double to what was demanded at the playhouse at Newington Butts, which was then specifically called The Theatre, and probably to the price of admission at the Curtain, at that period; a circumstance which contributed to render the audience more select. See Lilly's Pap with a Hatchet, &c. [1589], Signat. D 3. in marg.: “ If it be shewed at Paules, it will cost you fourepence, at the Theater twopence.”

their introduction, instead of being thought a fault, was undoubtedly considered a beauty. In further support of Spenser's eulogy on this poet, I may add, that several of his characters are happily conceived, and some of them may have been models to subsequent dramatists. In our author's early plays, we may sometimes trace, in the lower characters, an imitation of Lilly's manner⁷. His Alchemist and Astronomer in Galathea, perhaps, gave rise to Jonson's Subtle, and Congreve's Foresight; and Sir Tophas in Endymion may in like manner have been the remote original of Malvolio in Twelfth Night, where nearly the same name is applied to another character. In his Galathea, to the change of sex in which piece I suspect Spenser particularly alludes, when he speaks of his admired poet's "*fine counterfessance*, and unhurtful sport," the opening may, *longo intervallo*, remind us of the first scene in The Tempest, as that of Richard the Third is evidently formed on a passage in Lilly's Campaspe⁸: and of the numerous songs in

⁷ See particularly The Comedy of Errors, and The Two Gentlemen of Verona.

⁸ "Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;

"Our stern alarms chang'd to merry meetings;

"Our dreadful marches to delightful measures;

"Grim-visaged war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front,

"And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds,

"To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,

"He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber,

"To the lascivious pleasing of a lute."

K. Richard III. Act I. Sc. I.

"Is the warlike sound of drum and trumpet turn'd to the soft noise of lyre and lute? The neighing of *barb'd steeds*, whose

his plays, many of which are uncommonly elegant and happy, and seem to have been particularly alluded to by Spenser⁹, some passages have been expressly imitated by Shakspeare.

But how, it will be asked, can *John Lilly* be alluded to, under the words—"our pleasant *Willy*?" This seeming difficulty may be easily removed, by attending to the phraseology of Spenser's age, and adverting to a conceit, which seems frequently to have governed him in the formation of poetical names, shadowing real persons.

In his time *shepherd* was a common denomination of a poet. Thus Shakspeare, in *As You Like It*, apostrophizing Marlowe, who was not a pastoral, but a dramatick poet,—

"Dead *shepherd*, now I see thy saw of might;

"Whoever lov'd, that lov'd not at first sight?"

In like manner Spenser, throughout his poem, entitled *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, as well as in various other parts of his works, uses these terms as synonymous.

loudness fill'd the air with terrour, and whose breaths dimmed the sun with smook, converted to delicate tunes and amorous glances," &c. *Campeaspe*, 1584.

Here we find the germ of the preceding passage, in which Shakspeare, with his usual felicity, has expanded Lilly's thought. This parallelism was first pointed out by Mr. Reid.

⁹ "That want with comick sock to beautify

"The painted theatres, and fill with pleasure

"The listeners' eyes and cares with melody."

In the last line, I conceive Spenser particularly alluded to Lilly's songs, which are eminently smooth and elegant in their composition, and doubtless had the aid of such musick as then was most in vogue.

As *shepherd* was a common appellation for any of the poetical tribe⁹, so *Willy* was a common name for a shepherd; and hence, probably, this denomination was sometimes applied by the writers of Shakspeare's age, to poets who had no claim to the Christian name of William. Thus, in an ancient song, probably of the time of James the First,

"As *Willy* once essay'd

"To look for a lamb that was stray'd," &c.

and in an Eclogue on the death of Sir Philip Sidney (as Dr. Farmer formerly suggested to me), which was written not long after that event, perhaps by Arthur Warren¹, a poet very little known, we find

⁹ So, in Florio's *Second Frutes*, 4to. 1591: "But not I, nor this place, may halfe suffice for his [Lord Leicester's] praise, which the sweetest singer of all our western *shepheards* hath so exquisitely depicted, that, as Achilles by Alexander was accounted happy for having such a rare emblazoner of his magnanimitie as the Alconian poete, so I account him thrice fortunate in having such a herauld of his virtues as Spencer."

¹ The Eclogue here quoted first appeared in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsodies*, 8vo. 1602; where it is entitled "An Eclogue made *long since* on the Death of Sir Philip Sidney;" and it is subscribed with the letters, A. W. In the Museum, among Sir Symonds D'Ewes's manuscripts, is one (MS. Harl. 280, fol. 99) containing, "a catalogue of all the poems in ryme and measured verse, by A. W.," and the first line of each poem is given. At the end is a notice, that "in a parchment book bound with The Shepheard's Calendar is an Eclog on the Death of Sir Philip Sidney, by A. W. beginning 'Perin, aread,' &c." which is the eclogue in question; and it is highly probable that it was written immediately after Sidney's death. The initial letters, A. W. I suspect to have denoted Arthur Warren, of whose avowed productions, the only poem that I have seen is entitled "The Poor Mans Passions, and Poverties Patience," 4to. 1605, which is in my collection.

the celebrated author of the *Arcadia*, lamented in several stanzas by the name of Willy². On this ground alone, therefore, “our pleasant *Willy* ah! is dead of late,” might mean,—our spritely *poet* is of late as silent as the grave, and wholly unemployed.

2. But Spenser, I have no doubt, had a further object in view, and intended enigmatically to point out the person in his contemplation; though he might have thought it more suitable to the general tenour of his poem not expressly to name him³; and

² “ *Willy* is dead,

“ That wont to lead

“ Our flocks and us in mirth and shepherds’ glee.

* * * * *

“ Of none but *Willy’s* pipe they made account

* * * * *

“ We dream’d our *Willy* aye should live,

“ So sweet a sound his pipe did give.”

³ In like manner, Spenser, wishing to show his respect and gratitude to his patron, Arthur Lord Grey, on his government of Ireland, instead of mentioning, in express terms, the country to which he was sent, tells us, that *Artegall*, i. e. the *equal* or *just Arthur* (a fictitious name, formed from the first syllable of Lord Grey’s Christian name, and the French word *egal*), went to succour the lady Irena, the metathesis of Ierna or Ierne, the ancient name of that kingdom :

“ And such was he of whom I have to tell

“ The champion of true *justice*, *Artegall*,

“ Whom (as ye lately mote remember well,)

“ An hard adventure which did then befall

“ Into redoubled peril forth did call :

“ That was, to succour a distressed dame

“ Whom a strong tyrant did unjustly thrall,

“ And from the heritage which she did claime

“ Did with strong hand withhold ; Grantorto was his name.

therefore wrote *Willy* for *Lilly*, changing only the first letter ⁴; as, in another poem ⁵, he has introduced

“ Wherefore that lady which Irena hight,
 “ Did to the Faerie Queene her way addresse
 “ To whom complayning her afflicted plight
 “ She her besought of gracious redresse :
 “ That soveraigne queene, that mightie emperesse,
 “ Whose glorie is, to aide all suppliants pore,
 “ And of wenke princes to be patronesse,
 “ Chose Artegall to right her to restore,
 “ For that to her he seem’d best skil’d in righteous lore.”

Faery Queen, b. v. c. i. st. 8, 4.

⁴ “ Out of names (says Camden), the busie head of man, continually working, hath wrought, out of *liking* or dislike, allusions, very common in all ages and among all men. . . . An allusion is, as it were, a dalliance or playing with words, like in sound, but unlike in sense, by *changing*, adding, or substracting a *letter* or two; so that words nicking and resembling one the other, are appliable to different significationes. . . . The Greekes (to omit infinite others,) nicked Antiochus *Epiphanes*, with *Ep’nanus*, that is, the furious. The Romans likewise played with bibbing *Tiberius Nero*, calling him *Biberius Mero*. So, Tully called the extorting *Verres*, in the actions against him, *Verrens*, as *sweep-all*. So, in Quintilian, the sower fellow *Placidus* was called *Acidus*; and of late, one called *Scaliger*, *Aliger*.” *Remaines*, 4to. 1605. To these observations of Camden, I may add, that in the maxim of the moralists, which allows us, in conversation, to be *facetosi*, but not *acetosi*, a similar conceit may be discerned. Spenser, therefore, to whom all ancient learning was familiar, had, we see, classical authority for this practice. About forty years before, Dr. Collet, the learned and pious Dean of St. Paul’s, in the code of laws which he wrote for the government of his school, did not think it unbecoming his gravity to indulge in a similar playfulness of language. “ And then (says he, let them read) *Institutum Christiani Hominis*, which that learned Erasmus made at my requests, and the booke called *Copia*, of the same Erasmus; and then other authors Christian; as Lactantius, Prudentius, and

Robert, or, in the familiar language and orthography of that age, *Robbin* Earl of Leicester, under the ap-

pebus and Sedulius, and Juvenecus and Baptista Mantuanus, and suche other as shall be thought convenient, and most to appropose unto the true Laten speeche; all barbary, all corruption, all Laten adulterate, which ignorant blind foles brought into this worlde, and with the same hath distayned and poysonid the old Laten speche, and the verage Romaine tongue, whiche in the time of Tully and Sallust and Virgill and Terence was usid, whiche also Sainte Jerome and Sainte Ambrose, and Sainte Austen, and many holy doctors lernid in their tymes: I saye, that filthynges, and all suche abusion, whiche the later blinde worlde brought in, whiche more rather may be called *blotterature*, than *litterature*, I utterlye abannyshe and exclude out of this role." *Knight's Life of Dean Collet*, p. 364.

5 Colin Clout's Come Home Aguin :

" Ah Colin, then said *Hobbinol*, the blame

" Which thou imputest, is too general ;

" As if not any gentle wit of name

" Nor honest mind, might there * be found at all.

" For well, I wot, with *I my selfe was there*,

" To wait on *Lobbin*. (*Lobbin* well thou knowest,)

" Full many worthie ones then waiting were

" As ever else in prince's court thou viewest."

Colin, it should be remembered, is Spenser, and *Hobbinol*, his friend Gabriel Harvey, who is here speaking of patronage and the Court. Harvey, in his *Pierce's Supplication* enumerates Lord Leicester among his friends and patrons, " to whose friendshipful and honourable favours (says he) I have been beholdling for letters of extraordinary commendation, such, as some men of good experience have doubted whether they ever vouchsafed the like to any of either University." See also *Three Proper and Wittie Familiar Letters*, &c. 4to. 1580, p. 27.

Robin (usually mis-spelt *Robbin*) was the common substitute for *Robert* in the age of Queen Elizabeth, and long afterwards ;

pellation of *Lobbin*; substituting, in this case, *L* for *R*, as in the instance now before us he has substituted *W* for *L*. The epithet "pleasant" ("our pleasant Willy"), I may add, had here a peculiar force and propriety; for Lilly had been so much distinguished for his wit and vivacity at Oxford, that one of his adversaries has endeavoured to depreciate him on this ground, as if his spriteliness and humour were greater than became a scholar. When these verses first appeared, it is reasonable to suppose that this

and was used in addressing persons high in authority and rank. Thus Lord Essex, in a letter to Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Flushing, March 4, 1596-7, addresses him by this familiar appellation. (See *Memoirs of the Sidneys*, p. 115, *Sid. Papers*, vol. i.) Nor was such an address considered undignified, or too familiar, when applied, on the stage, to a nobleman; for, in *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, 4to. 1601, we find these lines:

"Alas, my *Robbin*, what distemper'd griefe

"Drinks up the roseate colour of thy cheekes?"

A few years after the publication of Colin Clout, *Lobbin* was so well known to have there designated Robert Earl of Leicester, that Bishop Bedel, in a poem on the Gunpowder Plot, written, in some measure, in imitation of the obsolete style of Spenser's pastorals (which lay long in manuscript, and was at length published, for a political purpose, with a spurious title, in 1713), uses it as a designation of another nobleman with the same Christian name, Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury. I quote from a MS. among Archbishop Sancroft's papers, at Oxford, which varies, in some measure, from the printed copy:

"I turned to hearken this matter at full;

"And for the rest, trust me, if you woul:

"Of many good shepheards I heard the same,

"And from the sage *Lobbins* own mouth it came;

"The wise *Lobbin*, that fame doth resound,

"As true a shepherd as lives on ground."

paronomasy was understood by many curious and intelligent readers ; and that the eulogy of Lilly, by so great a poet as Spenser, being the subject of conversation among the admirers of poetry, and the more polished frequenters of the playhouses, induced a bookseller to furnish the publick with copies of his plays. Two only of his comedies had been printed six years before, and the whole of the impressions disposed of ; but not many months after Spenser's poem appeared, three others, Galathea, Endymion, and Midas, were entered in the Stationers' register, and published in 1591 and 1592 ; and at the same time the other two were reprinted. Thus, at once, were gratified the admirers of this celebrated poet, in London, who, doubtless, read, with delight, those comedies which they had often seen represented on the stage with the highest applause ; and his less fortunate academick friends of Oxford and Cambridge, who, at that period, had little intercourse with the metropolis, and whose curiosity must have been strongly excited by the extraordinary success of those scenick productions, on which the judicious Muse of Spenser had set the seal of learned and unqualified approbation.

It may be observed, that a few years after the verses under our consideration were published, Drayton, in like manner, eulogized Sir Philip Sidney, under the invented name of Elphin⁶ ; which was

⁶ “ *Elphin* is dead, and in his grave is laid ;
 “ O, to impart it how my heart it grieveth !
 “ Cruel that fate, that so the time betray'd,
 “ And of our joys untimely us depriveth.

* * * * *

manifestly formed by a transposition of the letters in the first syllable, or abbreviation, of his Christian name [Phil], and of the only letters that are sounded in the last syllable of his surname [ne]; for the ana-

“ Who would not die, when *Elphin* now is gone,
 “ Living that was the shepherd's true delight,
 “ With whose blest spirit (attending him alone)
 “ Virtue to heaven directly took her flight.

* * * * *

“ Summer's long'st day shall shepherds not suffice
 “ To sit and tell full stories of thy praise,
 “ Nor shall the longest winters night comprize
 “ Their sighes for him, the subject of their layes.”

Idea, the Shepherds Garland, fashioned in nine Eglogues, 4to. 1593, *Egl.* vi.—(I quote, however, from the edition of 1619.)

But how is it ascertained that *Elphin* is the representation of Sir Philip Sidney? The mystery is explained in Drayton's Seventh Eglogue: describing, as appears from the context, and the margin, Mary Countess of Pembroke, he says:

“ This is that nymph on that great western waste,
 “ Her flockes far whiter than the driven snow,
 “ Fair shepherdesse, clear Willies banks that grac'd,
 “ Yet she them both for purenesse doth out-go,
 “ To whom all shepherds dedicate their layes,
 “ And on her altars offer up their bayes.

“ Sister sometime she to that shepherd was,
 “ That yet for piping never had his peere;
 “ *Elphin*, that did all other swaines surpass,
 “ To whom she was of living things most dear;
 “ And on his death-bed, by his latest will,
 “ To her bequeath'd the secrets of his skill.”

In a marginal note on the word “ *Willies*,” the author has added—“ A river running by *Wilton* near to the plain of *Salisbury*.”

grammatists, as the learned in that art inform us, claim the licence of disregarding such letters as are silent and inefficient, in which predicament the final letter in Sidney stands. By this process *Philne* was obtained; and then, by transposition, *Elphin*. Sidney also, himself (and Spenser after him), with a similar allusion to the first syllable of his Christian name, preferring to it a Greek word of the same import with the fictitious name of his mistress [Stella], had denominated himself *Astrophil*; though, for some reason or other, perhaps with a view to throw a veil over the conceit, the word, in their time, was generally written *Astrophel*. So common, indeed, were these conceits, and so congenial, in this respect, were the sentiments of Spenser's friend, Lodowick Bryskett, that, in the elegy which he wrote on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, having introduced an eclogue, in which there are two speakers; one of them, we find, is Colin, Spenser's assumed name; and the other interlocutor, in compliment, we may presume, to him, is denominated Lycon; being merely the metathesis or anagram of that poetical designation.

The *literal* artifice by which the name of the admired dramattick poet, whom Spenser had in view, was half divulged and half concealed⁷, did not, I

⁷ Thus also Edmund Scory, or Scorie (who I suspect was a god-son of Spenser's, being the son of Silvanus Scory, from whom probably Spenser's eldest son Silvanus derived his baptismal name), revealed only to the curious his name, which was "expressed and not expressed," by being thus subscribed to some

conceive, escape the curious in the days of anagram and allusion ; but, in process of time, such devices having become unfashionable, and fallen into disuse, the secret meaning ceased to be understood, and for a long period he has been deprived of the fair fame with which Spenser intended to encircle his brows. Every thing has its day. There is a fashion in the works of the imagination, no less than in our cloaths, and equipage, and modes of life : and the dominions of wit, as well as empires, have their rise and progress ; and, like them, are subject to revolution and decay. Hence, what at one period was thought extremely fanciful and ingenious, at another, is contemptuously denominated a fantastick crotchet, or verbal quibble ; or depreciated by whatever other character or epithet, fastidiousness or refinement may have fixed to it. But we should always keep in our thoughts the manners, and habits, and prejudices, of the age

commendatory verses prefixed to Drayton's Heroical Epistles in 1598 :

E. Sc. Gent.

Duris decus omen.

The words under the initials of his names, of which the meaning is not very apparent, are an anagram, and the letters, properly arranged, form *Edmundus Scorie*. Of Edmund Scory, and his father Silvanus, who was the son of John Scory, Bishop of Hereford, and was a patron of poets, some account may be found in Wood's Ath. Oxon. i. 367, 682. Edmund, in 1617, was knighted : and in the later editions of Drayton's Poems, his name is written at length ; a circumstance which was not discovered till long after the foregoing observation was made. He is author of a short account of the assassination of Henry the Fourth of France, and a eulogy on that monarch, a small quarto published in 1610.

which produced the works we are reviewing. That, in the age of Elizabeth, and her successor on the throne, the allusive play, on names very nearly resembling each other, which we are now considering, was perfectly congenial to the taste of the time, may be shown by numerous instances ; but by none, perhaps, that can more strongly evince the popularity of this exercise of the fancy, than a circumstance recorded of King James, during his visit at Oxford, in 1605, about fifteen years after *The Tears of the Muses* was written : who, while he was surrounded by all the grave and reverend sages of that famous University, indulged himself in the very same conceit which Spenser has employed in the adumbration of the distinguished comick writer whom he has so highly eulogized ; and his Majesty's playful substitution of one name for another, differing only in its initial letter, however little applause it may obtain at the present day, unquestionably then excited no less admiration in that learned body, than it did in their publick orator (a celebrated scholar and wit), by whom, we find, it was considered a very happy paronomasy, or, to use his own words, a *most sweet and pleasant allusion*.

After having related that the King, on viewing the Bodleian Library, was much struck by the assemblage of many thousand volumes of printed books and manuscripts, collected, at a great expense, from the most distant parts of the world ; and that his Majesty thence took occasion to pay a high compliment to the University, observing, that he had often been presented by them with the richest fruits of ingenuity and learning, but never before had seen the

garden in which they grew and were gathered; Mr. Isaac Wake, to whom we are indebted for this anecdote, proceeds to inform us, that a bust of the founder, which had been presented by their chancellor⁸, next attracted the royal visiter's attention: "Dumque," says the orator, "intentos oculos conjicit in Bodlæi statuum" (quam ex alabastro dedolatam et inductis coloribus vividè representantem, illustrissimus cancellarius bene meritò, amoris ergò, posuerat), *suavissimâ allusione* ad pientissimum hoc Bodlæi opus (linguâ enim patriâ *primæ* tantum *literæ* discrimen est inter *Bodlæi* nomen et *Pii*), cum Thomæ *Godly* nomine insignivit, eoque potius nomine quam *Bodly* deinceps meritò nominandum esse censuit¹." From this relation, we may safely conclude,

⁸ Thomas Sackville, the first Earl of Dorset.

⁹ Though this word is employed, the representation here described was, in fact, only a bust, which is yet preserved in the Bodleian Library. See Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the University of Oxford, vol. ii. part ii. p. 925, 4to. 1796.

¹ Rex Platonicus, &c. ab Isaaco Wake, publico academia: ejusdem oratore, 4to. 1607, p. 116.

The following anecdote, though somewhat ludicrous, may yet be introduced with sufficient propriety, in the discussion of so light a subject as ancient paronomasy, more especially as it serves to show that Spenser was by no means singular in thus playing on the names of his contemporaries; and that even a grave and learned divine of the same period, who afterwards sat in the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, did not think it beneath him to indulge, like our British Solomon, in this species of wit. The anecdote to which I allude is recorded by Mr. Aubrey, in his Life of Dr. Ralph Kettel, Master of Trinity College, in Oxford, from the year 1598 to 1643, when he died: and oddly enough, Sir Isaac Wake, to whom we are indebted for that related above, is here also a principal agent.

that the poet's latent meaning, in the verses which have given rise to the present disquisition, was imme-

“I cannot (says Aubrey) forget a story that Robert Skinner, Bishop of Oxon, told me of one Slymaker, a fellow of the college [Trinity College, Oxford], long since. The custom was in those days to go every Saturday night, I think, to Joshua [Joseph] Barnes' shop the bookseller, opposite the west door of St. Mary's, when the news was brought from London, &c. This impudent clown would always be hearkening to people's whisperings, and overlooking their letters,—that he was much taken notice of. Sir Isaac Wake, who was a witty man, was resolved he would put a trick upon him, and understood that such a Sunday Slymaker was to preach at St. Mary's: so Sir Isaac, the Saturday before, reads a very formal letter to some person of quality, that ‘Cardinal Baronius was turned Protestant, and was marching with an army of forty thousand men against the Pope.’ Slymaker hearkened with greedy ears; and the next day, in his prayer before the sermon, beseeched God of his infinite mercy and goodness to give a blessing to the army of Cardinal Baronius, who was turned Protestant, and was marching with an army of forty thousand men,—and so ran on. He had a Stentorian voice, and thundered it out. The auditors all stared, and were amazed. Abbot (afterwards Bishop of Sarum) was then Vice-Chancellor, and when Slymaker came out of the pulpit, sent to him, and asked him his name. ‘Slymaker,’ said he. ‘No, (said the Bishop) tis *Lye-maker*.’”

One of the circumstances here mentioned may nearly ascertain the chronology of this story. The Vice-Chancellor must have been, not Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury, as Aubrey erroneously supposed (that prelate never having filled that office), but Dr. George Abbot, afterwards Bishop of London, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury, who was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in 1600, 1603, and 1605; to one of which periods, therefore, this anecdote must be referred. Dr. Skinner, Bishop of Oxford, the relater of the story, was admitted into Trinity College in 1605. Henry Slymaker became a student, at Oxford, about the year 1592, took the degree of Master of Arts in 1598, and was afterwards elected a Fellow of Trinity College.

diately apprehended by this learned monarch, however it might have escaped the notice of such of his subjects as were less enlightened, or less versed in the mysterious subtilties of allusive and anagrammatick lore. These, however, among the readers of poetry, were comparatively so few, and the admirers and cultivators of such conceits were so numerous, that, doubtless, this verbal artifice, or, as Camden calls it, "name device," was, in Spenser's time, at least, in the metropolis, understood by many persons; though, at a subsequent period, it sunk into oblivion².

Aubrey gives Sir Isaac Wake the title by which he was afterwards distinguished; but he was not then knighted. He became a member of the University of Oxford in 1593; probationary fellow of Merton College, in 1598; and Orator of the University, in 1604. He received the honour of knighthood, at Royaton, in 1619; and was afterwards employed as an ambassador, in Savoy, Piedmont, Italy, &c. A further account of him may be found in Fuller's *Worthies* (Norfolk), p. 286; and in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* p. 573.

² If it should be asked, "Why, if this matter was understood, at least, by the curious, did no one inform posterity that Lilly was the person here eulogized by Spenser?" to this question I shall reply by another. Why did not some contemporary writer inform us who the several poets were, whom Spenser has praised in the verses quoted in the next section, under the names of Harpalus, Corydon, Palin, Alcon, Palemon, and Action? all of whom unquestionably were, at that time, known to the curious and more enlightened perusers of Spenser's poetry. Why did not some one inform us, when Shakspeare first came to London, what was his original breeding and education; what was his father's trade; which was his first play, and when it was produced; what was the order and succession of his dramas; when he finally left the theatre, and what fortune he acquired by it? Why did none of the writers, of the time, inform us, who was

While we are in quest of remote and less obvious analogies, we sometimes overlook those immediately before us. Of the truth of this observation, the verses under our consideration afford a singular instance; for the similitude between the name of *Lilly* and that which was substituted by Spenser in its place, is so striking, that it is wonderful it should so long have eluded our notice. When we advert to the general propensity to anagram, and "a dalliance with names," which prevailed in that age; for Drayton, we have seen, has his *Elphin*, Shakspeare his *Cal-*

the original author of *Titus Andronicus*; who was the writer of the old plays on which Shakspeare formed his *Henry the Sixth*? Why did no one tell us who was the author of the several plays falsely published under his name, in his life-time; concerning which, he himself never took the trouble to undeceive the world? All these were facts known to many at that time.

Sir Walter Raleigh told the clergyman who attended him, just before he lost his head, that his adversary, Essex, had been taken off by a trick. This trick we now know; but why did not that clergyman, or any other of his contemporaries, inform us what that trick was? Shakspeare, we are told, in the contest between him and Ben Jonson, "put him down, and made him bewray his credit." Why *did no one* throw some light on this mysterious account, and inform us how he discomfited his surly antagonist, and transmit to us the ballad, or epigram, or lampoon, by which this literary victory was achieved? The truth is, our ancestors paid very little attention to posterity: they thought many things trifles, and unworthy of notice, which we consider important; and have left us in the dark about many other curious particulars, as well as these, which, at least, the literary part of their successors would be extremely glad to ascertain. The biographer of our poet has, above all others, especial reason to lament the literary penury of his contemporaries, whose admiration of his genius, high as it was, never led them to transmit to posterity any particulars of his private life, or dramattick history.

*ban*³, Ben Jonson his *Oriana*⁴, and other writers similar literal and verbal devices⁵; when Spenser's

³ The metathesis of *Caliban*, for *Cannibal*, is obvious. And still more appositely, in *Measure for Measure*, and in the Second Part of *King Henry IV.* by the change of the first letter, we have (in burlesque) *Canibal*, for *Hanibal*.

⁴ See Jonson's *Entertainment at Althorpe*, 4to. 1603 :

“ We'll expresse in every thing

“ *Oriana's* well-coming.”

In the margin, on the word *Oriana*, we find this note : “ *Quasi oriens Anna.*”

See also *Hymenæi*, a masque, by the same writer, on the marriage of Robert Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard, 4to. 1606 :

“ And see, where *Juno*, whose great name

“ Is *Unio* in the anagram,

“ Displayes her ghstering state,” &c.

⁵ Though the general prevalence of verbal devices, in the age of Spenser, is well known, yet, as they have been long out of fashion, it may not be improper to collect, in this place, a few examples of these obsolete fancies.

Philip Stubbes, in the first edition of his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1vo. 1583, throughout his work describes *Anglia*, or England, under the name of *Ailgna*; and, about sixty years afterwards, the distresses of *Ireland* were displayed in a comedy called *Cola's Fury*, or *Lirenda's Misery*. So, Thomas Lupton, in his book entitled *Too Good to be True*, &c. 4to. 1584, describes a kind of Utopia, or country of imaginary perfection, under the awkward metathesis of *Mauqsun* [*Nusquam*], and the whole dialogue (for that is the form of his work) is carried on by two speakers, each of whose names is an anagram : *Siugila* [*Aliquis*], born in a most fruitful island, called *Ailgna* [i. e. *Anglia*], and *Omen* [*Nemo*]. Theodore Beza, Spenser's contemporary, with whose writings he doubtless was well acquainted, concealed himself under the double veil of translation and anagram, substituting for his Christian and surname *Adeodatus Seba*. “ *Carmina ejus* (says Sir Thomas Pope Blount, in his *Censura Authorum*) *leguntur. tom. iii. Delit. Gal. sub nomine Adeodati Sebæ, Vesalitensis,*

play on other names is considered ; and, in addition to the remarkable and kindred paronomasy, by which he has designated his patron, it is observed, that, in his eleventh Eclogue, the two principal persons, shadowed and eulogized under feigned denominations, were, by a double artifice, so covertly concealed, as to elude the researches of the poet's intimate friend and commentator ; though now, with the aid of some

sub quo latere voluit." John Penry, the well-known schismatick, in 1589, impudently dedicated his Theses Martinianæ to John Cankerbury, meaning the learned and pious John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus also Orchesographies, a curious treatise on dancing, in French (for the notice of which I am indebted to the ingenious Mr. Douce), was published in 4to. in 1584, by Jean Tabouret, under the anagrammatical name of Thoinot Arbeau. In like manner, a Dialogue between the Crosse in Cheap and Charing Crosse, was published in 1641, by Henry Peacham (who was about twenty-two years younger than Spenser), under the anagram of Ryhen Pameach : and Sir Symonds D'Ewes, in his Memoirs of his own life, a manuscript in the British Museum, speaking of Sir Francis Bacon's being created Viscount St. Alban, in 1621, informs us that the wits of the time then said, that *Nabal*, being folly or foolishness, and the true anagram of *Alban*, might well set forth his fond and impotent ambition." MS. Harl. 640. So common were these fancies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See also p. 219, n. 8, where other examples of similar *literal* devices will be found.

After the Restoration, Dryden, as I have shown in his Life, shadowed his friend, Sir Charles Sidley, under the name of *Lisideius*, the anagram of his surname, Latinized (*Sidleius*) ; and, above a century after Spenser's verses were written, Swift concealed, or attempted to conceal, the name or title of *Decanus* [the Dean], under that of *Cadenus* ; and has employed the same kind of conceit in his verses entitled *Pethon the Great*. He is, perhaps, the last celebrated writer in whose works such fancies are found.

verses which he had not seen, they may be clearly ascertained, by a similar solution⁶; that by "well

⁶ Spenser's friend, E. K., in his Commentary on The Shepheard's Calendar (General Argument), tells us, that "to the speciall meaning and intent of a *few* of his Eclogues he was not privy." In the introductory remarks on the Eclogue for November, he observes, "In this eleventh Eclogue hee laments the death of some *maiden of great blood*, whom hee calleth *Dido*. The personage is secret and to me unknowne, *albeit of him selfe I often required the same*:" and in his Glossary on the thirty-eighth line, he says, "The *great shepheard* is some man of *high degree*; but the person both of the shepheard and of *Dido* is unknown, and *closely buried in the authour's conceipt*." This conceit I shall now endeavour to unfold.

The "maiden of great blood," concealed under the name of Dido, and lamented in the eleventh Eclogue, was, I believe, an illegitimate daughter of Robert Earl of Leicester, by Douglas Howard Lady Sheffield, the widow of John, the second Lord Sheffield. The "great shepheard," *Lobbin*, is, in the Eclogue, said to be *her father*, and *Lobbin* was assuredly Lord Leicester. (See p. 200, n. 5.) The young lady having, I apprehend, been christened *Elizabeth* (probably after the Queen, for, at the time of her birth, Leicester and Lady Sheffield were supposed to be married), is shadowed under the name of Virgil's *Dido*, or *Elisa*. Her father, it should be remembered, resided much at Penshurst, in Kent, and hence that county is made the scene of this pastoral:

"Shepheards, that by your flocks on *Kentish* downes abyde,

"Wail ye this wofull waste of nature's warke,

"The fairest flowre," &c.

(See also Three Proper and Familiar Letters, &c. ut supra, p. 35: "I imagine me (says Gabriel Harvey to Spenser) to come into a goodly *Kentish* garden of your old Lords, or some other nobleman," &c.)

Mr. Warton was of opinion that this Eclogue was written at Penshurst; a notion which adds strength to my conjecture. The poet had there, perhaps, seen the beautiful young maiden, whom he laments, carried to the grave.

ordering" the letters in the word *Rosalinde*, the true name of Spenser's mistress may be discovered, as the

With this solution of the concealment so studiously preserved in this Eclogue, several of the verses very exactly correspond. The residence of the person lamented is ascertained to have been in Kent, by the circumstance of the Kentish shepherds being called upon to lament the maiden, "whose presence was their pryde,—whose absence is their carke;" and the relation and grief of a father, for the loss of a beloved daughter, is thus clearly pointed out, though overlooked by the glossarist, E. K. who erroneously supposed Lobbin to be the lover, instead of the parent, of the maiden deplored :

" ——— Dido is dead alas, and drent,

" Dido, *the great shepheard his daughter sheene.*

* * * * *

" O thou greate shepheard Lobbin, how great is thy grief!

" Where bene the nosegayes that she dight for thee

" The colourd chaplets wrought with a chiefe

" The knotted rush rings and gilt rosemarie?

" For she deemed nothing too deere for thee. . . .

* * * * *

" But maugre death, and dreaded sisters deadly spight,

" And gates of hel and fyrie furies ferse,

" She hath the bonds broke of eternal night,

" Her soule unbodied of the burdenous corpse :

" Why then weepes Lobbin so, without remorse?

" O Lohb, thy losse no longer lament,

" Dido is dead, but into heaven hent."

Douglas Howard, the mother of Dido or Elisa, was one of the daughters of William Lord Howard, of Effingham, and sister to Charles Howard, the second Lord Effingham, and finally Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral of England; and the great insult and injustice shown by Leicester to this lady, in repudiating her, for the purpose of marrying Letitia, the widow of Walter, and mother of Robert Earl of Essex, was, perhaps, one of the causes of Nottingham's deadly hatred to the last-mentioned nobleman. John Lord Sheffield, her first husband, died in January, 1569-70; and soon afterwards an illicit commerce ap-

same contemporary friend has informed us⁷; that, in his seventh Eclogue he has introduced Archbishop

pears to have taken place between his widow and Lord Leicester (Dugdale's *Baronage*, ii. 222), which was then considered a marriage; but which, though the ceremony is said to have been celebrated in the presence of Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward) Dyer, and another gentleman, she was never able to establish; and afterwards marrying Sir Edward Stafford, in the life-time of Lord Leicester, she appears to have acknowledged its invalidity. The fruits of that commerce were, I believe, this daughter, who was, perhaps, born in 1571, and a son, born in 1573, and christened Robert, who afterwards was well known as Sir Robert Dudley, and finally assumed the title of the Duke of Northumberland. His age is ascertained by his admission as a member of Christ-church, in the University of Oxford, in 1587, having been matriculated May 7th, in that year, and being then fourteen. [*Acad. Oxon. Registr.*] The daughter, it may be presumed, died early in 1578, about seven years old; and dying so young, under such equivocal circumstances, may not have been thought worthy of the notice of Dugdale, Collins, or any other of our genealogical historians. In September, 1578, Lord Leicester, while Lady Sheffield was living, married Letice, the widow of Walter Earl of Essex, who had died in Ireland, not without suspicion of poison, in 1576. Spenser, from about 1579 to 1580, being in Lord Leicester's service, probably wrote this Eclogue, to sooth his patron's grief for the loss of an amiable child, perhaps early in 1578, and doubtless previously to his marriage with Lady Essex. It was published in 1579. After it had been written, when Leicester's desertion of Lady Sheffield had brought some disgrace on him, and he and Spenser were not on the most cordial terms, it is not surprising that our poet, though often entreated, should not divulge, even to his friend and commentator, who the persons meant in this pastoral were, being perhaps somewhat ashamed of it. Nor had the commentator the same means to discover who Lobbin was, that we have; for the lines which I have quoted from Colin Clout (see p 200, n. 5), did not appear till sixteen years after his Commentary was written. He was, however, guilty of a great oversight in supposing "the great shepheard, Lobbin,"

Grindal under the denomination of *Algrind*; and, by metathesis, Bishop *Aylmer*, *Elmer*, or *Elmor* (for

the *lover*, instead of the *father*, of the maiden lamented; a notion which the context shows to be perfectly unfounded.

Some months after the preceding note was written, I met with a strong confirmation of my hypothesis in the celebrated libel entitled *Leicester's Commonwealth*, originally published in 1584: "But after this, his lust compelling him to another place, he. [Leicester] would needs make a post contract with Lady Sheffield, and so hee did, begetting *two children* upon her; the one a boy called Robin Sheffield, *now living*, some time brought up at Newington, and the other a *daughter*, born, as is knowen, at Dudley Castle." The words "now living," applied, in contradistinction, to Robin Sheffield (as the writer [the well-known Robert Parsons] chooses to call him), informs us, that his sister [our Dido] was then dead. At the birth of this child, if we may believe the author of that piece, some deception had been practised by Leicester, or Lady Sheffield, in procuring her sister, Lady Dudley, the wife of Edward Lord Dudley, to pretend to be with child, and to be delivered at Dudley Castle; which shows, that this was Lady Sheffield's *first* child by Leicester; for had her son, Robert, been previously born and acknowledged, any such artifice, at a subsequent period, would have been needless.

As a shepherd of the name of Thenot is introduced more than once in the Pastorals of Spenser, what I am now about to observe, is certainly not entitled to much weight, nor indeed does my hypothesis, in my apprehension, stand in need of any additional support: yet I cannot forbear to remark, that the poet, when in his eleventh Eclogue he had occasion to introduce two speakers, himself and another, might have thought that Thenot was an interlocutor peculiarly suited to bear a part in an elegiack dialogue on the death of Dido, or Elizabeth Dudley; *nothe*, the anagram of his name in the French language, with which Spenser appears to have been very conversant, signifying an illegitimate child. By the laws of anagram, where the same letter occurs twice in a name, one of them may be disregarded.

⁷ See the Glosse on the first Eclogue, by E. K. probably Edward

so variously was his name written), under that of *Morel*; and that, in other parts of his works, con-

Kirke, who was of Caius and Gonville College, in Cambridge; and having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1574, and of Master of Arts in 1578, was (as I learn from the Grace-book of that University), it may be presumed, one year younger than Spenser. "Rosalinde is also a feigned name, which, being *well ordered*, will bewray the verie name of his love and mistresse, whom by that name he coloureth." The writer of Spenser's Life, published in 1758, with some probability, conjectures that the lady's name was Rose Linde; a family of that name, as appears from Fuller's Worthies, having been settled in Kent (where Rosalinde resided), in the time of King Henry the Sixth. Rosalinde's real name, however, may have been Elisa Horden, the aspiration being omitted, and *Ordñ* serving in the place of *Orden*; a licence which the framer of such an enigmatical conceit would not scruple to take. "The precise in this practise," says Camden, "strictly observing all the parts of the definition [of an anagram], are only bold with (*h*) either omitting it, or retaining it, for that it cannot challenge the right of a letter. But the licentious, somewhat licentiously, lest they should prejudice poetical libertie, will pardon themselves for doubling or *rejecting* a letter, if the sense fall aptly; and think it no injurie to use *e* for *æ*, *v* for *w*, *s* for *z*, and *c* for *k*, and contrariwise." *Remaines*, 4to. 1605, p. 168. Thomas Horden, as well as Mr. Linde, was a gentleman of Kent, in the time of Henry the Sixth. The Glossarist's observation seems to denote a transposition of letters, which Rosa, or Rose Linde, does not require. "There is," says Drummond of Hawthornden, "in the composition of an anagram, transposition; because, if any sense be in the name of letters not transposed, it is not so much an anagram as *equivoque*, as Anna Grame,—anagram:

"—— What needs an anagramme,

"Since that her very name is *Anna Grame*."

If it should be said that to the construction of this anagram it is necessary that the lady's Christian name should be written with an *s*, instead of a *z*; *Elisa*, and not *Eliza*; the answer, without claiming the license granted by Camden, is, that such

ceits of the same kind may be found⁸; when all these fancies of this great poet, and others, his con-

was Spenser's classical orthography. So, near the conclusion of *The Tears of the Muses* :

“Most peereless prince, most peereless poetresse, . . .

“Divine *Elisa*—.”

Again, in his *Prothalamion* :

“Divine *Elisaes* glorious name may ring.”

Her Majesty's usage, however, was different; for she wrote her name *Elizabeth*. Spenser's orthography was founded on classical authority.

⁸ As we have *Lobbin*, for *Robbin*, or *Robin*; *Willy*, for *Lilly*; *Rosalinde*, for some unknown person (whether Rose Linde or Elisa Horden); *Morel*, for *Elmor*, or *Elmer*; and *Algrind*, for *Grindal*; so, in Colin Clout's *Come Home Again*, *Amaryllis* represents *Alice*, Countess of Derby, the first and last four letters of *Amaryllis* answering, in sound, to her Christian name, the intermediate letters being rejected; and this circumstance, it may be presumed, induced Spenser to distinguish her by that name; for, as she is represented as the wife of Amyntas, he would probably, but for this conceit, have called her *Phillis*, instead of applying that name to her sister, Elizabeth Lady Carey; the loves of Amyntas and *Phillis* having been recently celebrated by Watson, in an admired 'poem. In like manner, the fictitious name, *Theana*, which in Colin Clout represents *Anne*, Countess of Warwick, may have a reference to her Christian name. So, in the fourth Eclogue we have *Bellibone*, by metathesis, for *Bonnibel*: and, in *The Faery Queen*, *Belphebe* represents Queen *Elizabeth*; because Sir Walter Raleigh had called her *Cynthia*; *Phebe*, as well as *Cynthia*, being one of the names of Diana. So also, in the *Prothalamion*, 4to. 1596, written on the marriage of Lady Elizabeth and Lady Catharine Somerset, he has indulged himself in the same kind of conceit which dictated the various fanciful denominations above enumerated; and, in his description of these ladies, he has condescended thus to play on their surname:

“For sure they did not seeme

“To be begot of any earthly seede,

temporaries, shall have been considered, they cannot, I conceive, but add such strength and support to the

“ But rather angels, or of angels kinde ;
 “ Yet were they bred of *somers heat*, they say,
 “ In sweetest season, when each flower and weede
 “ The earth did fresh array.”

Nor was this kind of paronomasy peculiar to Spenser. One of his patrons, and a very admired poet, Sir Edward Dyer, by a similar conceit, has mysteriously divulged his own name, near the conclusion of one of his poems, of which there are two ancient manuscript copies at Oxford ; one in the Bodleian Library, the other in the Ashmolean Museum :

“ Yet is my woe not feignde
 “ Wherein I sterve and pyne ;
 “ Who feeleth most, shall finde his least,
 “ Comparing his with mine.
 “ My song, if any aske
 “ *Who's grievous case is such*,
 “ *Dy er* thou let his name be knowne,—
 “ His folly shewes to [too] much.”

This poem is very corruptly printed among those ascribed erroneously to William Earl of Pembroke and Sir Benjamin Rudierd, in which volume the letter P, prefixed to several copies of verses, merely denotes that they were printed from a transcript in Lord Pembroke's hand-writing, not that they were his compositions. At that time, it was much the fashion to transcribe in a fair paper book, the most popular poetical productions of the day, while they yet continued in manuscript ; and by frequent transcription they became very corrupt. To this common practice Drayton alludes, in the preface to his *Polyolbion*, 1612 : “ In publishing this essay of my poem, there is this great disadvantage against me, that it cometh out at this time, when verses are wholly deduc't to chambers, and nothing esteemed in this lunatique age, but what is kept in cabinets, and must only passe by *transcription*.”

various circumstances which have been mentioned, all tending to show that Lilly alone could have been the

In like manner, in *The Looking Glasse for London and England*, written by Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene (mentioned below), the cruel and brutal son who treats his parents, Alcon and Samia, with neglect and contempt, and refuses them any succour in their utmost need, is called *Radagon*, by metathesis, from *a dragon*. And in Lodge's *Fig for Momus*, a collection of Epistles, Satires, &c. 4to. 1595, we find the poet himself introduced under the name of *Golde* [Lodge], and two of his contemporaries, *Roydon* and *Deering*, under the names of *Dowroy* and *Ringde*. So, in a Collection of Poems, written, at various times, between 1615 and 1635, a manuscript in my possession, in a Replie to Mr. Randall's [Thomas Randolph's] Verses on the Losse of his Finger, we find that poet's name thus anagrammatized :

" Muse, ere we part let wyttie *Arnold* know, .

" *Haud pulchrum est monstrari digito.*"

How far the mystery of anagram was carried, may appear from one by Hugh Holland, on the initials of the two names of Edmund Bolton, which is much more enigmatical than any of Spenser's :

" *Mr. Hugh Holland to his learned friend Mr. E. B. the author,*
upon his Elements of Armoris :

" — Here no need is of my sorry charmes

" To boast it, though my braines Apollo warmes ;

" Where, like in Jove's, Minerva keeps a coile ;

" Yet I, a drone, shall but thy hony spoile,

" That art the maister—BE of all the swarmes."

Commendatory Poem prefixed to Elements of Arm.
4to, 1610.

The writer's conceit here would, perhaps, never have been discovered, but for the following marginal note, on the words—"Maister BE," the last two letters being carefully distinguished by capitals :

" E. B. [i. e. Edmund Bolton] per *anagrammatismum* vel *metathesin*."

comick writer here alluded to, that I trust I shall not incur the charge of critical temerity, or presumption, in supposing that no doubt whatsoever can hereafter be introduced on this subject.

I am perfectly aware how open and exposed these inquiries are to the petty assaults of shallow buffoons and half-witted scoffers; whose gross ignorance of the manners and customs of our ancestors is such, that they cannot even comprehend why the bequests of an ancient will are noticed, or how any useful information can be derived from circumstances apparently trifling and unimportant; and who, therefore, will be always ready, with the aid of that glimmering of knowledge which they possess, and such barren jests as they can glean from worthless commonplace books, to ridicule disquisitions like the present. But they may be assured that they lose their labour, which, of however little value, might yet be better employed; and, at the same time, their feeble artillery is wholly misdirected; for, if any ridicule belongs to these subjects, it should attach itself to those great authors, who, though their works will live for ever, indulged themselves, sometimes, in conceits⁹ which

⁹ As so much has been said in this section concerning anagrams, and "name-devices," which are as old as the time of Lycophron, it is but justice to Spenser to advert to the opinions which very generally prevailed in his time on this subject, and particularly to quote the sentiments of the grave and judicious Camden on these playful conceits.

After having explained the nature of anagram, he adds, "But some of the sower sort will say, it is nothing but troublous joy; and because they cannot attaine to it, condemne it, lest by commending it they should discommend themselves. Others, more

cannot be developed without such investigations. Judicious readers will always justly appreciate and highly approve of disquisitions tending to illustrate the history and writings of the most distinguished poets which England has produced, and the manners and usages of their times, even though such disquisitions should occasionally deviate from more important topics to the explication of verbal artifices, latent paronomasies, or forgotten anagrams; nor will they

milde, will grant it to be a daintie devise, and disport of wit, not without pleasure, if it be not wrested out of the name to the reproach of the person. And such will not deny, but that as good names may be ominous, so also good anagrammes, *with a delightfull comfort and pleasant motion in honest mindes*; in no point yielding to many vaine pleasures of the body. They will also afford it some commendation in respect of the difficultie (*difficilia quæ pulchra*), as also that it is a whetstone of patience to them that shall practise it [and also our antiquary might have added, *to them that shall develope it*]. For some have beene seene to bite their penne, scratch their head, bend their browes, bite their lips, beate the boord, teare the paper, when they were faire for somewhat, and caught nothing herein. If profound antiquity, or the inventour may commend an invention, this will not give place to many." After various observations and examples, the same writer, in conclusion, adds, "But here it is time to stay; for some of the sowre sort begin to laugh at these, when as yet they have no better inlight in anagrammes, then wise Sieur Gaulard, who, when he heard a gentleman report that he was at supper, where they had not only good company and good cheare, but also savoury epigrammes, and fine anagrammes, he, returning home, rated and belowted his cooke, as an ignorant scullion, that never dressed or served up to him either epigrammes or anagrammes. And as for these sowre surlings, they are to be commended to Sieur Gaulard, and hee with them joyally to their cookes and kitchen stuffe." *Camden's Remaines*, 4to. 1605.

ever receive coarse ribaldry and saucy folly, for wit ; or vapid petulance and frothy inanity, for good sense, reason, and argument.

SECTION XIII.

Though the preceding observations have perfectly satisfied my own mind, and, I doubt not, will impress a similar conviction on my readers, it was not, I must acknowledge, without a considerable degree of regret, that I found, by the success of my own researches, a strong obstacle placed against indulging in the pleasing notion, that the two great poets of the age of Elizabeth lived in mutual harmony and friendship with each other, as far as Spenser's short visits to England during his latter years would admit. The modest and humble Shakspeare appears not to have thought his praise of any value ; and therefore, while all the poets of the time were complimenting each other¹, we do not find a single encomium on a con-

¹ Ben Jonson has praised Selden, Donne, Sylvester, Breton, Chapman, Drayton, Broome, &c. Donne has praised Jonson. Sir John Davys has praised Spenser, Chapman, Daniel. Chapman has encomiastick verses on Jonson, Fletcher, Beaumont. Davison has most extravagantly praised Daniel, placing him above Spenser. Beaumont has eulogized Ben Jonson. Brown and Withers have encomiastick verses on Drayton. Abraham Fleming has commended Whetstone. We have an eulogy, by Nashe, on Greene, Peele, Roydon, and Acheley ; by Peele, on Spenser, Wilson, Marlowe, Greene, and Whetstone ; by Harrington, on Constable, Daniel, Bustard, Davys, and Turberville ; by Drayton, on Drummond, Lord Sterling, and many others ; by Lodge, on Lilly, Nashe, Sylvester, Daniel, and Drayton ; by Davies, of Hereford,

temporary writer² subscribed with the name of our great dramatist: and indeed so few are the addresses or allusions to him, that one is led to suspect, that though he was very highly estimated, his age did not set a sufficient value on his transcendent abilities. But that Spenser, who has mentioned and praised many of the *makers* of his time, after Shakspeare had acquired a considerable degree of celebrity, should have been wholly silent concerning such a phenomenon, may seem so improbable, as to weaken in some degree the force of the foregoing remarks; and indeed almost made me distrust my own hypothesis, till, by a very careful perusal of all his smaller pieces, I discovered that he was not insensible to the merits of his illustrious contemporary; and, by a singular coincidence, the covert manner in which he is noticed, above four years after *The Tears of the Muses* was published, and the period at which he is referred to, in a passage that has hitherto escaped the observation of all the commentators and editors of both these poets, affords a strong confirmation of what has been already suggested,—that Shakspeare was not the dramatick writer eulogized in that poem, and indirectly strengthens the explication of that eulogy given in the preceding pages.

on Roydon, Daniel, Shakspeare, Fletcher, &c.; and by Fitz Geoffrey, on Spenser, Sidney, Daniel, and Drayton. Drayton has commended Middleton, Chapman, Sir John Beaumont, and others.

² A paper of verses, in which Spenser's *deep conceits* is praised, has been attributed to Shakspeare, but erroneously; for it was written by Richard Barnesfield. See *Shakspeare's Poems*, vol. xx.

Spenser, whose history, like that of many of our celebrated English writers, is involved in a mist of confusion and error³, published at London, in 1595, or consented to the publication of, a poem, called Colin Clout's Come Home Again. The subject of this piece is his own return to his humble mansion at Kilcolman, in the south of Ireland, after having visited London in company with Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom the poem is addressed; who, in April, 1589, having been "chased from the English court" by Lord Essex⁴, had retired to his estate in the county of Corke, from whence he made an excursion to Spenser's castle, which was situated in the same county. This production, however, may have taken its rise from some visit of Raleigh to Ireland, at a later period; and even if it alluded to that of 1589, it was written some years afterwards. To the Dedicatory Epistle the printer has erroneously affixed a false date: "From my house of Kilcolman the 27 of December⁵, 1591;" for the poem itself was composed un-

³ This was written several years before the late edition of Spenser's Works, by the Rev. Mr. Todd, had appeared.

⁴ Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, i. 53.

⁵ It is not easy to ascertain the precise time, in 1594, when this poem was written. That it was written after April, 1594, is certain, for the reason given in the next page of text. The lines relative to the death of Lord Derby,—

"But since I said he is, he quite is gone," &c. would lead us to suppose it written *recently* after that event. Yet the verses, in which his widow is said to be freed from the yoke of Cupid, *since which* she dreads to engage in a second marriage, seems to imply that some months had elapsed since she lost her husband. Daniel's Cleopatra, a tragedy, was published in

questionably after the middle of 1594, and perhaps in the December of that year ⁶. This error of the date, which, so far as Shakspeare has any connexion with this piece, is a material consideration, is ascertained by the verses that it contains, addressed to Alice, Countess of Derby, under the name of Amaryllis, to whom, by the title of Lady Strange, The Tears of the Muses had been dedicated. She had now ⁷ become a widow by the death of her husband, Ferdinand, the fifth Earl of Derby, who enjoyed that title little more than six months, dying April 16, 1594 ⁸. To this event the poet has particularly alluded. The error of the date of this poem is also ascertained by Spenser's *Daphnida*, published in 1596, the Epistle

1594; but I doubt whether it had reached Spenser's hands, when he composed his eulogy on that poet. If he had known that Daniel had already attempted "tragick plaints and passionate mischance," he scarcely would have contented himself with saying that this poet was likely to excel in some performance of that kind. Unluckily there is no entry of the poem in question in the Stationers' register, which might throw some light on this inquiry. I am, therefore, only able to state the doubts on each side.

⁶ The allusion to Daniel's Sonnets, which did not appear till 1592, furnishes another proof of this error, and the allusion to Raleigh's disgrace a fourth.

⁷ As it has become a fashion for hypercriticks, when they quote the works of others, to re-write them, to guard against any such overweening and crotchet correction, I think it proper to say, that this word is here used deliberately, and that I think *now* more elegant than *then* in this place.

⁸ The writer of the Life of Spenser, prefixed to Church's edition, places the death of this nobleman erroneously in 1595, and appears to have led Mr. Warton into the same error. See his Milton, p. 111, second edition.

Dedicatorie of which is dated “ London, the first of Januarie, 1591;” i. e. 1591-2; for this poet could not have affixed his name to a dedication at Kilcolman in Ireland, on Dec. 27, 1591, and five days afterwards write another dedication in London.

In this pleasing pastoral, Spenser, under the name of Colin, after having given an account of his visit to the court of Elizabeth, and drawn a striking contrast between the peaceful, well-ordered, and happy land of England, and the then wild and barbarous country to which his hard lot had led him, breaks out into a pænegyrick on his Sovereign, by whom, as he here relates, he had been highly favoured; her Majesty, herself a great poetess (if there be truth in song), having allowed him to recite to her some of his verses.—“ If she be so great a poetess (replies Alexis, one of his companions), what need has she of so simple a versifier as you? Perhaps, however (adds he), the poets of the time are either too lazy to write, or such worthless rhymers, as not to be entitled to descant on so lofty a theme, and hence she condescended to hear Colin’s minstrelsey.” In reply to this observation, Spenser takes occasion to enumerate and commend many of the flourishing metricians of the time, some of whom are expressly mentioned, while the greater part are concealed under fictitious names and the dark veil of description.

- “ Ah, nay, said Colin, neither so, nor so,
- “ For better shepherds live not under skie,
- “ Nor better hable, when they list, to blow
- “ Their pipes aloud, her name to glorifie.—
- “ There is good Harpalus, now waxen aged,
- “ In faithful service of faire Cynthia;—

- “ And there is Corydon, though meanly waged,
 “ Yet hablest wit of most I know this day.—
 “ And there is sad Alcyon, bent to mourne,
 “ Though fit to frame an everlasting dittie,
 “ Whose gentle spright for Daphne’s death doth tourn
 “ Sweet layes of love to endlesse plaints of pittie ⁹.
 “ Ah pensive boy, pursue that brave conceipt ¹
 “ In thy sweet eglantine ² of Meriflure ³ ;
-

⁹ We have here another instance of Spenser copying himself.
 In his eleventh Eclogue we find :

- “ Sing now, ye shepheard’s daughters, sing no mo
 “ The song that Colin made you in her praise,
 “ But *into weeping turn your wanton layes.*”

¹ Of this uncommon *formula* we have an example in Holy Writ,
 1 Kings, xviii. 7 : “ And as Obadiah was in the way, behold,
 Elijah met him : and he knew him, and fell on his face, and said,
 Art thou *that* my lord Elijah ?”

² In an arbour of eglantine or sweet-briar. Arbours formed of
 this sweet-scented shrub were then common. See Lilly’s
 Euphues and his England, signat. H 4, (b.) 4to. 1580 :

“ Fidus, calling these gentlemen up, brought them into his
 garden, wher under a sweet *arbour of eglantine*, the birds re-
 cording their sweet notes, he also strained his olde pipe,” &c.

Again, in A briefe and pleasant Discourse of Duties in Ma-
 riage, called The Flower of Friendshippe, by Edmond Tylney,
 8vo. 1568 : “ — at whose returne we went into the garden, a
 place marvellous delectable, wherein was a passing faire *arbour*,
 at the entrance whereof, on eche side, sprong up two pleasaunt
 trees, whose greene leaves much delighted our eyes, and were sup-
 ported with statelye pillers, curiously painted with divers de-
 vises. All the whole *arbour* above over our heades, and on eche
 side, was *powdred with sundrie flowers*, and wreathed above with
 the sweete bryer or *eglantine*, between the braunches whereof
 the chereful sunne layde in his beames here and there ; so that
 the heate did not molest us, neyther did the sunne want, to cheere
 us. What shall I say ? it might be called a terrestriall paradise.”

Spenser’s own authority, however, will most decisively prove

“ Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height,
 “ That may thy Muse and mates to mirth allure.—

that by the words, “ In thy sweet *eglantine*,” such an arbour was intended to be described. See the Faery Queen, b. xi. c. 5, st. 29:

“ And over him, art, stryving to compare
 “ With nature, did an *arbour* greene disprede,
 “ Framed of wanton yvie, flouring fayre,
 “ Through which the fragrant *eglantine* did spred
 “ His prickling armes, entrayld with roses red,
 “ Which daintie odours round about them threw;
 “ And all within with flowres was garnished,
 “ That, when mild Zephyrus amongst them blew,
 “ Did breathe out beauteous smels, and painted colors shew.”

This description, we see, was not drawn from the stores of Spenser's imagination, as has been supposed: he merely described an elegant arbour of his own time.

3 Mr. Gorge had estates in Devonshire, Cornwall, and Middlesex: but *Meriflure*, which does not occur as the designation of any land in the inquisition taken after his death, is not the name of any place in those counties, or in any other county in England, and was unquestionably a fictitious denomination invented for the occasion. We have seen Spenser so often indulging himself in fanciful denominations, that this combination will not seem more strange than many others which have been noticed. *Meriflure*, I conceive, was formed from the French words *rime* (*meri*), and *fleur* (*flure*), both anagrammatized; and thus considered, the poet's exhortation to his friend,

“ ———— pursue that brave conceipt,

“ In thy sweet *eglantine* of *Meriflure*,”

means nothing more than—‘ Complete that fine poetick work which you have begun, in thy arbour, embellished not only with *eglantine* or sweet-briar (the usual ornament of bowers, see p. 229, n. 2), but also with the choicest *flowers of verse*, or, in other words, consecrated to poesy:’ for Spenser, following his master, Ariosto, generally, if not always, uses *rime* as synonymous to *verse*. So, in his Eclogue for October:

“ Thou know'st not, Percie, how the *rime* should rage;”
 and in that for November:

“ There eke is Palin, worthie of great praise,

“ Albe he envie at my rustick quill ;—

“ Up, griezlie ghostes, and up, my rufull *rime* ! ”

Again, in The Tears of the Muses :

“ Then fittest are those ragged *rimes* for me.”

In French, *rime* had the same meaning : and in that language he found *fleur d'age*, signifying, as in the equivalent expression in our own, the flower or prime of a man's age ; *fleur de farine*, the finest meal ; and *fleur d'huyle*, the first and richest droppings of the olive or grape before they are pressed. So, in English, in his own time (1568), a popular book was published by Edmond Tilney, afterwards Master of the Revels, under the title of the *Flower of Friendship* ; and about the same time appeared The *Flower of the Ten Commandements*. While Spenser was a student at Cambridge, Gascoigne published a collection of his poems, under the title of “ A hundreth sundry *Flowers*,” &c. He might also in the formation of this word have had in view the well-known collection of Greek Epigrams, entitled *ANΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ*, and the Latin *Flores Poetarum* ; in imitation of which works, a collection of miscellaneous poetry by different authors appeared a few years after Colin Clout, under the title of “ *Belvidere, or the Garden of the Muses*,” in the preface to which the editor says, “ that every man may be fully satisfied, I have set down both how, whence and where these *flowers* had their first springing, till they were drawn together into the Muses' garden.” The flowers here spoken of were the *flowers of verse*, and therefore, by an easy fiction, these poetick effusions may have been supposed to have been poured forth in arbours of a similar construction to that which is here called *Meriflure*.

In another poem he makes mention of the bowers devoted to the Muses, such as that which he has here appropriated to his friend :

“ — *arbours sweet*, in which the shepherd swaines

“ Were wont so oft their pastorals to sing.”

Lydgate has “ the *flower of knighthood*,” and “ the *flower of worthinesse* ;” and Spenser himself, “ the *flower of chivalrie*,” and

“ And there is pleasing Alcon, could he raise

“ His tunes from layes ⁴ to matter of more skill.—

“ the *flowers of courtesie* ;” and in this very poem he calls Ferdinando Earl of Derby, under the name of Amyntas, “ the *flower of shepheards*.” In his *Teares of the Muses*, we find a similar *formula* still more resembling the latent meaning couched under the invented word before us :

“ But I, that in true tragedies am skil’d,

“ The *flowre of wit*, finde nought to busie me !”

The combination of ideas, therefore, which gave rise to the word *Meriflure*, we see, was perfectly congenial to his general train of thought and phraseology elsewhere.

With respect to the former part of this fictitious denomination, *meri*, or *rime* anagrammatized, it may be observed, that Fontenelle, in like manner, with the variation of only one letter, about a century afterwards published a satirical history of *Rome* and *Geneve*, under the anagram of *Mero* and *Enegu*.

The anagram of *Rome*, a word little different from that under our consideration, was, I believe, not unknown to Spenser :

Cur varios tum diu remoratur *Roma* clientes ?

Fortè, quod inverso nomine *Roma* mora est.

I may add that the known adumbration of Bishop *Elmor* (or *Aylmer*) under the name of *Morcl*, gives countenance to the metathesis now suggested, which in the word *rime* is effected by the same process, namely, by making the first and second syllables of each word change places ; and a similar compounded name in an ancient romance, *Blanchefleur*, was doubtless familiar to Spenser’s ear.

Nor was the foreign termination of the fictitious name which he has chosen to introduce here (perhaps chiefly for the sake of the corresponding rhyme), wholly unknown to his countrymen ; for, for many centuries previous to the dissolution of religious houses in the time of Henry the Eighth, subsisted, in Cardiganshire, the Abbey of *Stratflure*, or *Strutflure* (*strata florida*), an abbey of Cestercian monks. See Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, iii. 893.

⁴ “ Layes” are songs. It is observable that the same kind of praise is given a few years afterwards to Shakspeare, who un-

- " And there is old Palemon, free from spight,
 " Whose carefull pipe may make the hearer rew;
 " Yet he him selfe may rewed be, more right,
 " That sung so long, untill quite hoarse he grew.—
 " And there is Alabaster throughly taught
 " In all this skill, though knowen yet to few;
 " Yet were he known to Cynthia as he ought,
 " His Eliseis would be redde anew.
 " Who lives that can match that heroick song
 " Which he hath of that mightie princesse made?
 " O dreaded dread^s, do not thy selfe that wrong
 " To let thy fame lie so in hidden shade;
 " But call it forth, O call him forth to thee,
 " To end thy glorie, which he hath begun:
 " That when he finisht hath, as it should be,
 " No braver poeme can be under sun:
-

accountably is represented by his eulogist as a mere penner of love-verses, when he had produced at least fifteen of his incomparable plays:

- " Who loves Adonis' love, or Lucrece' rape,
 " His sweeter verse contains heart-throbbing strife,
 " Could but a *graver subject* him content,
 " *Without love's foolish lazy languishment.*"

Return from Parnassus, 4to. 1606; but written about the end of the year 1602.

^s Surely there is here some error of the press. I cannot but think the poet wrote "*O dearest dread.*" So, in the conclusion of his address to the same personage, prefixed to the Faery Queen:

- " The which to heare vouchsafe, *O dearest dread*, awhile."

The same form of expression is found also in book ii. c. 2, st. 30; and book iv. c. 8, st. 17. So also, in his Hymn of Beautie:

- " And you faire Venus' dearling, my *dear dread.*"

Sir Henry Sidney begins one of his letters to Queen Elizabeth thus—"Most feared and beloved," which is precisely Spenser's "*dearest dread*" So also, Sir Richard Gresham's Petition to King Henry VIII. (1535), Bib. Cotton. Cleop. E IV. fol. 122, "*My most dradd, beloved and naturall sov'aigne.*" "*O dreaded dread*," has no meaning.

- “ Nor Po nor Tybur’s swans, so much renown’d,
“ Nor all the brood of Greece so highly prais’d,
“ Can match that Muse, when it with bayes is crown’d
“ And to the pitch of her perfection rais’d.—
“ And there is a new shepherd late up sprong,
“ That which doth all afore him far surpass;e;
“ Appearing well in that well-tuned song,
“ Which late he sung unto a scornfull lasse:
“ Yet doth his trembling muse but lowly flie,
“ As daring not too rashly mount on hight,
“ And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie,
“ In love’s soft laies and looser thoughts’ delight.
“ Then rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell,
“ And to what course thou please, thy selfe advance;
“ But most me seemes, thy accent will excell
“ In tragick plaints and passionate mischance.—
“ And there that shepherd of the Ocean is,
“ That spends his wit in love’s consuming smart:
“ Full sweetly temperd is that muse of his,
“ That can empierce a princes mightie hart.
“ There also is, ah no, he is not now,
“ But since I said—he is, he quite is gone,
“ Amyntas quite is gone and lies full low,
“ Having his Amaryllis left to mone:
“ Helpe, O ye shepheards, helpe ye all in this,
“ Helpe Amaryllis this her losse to mourne:
“ Her losse is yours, your losse Amyntas is;
“ Amyntas, floure of shepheards pride forlorne.
“ He, whilst he lived, was the noblest swaine
“ That ever piped in an oaten quill;
“ Both did he other which could pipe, maintaine,
“ And eke could pipe him selfe with passing skill.—
“ And there, though last, not least, is Action,
“ A gentler shepherd may no where be found;
“ Whose Muse full of high thoughts’ invention,
“ Doth like him selfe heroically sound.—
“ All these, and many others mo remaine
“ Now after Astrofell is dead and gone;
“ But while as Astrofell did live and raine,
“ Amongst all these was none his paragone.

“ All these do florish in their sundry kynd,
“ And doth their Cynthia immortall make ;
“ Yet found I lyking in her royal mynd,
“ Not for my skyll, but for that shepheards sake.”

Though probably at the time when these verses were published, all the poets here alluded to under fictitious names, were well known to the more enlightened class of readers, they can now be discovered only by conjecture. Indeed, at the first view, the inquiry concerning them seemed to me quite hopeless; for many years ago, when I consulted the late Mr. Warton on this point, expecting that his various and profound researches into the history of the poetry and poets of that age might furnish some aid towards overcoming this difficulty, he told me that nothing had occurred in the course of his reading, which could throw any light upon the subject. Since that period, however, a minute and very careful investigation of all the circumstances and facts, supplied by the lines themselves, has enabled me to dispel a great part of the artful obscurity in which these persons were involved, and to point them out with, at least, a considerable degree of probability.

The first poet alluded to, under the description of the “ aged Harpalus,” was doubtless Thomas Churchyard⁶, at that time above seventy years old. He had

⁶ “ Thomas Churchyard (says Oldys in his manuscript notes on Winstanley's Lives of the Poets) was born about the year 1520; at the age of seventeen (1537) came to King Henry's court; had served in the wars abroad, and was subject at home, under eight crowned heads: had also been in the service of two or three of the noblest families in England: had dedicated books to about

been a writer of poetry, in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and for some years lived in the service of

twenty great personages of fortune and distinction: yet with his fighting and writing, loss of much blood and time in camps and courts, in a fearful and fruitless attendance and dependance upon the ungrateful great, for above sixty-seven years, he never could get more than a very scanty pension from Queen Elizabeth, so scanty that upon the death of Dr. John Underhill, Bishop of Oxford, one of his best friends [1589], he had no better prospect of sustaining himself to the end of his natural course, than [by] exposing again, in 1592, his aged and scarified limbs to the hardships of war in foreign service; yet did struggle on to salute King James with a Congratulation upon his entrance, printed 4to. 1604. He was a most grateful man in receiving kindnesses, and in celebrating the merits of the dead."

Oldys, in the foregoing statement, seems to have thought that Churchyard had obtained a pension before 1589; but he was mistaken. See note 8.

A copious account of Churchyard's Works may be found in Herbert's edition of Ames's Typ. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 1806. His poem, entitled The Mirrour and Manners of Men, which was published in 1594, was written fifty years before; hence it appears that he was an author so early as 1544, the 36th year of Henry VIII. His last publication appeared in 1604, and was addressed to King James, under the title of A blessed Balme to Search and Salve Sedition; to which was added "A Pean Triumphal upon the King's Publick Entry," &c. He died in the same year, and was buried in the church of St. Margaret, Westminster. See Weaver's Fun. Mon. p. 497.

It appears that Nashe, in some pamphlet, now unknown, had reflected upon Churchyard; for in his Apologie of Pierce Penilesse, 4to. 1593, (signat. H 4. b), he complains that Gabriel Harvey had reproached him with *crying* this poet *mercy*. "This," he says, "could not be done but with an intent to stir him up to write against Churchyard *afresh*, which nothing under heaven should draw him to do." "I love you" (adds Nashe, addressing Churchyard,) "unfainedly, and admire your *aged* Muse, that

Henry Earl of Surrey; and he has himself told us, that among the Miscellaneous Verses, by various authors, appended in 1557, and in subsequent editions, to the poems of that accomplished and unfortunate nobleman, many of his productions are to be found. Here we meet with one, entitled “Harpalus’ Complaint of Philladaes love bestowed on Corin’,” which was deservedly admired; and being, I suppose, well known in Spenser’s time to be written by Churchyard, he denominates him from the hero of the piece. He had now been *long in the service* of Queen Elizabeth, here denominated “fair Cynthia,” and recently (January 27, 1592-3), had obtained from her Majesty a pension of eighteen pence a-day⁸, or

may well be grandmother to our grand eloquentest poet, at this present.

Sanctum et venerabile vetus omne poema.

“Shore’s wife [inserted in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*] is yong, though you be stept in yeares: in her shall you live when you are dead.” Churchyard, in return, speaks highly of Nashe, in his *New Years Gift to Queen Elizabeth*, 1593.

⁷ Mr. Warton has reprinted this poem entire in the third volume of his *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* p. 57, with the following high eulogy: “From the same collection, [Churchyard’s Challenge,] the following is perhaps the first example in our language of the pure and unmixed pastoral; and in the erotick species, for ease of numbers, elegance of rural allusion, and simplicity of imagery, excels every thing of this kind in Spenser, who is erroneously ranked as our earliest English Bucolick.”

⁸ “Pat. 35 Eliz. p. 4. Jan. 27. Elizabeth by the Grace of God &c. To All Men to whom &c. Greeting.—Knowe Ye that Wee for certen good Causes and Consideracons us hereunto specially moving, Of our Grace especiall, certen Knowledge, and meere Mocon, Have Gyven and Graunted and by these p^rsentes for us our Heyres and Successors Doe Gyve and Graunte to our

27*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per annum; which, small as it was, was not punctually paid¹. In the patent granting this

Welbeloved Svante Thomas Churchard Gent A certen Añuytye or Pencon of Eighteene Pence of good and lawfull Money of England by the Day; To have hold receave and enjoy the said Pencōn of Eighteene Pence of lawfull Money of England by the Day unto the sayde Thomas Churchard and his Assignes during his naturall Lyfe, from the Feaste of Saynte Michael last past before the Date hereof, of the Treasure of us our Heyres and Successors at the Receyte of the Exchequer at Westm^r of us our Heyres and Successors by the Hands of the Treasurer and Chamberlaynes of us our Heyres and Successors there for the Tyme being, at four usuall Feastes or Termes of the Yeere by even Porcons yerely to be payde Although exp^{sse} mencon &c. In Witnes whereof &c. Wytnes our selfe at Westm^r. the xxvijth Day of January [1592-3]. *p* Breve de Privato Sigillo, &c.

¹ His pension, we have seen, was to commence from Michaelmas, 1592; yet near the close of the following year, he had received nothing, as appears from a letter in the Lambeth Library, written by Mr. A. Standon to Antony Bacon, and dated "Wynd-sore, the xvijth of November, 1593," from which I transcribed the following postscript:

"I sende you, S^r. here, fower of Churchyard's chyl dren whiche he hatche in collo^r [choler], after he could not obtaine of one a thinge her Ma^{ty}. had granted him; which verses came to her handes.

"Madame,

"You bid your Tresorer on a tyme

"To gyve me reason for my ryme;

"But synce that tyme and that season

"He gave me nether ryme nor reason."

MS. Lamb. 649, p. 267.

These lines furnish one of many proofs of what I have had frequent occasion to observe, that all the traditional stories concerning our English poets are to be examined with the greatest caution, being frequently either wholly unfounded, or blended with gross fiction; for on the fact above-mentioned, a circumstantial tale respecting Spenser and Lord Burghley has been

little annuity, which I discovered in the rolls, and have examined on the present occasion, he is expressly named the Queen's *servant*.

By Corydon was certainly meant Abraham Fraunce, a poet of considerable learning, who, from various circumstances, we may be assured, was a friend of Spenser's. In 1588, he had published, in quarto, "The Lamentation of Corydon for the Love of Alexis," being a translation of Virgil's second Eclogue, in English hexameters; which appears to have given occasion to the poetical designation here employed. This piece he afterwards annexed to his Lawyer's Logike, which appeared in the same year; and it was again reprinted and attached to his poem, entitled "The Countess of Pembroke's Ivy Church²" in

constructed; which first appeared in the folio edition of that poet's works in 1579, and has been repeated a hundred times since, though totally void of truth. It is, however, just as well founded as another tale, which has been as often told:—that his first introduction to Sir Philip Sidney was, by presenting him with a canto of his Faery Queen, with which Sidney was so delighted, that he ordered his steward to give the *unknown* author fifty pounds: and having increased his bounty as he read on, urged him to make haste, otherwise he should be in danger of giving away his whole estate. Were not this tale disproved by other circumstances, the verses subscribed with the initials W. L. at the end of the Faery Queen alone would shew that it also is a mere fiction; for it appears from them that it was on the suggestion of Sidney, Spenser undertook that poem; and he had himself dedicated his Shepherd's Calendar to Sidney, and by that means became acquainted with him in or before 1578.

² This title, I believe, has not been understood. Ivy Church appears to have been one of the seats in Wales belonging to Henry Earl of Pembroke, husband to this Countess. See the next note.

1591. Abraham Fraunce appears to have been born about the year 1564, in or near Shrewsbury, in which town and neighbourhood, several persons, of the same name, in lower life, yet remain. His father's Christian name I have not been able to discover; but he appears to have been a burgess of Shrewsbury, and probably, like our poet's father, was a glover. Abraham Fraunce, the person of whom we are now speaking, was bred at the free-school of Shrewsbury, of which the celebrated Mr. Ashton was master; and his name stands the twenty-fifth in the list of admissions, for January, 1571, in the register kept by that gentleman. He appears then as a burgess. At this school, Sir Philip Sidney was bred, and laid the foundation of his friendship with Foulke Greville (afterwards Lord Brooke), they both being admitted into it on the same day; several years, however, before the admission of Fraunce.

His friendship and connexion with Spenser, it may be presumed, began at an early period; for Fraunce, like him, was honoured by the patronage of Sir Philip Sidney, by whom he was sent to St. John's College, in Cambridge, in 1579; where, for a long period, he was supported by his bounty. Here he resided eight years; and, after his patron's death, he, in 1587, removed to Gray's Inn, to study the law. In 1590, by the favour of Henry Earl of Pembroke, who had married Sidney's sister, he was, we have reason to believe, made the Queen's solicitor at the Council or Court of the Marches in Wales³; a situa-

³ These few particulars concerning Abraham Fraunce I have principally collected from his own works, and from a letter in the

tion in which he was certainly but “meanly waged;” the salary of his office amounting only to ten pounds a-year⁴. While he was an under-graduate at Cam-

Museum, written by Henry Earl of Pembroke, Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, dated at *Ivy Church*, the xxvth of August, 1590. After having named certain persons as proper to fill vacant offices in the Court of the Council in the Marches of Wales, he proceeds thus : —“ Yet least the indifferency I use may argue me to conceive an equality in them whose names I deliver, I have to this my servaunt [Messenger] imparted mine opinion of every one. Yf it fall out that I preferre them who are by blood, kindred, alliance, or in other respectes, nearest my selfe, yet I assure your l^p that my comendation proceeds of a sufficientie in them, not of partial affection in me.

“ Since the death of M^r Amias, her Ma^{ty} Sollicitor at the Counsaill in the Marches, no man is appointed to that service. There is in that court M^r Abraham Ffraunce, a pleader at the barre. He was bried by my brother Sir Phillip Sidney long in Cambridge; continued afterwards in Graies Inne, untill he was called to the barre. I conceive him in eche respect a man sufficient for that service. Yf it will therefore please your l^p at my hartie request to comend him to her Ma^{ty}, I shall thinke my selfe pleased therein.” *MS. Harl.* 6995, article 35. This office, which doubtless Fraunce obtained on suche a recommendation, had been held by Thomas Phaer, Esq. the well-known translator of Virgil, who died in 1563.

⁴ See Peck's *Desid. Curios.* vol. i. p. 52, 4to. How small a provision ten pounds a year (which may be estimated as equal to forty pounds a year now) was then considered, may appear from a passage in Churchyard's *Dedication to King James*, prefixed to his *Blessed Balme*, 4to. 1604, in which he speaks of the pension granted to him by Queen Elizabeth, which was, we have seen, 27*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per ann. (equal perhaps to 100*l.* a year now) as a very poor stipend. “ The good queen gave me (says he) a *poore* pension for this service, and so calling to mind in four princes' times I have given a great push for preferment, yet I was never

bridge, he presented his early patron (in 1581) with a small discourse on logick, which he afterwards enlarged : and, he tells us, he “ read the perfect copy” (in publick, I suppose), “ three times over, at St. John’s, and three times at Gray’s Inn.” It was, originally, he informs us, “ A Discourse on the Use of Logick ⁵, and a contracted Comparison between this of Ramus, and that of Aristotle ;” but when he changed his situation, and, from a Cambridge student, became a lawyer, he altered the title of his book, and called it the Lawyer’s Logick. “ Yet,” says he, “ because many love logike, that never learne lawe, I have re-
teyned those ould examples out of the new Shep-

advanced ; I bethought me of the fifth king, since the other four left me only to a *poor pension*.”

⁵ It should seem from the following manuscript note by Oldys in his copy of Langbaine’s Account of the Dramatick Poets, that a Latin treatise on logick by Fraunce is yet in existence :

“ The thin MS. in folio, an original written and adorned by A. Fraunce and dedicated to his Mæcenas, Sir P. Sidney, in two parts ; the one containing his Discourse upon logick, in *Latin prose*, about twenty-two pages ; the other a collection of heroick symbols (in forty leaves) of princes and other illustrious persons of Italy, France, and Spain, then of the greatest fame in Europe ; having their emblems all curiously drawn with his own pen, and Latin verses written under them, with explanations in prose. Bound in a white vellum cover adorned with gold, containing a landscape on one side of Æneas’s voyage in Virgil, lib. 4, *tollite me, Teucric*, for the motto, and on the other side, eight Latin verses upon *Vive, Vale*. In Dr. Rawlinson’s possession, 30th of April, 1750.” As Dr. Rawlinson bequeathed his MSS. to the Bodleian Library, this might have been expected to be found among them ; but the Rev. Mr. Price, after a careful search, could not discover it in that very valuable repository. It is, therefore, probably, in some private hands.

heard's Kalendar [Spenser's celebrated work], which I first gathered, and thereunto added those also out of our law-books, which I lately collected ⁶." Neither his English hexameters, nor this odd and motley mixture of law, logick, and poetry, will, I fear, much raise Abraham Fraunce in the opinion of a reader of the present day. But he must be estimated by the notions which prevailed in his own time, and by the judgment of his contemporaries; among whom the praise of Spenser cannot but cast some degree of splendour around his name. The absurd kind of metre in which several of his English compositions are written, he appears to have adopted, on the authority of his patron, Sir Philip Sidney, for whom he had so great a veneration, that, in his treatise entitled (perhaps with allusion to Sidney's celebrated work), "The Arcadian Rhetoricke⁷," published in 1588, he has made him his great English exemplar, on almost every topick, both in prose and verse; and here, also, we find The Faery Queen quoted,

⁶ "The Lawyers Logike, exemplifying the præcepts of logike by the practise of the common lawe," 4to. 1588, dedicated to Henry Earl of Pembroke, in fourteen syllable verse.

⁷ The full title of this very scarce book is—"The Arcadian Rhétorique, or the præcepts of rhetorique made plaine by examples, Greeke, Latin, Englishe, Italian, French, Spanish, out of Homers Ilias and Odissea; Virgil's Æglogs, Georgikes, and Æneis; Sir Philip Sidnie's Arcadia, Songs and Sonets; Torquato Tassoës Geoffredo, Aminta, Torrismondo; Salust his Judith and both his Semaines; Boscan and Garcilassoës Sonnets and Æglogs." It is dedicated "to the right excellent and most honourable ladie, the ladie Marie Countess of Pembroke," in six Macaronick verses.

The 24th chapter of the first book of this tract is "of Paranomasia."

though neither that poem, nor the *Arcadia*, was then published; a circumstance which ascertains that Spenser lived on terms of intimacy with Fraunce, and gratified him with the perusal of a portion of his great poem, while it yet remained in manuscript.

Thus we see these poets were connected and endeared to each other, by various ties, and by congenial studies. Spenser, who, in compliment to Sidney, had himself made some English verses "halt ill on Roman feet," was not only attached to Fraunce, in consequence of his connexion with that extraordinary and accomplished man by whom he was bred, but must also have been highly gratified by the flattering circumstance of his having exemplified most of his logical precepts, in a book of near three hundred quarto pages, by quotations from *The Shepheard's Calendar*.

Another work of Fraunce's yet remains to be mentioned, which was also given to the publick in 1588, in quarto, and is entitled "*Abrahami Fransi Insignium, Armorum, Emblematum, Hieroglyphicorum et Symbolorum, quæ ab Italis Impresse nominantur, Explicatio. Quæ Symbolicæ Philosophiæ postrema Pars est.*" In the first part of this learned work, which is dedicated, in a Latin quatrain, to Robert Sidney, the brother of Sir Philip, he has introduced a very elegant translation, in Latin hexameters, of Homer's beautiful description of the shield of Achilles, in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*. From this, and his other works, he appears to have been a very excellent and general scholar, having made himself master of the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French

languages; and, therefore, well merited the high praise here bestowed, by Spenser, on his talents and erudition, in the couplet in which he is shadowed:

“ And there is Corydon, though meanly waged,
 “ Yet *ablest wit* of most I know this day.”

Alcyon, who is next mentioned, is ascertained by another of Spenser's poems to have been Arthur Gorge, or Gorges⁸, “ a lover of learning and virtue,” for whom he has himself told us he had “ particular good will¹.” This gentleman had married Douglas Howard, the daughter and heir of Henry Howard, afterwards Viscount Bindon; on the death of which lady in 1590, Spenser wrote a poem, in January, 1591-2, entitled *Daphnaida*, and addressed to Helena, Marchioness of Northampton, then the wife of Sir Thomas Gorges, a kinsman of Arthur. In that poem, as in the verse before us, the lady of Mr. Gorges is lamented under the name of Daphne. The designation (Alcyon) here given to her disconsolate husband, was evidently formed by rejecting the final letter in Alcyone, and thus converting a female name into that of a man: and Spenser may be presumed to have adopted it with a reference either to Alcyone the wife of Mcleager, who died of sorrow for the loss of her husband; or of Alcyone the wife of Ceyx, king of Thrace; who, according to the fable, being overcome with immoderate grief for his death, was, in compassion to her sufferings, converted by the

⁸ The original and true name is Gorge. Gorges was merely a corruption, arising from the common English habit of annexing the letter S at the end of surnames.

¹ Dedication to *Daphnaida*, 4to. 1596.

gods into the bird called a king's-fisher². What "the brave conceit" was, which Mr. Gorges had begun in his happier days, and which he is here exhorted to resume in the sweet scented arbour of Mc-riflure³, it is now, I fear, too late to inquire. Of

² The story of Alcyone, the wife of Ceyx, had been familiarized to the English reader ; for in 1569 was published "The tragicall and lamentable hystorie of two faithfull mates, Ceyx kynge of Trachyne and Alcyone his wife &c. drawne into English meter. By William Hubbard." It is also found in Golding's translation of the eleventh book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.

³ In 1588, when England was threatened with an invasion by Spain, Arthur Gorges, together with Raleigh, Sir Charles Blount, Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, and others, served as volunteers on board the English fleet (Camden, *Eliz.* ii. 576) ; and he afterwards accompanied his kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, in Essex's great expedition against the islands Azores, where he was wounded. His wife, Douglas Howard, who was daughter to Henry Howard, Esq. afterwards Viscount Bindon, was baptized January 29, 1571-2 (Lysons's *Environs of London*, iii. 499), and died June 13, 1590 [*Esc. Amb. Gorges*, 42 *Eliz.* n. 139], probably not very long after her marriage, leaving one daughter, Ambrosia, who is also celebrated by Spenser (*Daphnaida*, *signat.* I.), and who died 10th of October, 1600 [*Esc. ut supra*]. Mr. Gorges must have married his second wife in or before September, 1597 ; for his son William was baptized at Chelsea, May 30, 1599 (Lysons, ii. 122) ; and he had, by the same lady an elder son, Arthur, who succeeded to his estate on his death (*Esc.* 2 *Car.* p. 3, n. 169). He had four other sons ; Tymoleon, baptized in the same parish, October 1, 1600 ; Egremont, Carew, and Henry (*Esc. ut supra*). He represented the county of Dorset, in the parliament that met in November, 1592, and was knighted, by Queen Elizabeth, in 1597. In right of his first wife, Mr. Gorges acquired an estate in Dorsetshire, which, on the death of his daughter Ambrosia, devolved on her maternal uncle, Thomas Viscount Bindon (*Esc.* 42 *Eliz.* n. 139). In right

his lighter poetical effusions, I believe few have been transmitted to posterity ; though while he was yet living, we are told by one of his sons, in the middle

of his second lady, he became possessed of the manor house of Chelsea, which had belonged to Sir Thomas More.

In the Epistle Dedicatory to Lucy Countess of Bedford, prefixed to his translation of Lucan, sexto, 1614, his son Carew, who was then a school-boy, speaks thus of his father's works : " I remember this sentence in my Pueriles, *Voluntas, ubi desunt vires, est laudanda* ; where power is wanting, the good wyll is to be accepted : which, I presume, will be my warrant in presenting your ladyship with this poem, which by chance I did see in my father's study, *amongst many others of his manuscripts* : and because it lay idly there, I desired him to give it to me." With this request, he tells us, his father complied. It is strange that in this translation the author should have employed the verse of eight syllables, a measure generally appropriated to the lighter kinds of poetry, and extremely unsuitable to the original. His relationship and intimacy with Raleigh procured a copy of commendatory verses prefixed to the translation of Lucan, and signed W. R., which have escaped the notice of his biographers. Puttenham, in his *Arte of Poesie*, 4to. 1589, p 190, has quoted two lines from a poem, " by Maister Gorge," which do not do him much credit. The lines, however, may serve to ascertain the author of the piece, if it be yet in being, and published anonymously. I have never met with any other poetical production of Arthur Gorges, either in print or manuscript, except those here mentioned. In 1611, he published " A transcript and explanation of his Majesty's Letters Patent for creating an Office called Publick Registers of general Commerce." In 1619, he gave the world a translation of Bacon's *Sapientia Veterum*, and in the same year a translation of Bacon's *Essays* ; both into French. He died at Chelsea, September 28, 1625 (*Esc. ut supra*), and was buried there, on the 10th of October (Lysons, ii. 122). His eldest son, Sir Arthur Gorges, was also a poet. See the *Collection of Verses on the Death of Lord Hastings*, 8vo. 1650.

of the reign of James the First, that many of his productions were then preserved in manuscript; and in 1614, his translation of Lucan was published, which probably was begun many years before, and was, I suspect, "the brave conceit" alluded to by Spenser. His grief for the death of Daphne, however deep at the time, does not appear to have lasted many years after these verses were written; for in or before the year 1597, he married a second wife, Elizabeth, a daughter of Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, by whom he had afterwards several children.

"There eke is Palin, worthie of great praise,
 "Albe he envie at my rustick quill."

Palin is doubtless the abbreviation of *Palinode* ⁴, which Spenser has used as the name of a shepherd in his fifth Eclogue; and, I conceive, was here intended to represent George Peele, a distinguished poet of that time, who was nearly of Spenser's age, and had commenced a poetical writer about the same time with him ⁵. He is thus denominated on the same principle which appears to have guided the author in the choice of several of the adumbrations found in these verses, in consequence of Peele's having pub-

⁴ Verses, by Peele, are prefixed to Watson's Sonnets, published in 1581.

⁵ The title of Peele's pastoral, which is extremely scarce, is "An Eclogue Gratulatorie, entituled to the right honorable and renowned Shepheard of Albion's Arcadia, Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe for his welcome into England from Portugall," 4to. 1589.

lished, in 1589, a high eulogy on Lord Essex, a nobleman for whom Spenser had the greatest respect. In this piece the interlocutors are Piers and Palinode⁶. Of Peele's various productions in the course of the preceding fifteen years, which are alluded to as "worthy of great praise," it is not necessary to say any thing in this place, as some account will be given of them hereafter.

At this distance of time it is not easy to say to what part of Peele's conduct Spenser alludes, in the qualification of his encomium on this poet: but, I imagine, he was displeased at his having been personally introduced on the scene, under his assumed name of Colin, in a dramatick pastoral entitled *The Arraignment of Paris*, written by Peele, and represented before Queen Elizabeth in or before 1584. As Spenser's unfortunate passion for the lady whom he has concealed under the name of Rosalind, was, after the publication of his eclogues, well known, the application of this character to the *new poet*, as he was then called, must have been immediately made by the spectators, and he had some reason to be offended at being exhibited on the scene, as a hapless swain, actually *dying* for love; in addition to which serio-comick representation, his fellow-shepherds, Hobbinol, Diggon, and Thenot, bring his corpse on the stage, and while they are proceeding to his interment, sing a funeral dirge over it. "The pangs of despised

⁶ *Palin* is used as the abbreviation of *Palinode*, by Peele, in his Eclogue Gratulatorie, &c. 4to. 1589:

"Twit me with boldnes, *Palin*, as thou wilt," &c.

. In like manner, Spenser uses *Hobbin* for *Hobbinol*.

love," however they may affect the bosom of pining youth, exciting but little sympathy in the mass of mankind, this exhibition had certainly a tendency to place him in a ludicrous light, and is perhaps alluded to under the words,

"Albe he envie at my rustick quill."

He may, however, also have had in view Peele's not very successful imitation of his rustick pastorals, in the piece above mentioned, a performance of which perhaps this poet had boasted as equal or superior to the admired prototype on which it was formed.

Under the name of Alcon, who is exhorted to attempt something of a higher strain than love-verses, I believe was shadowed Thomas Lodge, then a student in physick, and an admired poet; a man whose learning and profession Spenser must have respected. Alcon, like Corydon, is one of Virgil's shepherds; but Spenser, while he employed this pastoral name, thus familiarized to every classical reader, appears to have had particularly in his contemplation a very popular play, entitled *The Looking-glasse for London and England*, and written by Lodge in conjunction with Robert Greene, then deceased. In this drama, which had been frequently performed in 1591, and the following year⁷, one of the characters is named Alcon⁸. The moral and religious turn of this piece¹,

⁷ This appears from the MS. register of Philip Henslowe. See the *History of the English Stage*, vol. iii.

⁸ The practice of thus denominating authors by names taken from their works, was not uncommon in that age. Thus Henry

probably, particularly recommended it to Spenser, and induced him to take Lodge's poetical name from thence rather than from any of his other productions. Lodge had also written a great number of lays or short amatory poems, some of which are found dispersed in his various novels², and some published un-mixed with prose; and the advice here given to him to attempt "some matter of more skill," appears to have had due weight; for in the middle of the year 1595, he gave the publick a small volume of moral satires and epistles¹. Previously to the appearance of

Chettle, in a miscellaneous piece, consisting of prose and verse, entitled *England's Mourning Garment*, &c. 4to. 1603, shadows Marlowe the poet under the name of *Musæus*; because he had translated the poem of *Hero and Leander*, attributed to *Musæus*; and Robert Greene, under the name of *Musidore*, doubtless from his having been the author of *Mucedorus*, a play, which has been absurdly attributed to Shakspeare.

¹ This religious play represents the abominations and reformation of the Ninevites; and the prophet Hosen, and Jonah, are two of the *Dramatis Personæ*; the latter of whom is cast out of the whale's belly on the stage.

² Scillea's *Metamorphosis*, 4to. 1589; *Euphues Golden Legacie*, 4to. 1590; *Phillis* honoured with pastoral sonnets, elegies, and amorous delights, the *Life and Death of William Longbeard*, 4to. 1593, &c. In the middle of the year 1594, Lodge published a piece of "more skill," entitled *The Wounds of Civil Warre, or the true Historie of Marius and Sylla*, a tragedy; but I doubt whether it had reached Spenser's hands, when these verses were written.

³ This very rare piece is entitled *A Fig for Momus*, containing pleasant Varietie, included in *Satyres, Eclogues, and Epistles*, by T. L. of *Lincolnes Inne, Gent.* It was entered in the Stationers' register, April 2, 1595. Mr. Warton, in the unpublished fragment of the fourth volume of his *History of English Poetry*, p. 81, seems to doubt whether Lodge ever published any

Colin Clout, he had propitiated Spenser by a paper of verses, prefixed to a collection of sonnets and elegies, published in 1593, which is now so extremely rare, that I shall subjoin the Induction to it (as it is called) in a note, on account of the high and very elegant eulogy on Spenser that it contains, which well entitled Lodge to this great poet's notice⁴.

Palemon is the poet next introduced :

" And there is old Palemon, free from spight,
 " Whose careful pipe may make the hearer rew ;
 " Yet he himself may rewed be more right,
 " Who sung so long untill quite hoarse he grew."

From these verses it appears that the person here alluded to was somewhat advanced in years, though not yet, like Harpalus, " waxen aged ;"—that he had long been a votary of the Muses;—and that his writings were distinguished for their moral tendency. These considerations induce me to believe that Arthur Golding was the poet in this place in Spenser's thoughts, a very voluminous writer, who was at this time about sixty years old, and had been a " maker" so early in the reign of Elizabeth as 1565, when he published a poetical version of the first four

satires. The above-mentioned miscellany, it appears, had not fallen into his hands.

⁴ There is a copy of this poem in the library of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge; and another, which had belonged to the late Dr. Farmer, is now in the valuable collection of Richard Heber, Esq. of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, to whom I am indebted for the following specimen of it :

" Phillis, honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies, and Amorous Delights. Whereunto is annexed the tragicall Complaynt of Elstred," 4to. 1593. I have never seen or heard of more

books of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, in the then popular measure—fourteen syllable verse. In 1567 he gave

than two copies of this collection of poems. The Induction is as follows :

THE INDUCTION.

- “ I that, obscur'd, have fled the sceane of fame *,
 “ Intitling my conceits to nought but care,
 “ I that have liv'd a Phoenix in *love's* flame,
 “ And felt that death I never would declare,
 “ Now mount the theater of this our age,
 “ To plead my faith and Cupid's cursed rage

 “ Oh you high sprited paragons of witte †
 “ That flye to fame beyond our earthly pitch,
 “ Whose sence is sound, whose words are feat and fitte,
 “ Able to make the coyest care to itch,
 “ Shroud with your mighty wings that mount so well,
 “ These little *loves* new crept from out the shell.

 “ And thou, the true Octavia ‡ of our time,
 “ Under whose worth beauty was never matched,
 “ The genius of my Muse and ragged rime,
 “ Smile on these little loves but lately hatched,
 “ Who from the wrastling waves have made retreate,
 “ To pleade for life before thy judgement seate.

 “ And tho' the fore-bred brothers § they have had,
 “ Who in their swan-like songs Amintus wept,

* The author had, in the preceding year, gone on a voyage with the celebrated navigator Cavendish.

† Spenser's Daniel, &c.

‡ Mary Countess of Pembroke (as I conceive), a patroness of poets, and sister of Sir Philip Sidney; as Octavia was the sister of Augustus, and patroness of Virgil.

§ Doubtless Thomas Watson and Abraham Fraunce. The former, in 1585, had sung the Complaints or Lamentations of Amyntus for the Death of Phillis; and hence Lodge calls Wat-

the publick a complete translation of the fifteen books of that work ; to which he prefixed a poetical epistle

“ For all their sweet-thought sighes had fortune bad,
 “ And twice obscur’d in Cinthia’s circle slept,
 “ Yet these, I hope, under your kind aspéct,
 “ Most worthy lady, shall escape neglect.

“ And if these infants of mine artlesse braine
 “ (Not by theyr worth, but by thy worthinesse)
 “ A meane good liking of the learned gaine,
 “ My Muse enfranchis’d from forgetfulnesse
 “ Shall hatch such breede in honour of thy name
 “ As moderne poets shall admire the same.

“ As moderne poets shall admire the same ;
 “ I meane not you, you never-matched men
 “ Who brought the chaos of our tongue in frame
 “ Through these Herculean labours of your pen :
 “ I meane the meane, I meane no men divine,
 “ But such whose feathers are but waxt like mine.

“ Go weeping truce-men in your sighing weedes,
 “ Under a great Mecænas I have past [plas’t] you ;
 “ If so you come where learned Colin * feedes
 “ His lovely flocke, packe thence, and quickly haste you :
 “ *You are but mistes before so bright a sunne,*
 “ *Who hath the palme for deepe invention wonne.*

“ Kisse Delia’s hand, for her sweet prophet’s † sake,
 “ Whose not affected, but well couched, teares
 “ Have power, have worth, a marble mind to shake
 “ Whose fame no iron age or time out-weares ;
 “ Then lay you down in Phillis’ lap, and sleepe,
 “ Untill she weeping read, and reading weepe.

son’s verses—*former loves* ; the collection of poems to which this is the introduction, being also in honour of Phillis. Abraham Fraunce, in 1587, had published a poetical translation of Watson’s poem, under the title of *The Lamentation of Amyntas for the Death of Phillis* ; of which the only copy that I have seen is in

of about six hundred lines, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, wherein the moral of all the stories is philosophically expounded. The religious cast of some of his poetical pieces and of very many of his prose works, I conceive, gave rise to the epithet here employed,—“Whose *careful* pipe may make the hearer rew;” in which line Spenser perhaps had particularly

the Bodleian Library. Watson was dead before 1592. His very rare poem, in Latin hexameters, entitled *Amyntas Thomæ Watsoni Londinensis, I. V. Studiosi*, consists of eleven parts, each entitled *Querela* (*Prima, Secunda. &c.*), and the last ends with the death of *Amyntas*.

Spenser also has eulogized these *fore-bred brothers* in his *Faery Queene*, b. iii. c. 6, st. 45 :

“ — Sad *Amaranthus* made a flower but late,

“ Sad *Amaranthus*, in whose purple gore

“ Me seemes I see *Amintas*' wretched fate,

“ To whom sweet poets' verse hath given endless date.”

In a note on this passage, in the last edition, the learned editor concurs with Mr. Upton in supposing Sir Philip Sidney to be the person meant under the name of *Amintas*; but, unquestionably, that was not the case: and Mr. Church was equally mistaken in supposing that by *Amyntas* was here meant Thomas Watson, the author of the poem already mentioned; for though Spenser frequently shadowed some of the contemporary poets under the titles of their productions, or the names mentioned in them, that manifestly was not his meaning here; the *Amintas* in these lines being certainly the poetical and imaginary person who is supposed to have died for the love of *Phillis*; that *Amintas*, to whom “the verse” of those sweet poets [*Watson and Fraunce*] (for the word is not the genitive case singular, but plural), had given never-ending celebrity. The last line,—“To whom,” &c. compared with Lodge's verses in honour of the same persons, and with their respective poetical productions in 1585 and 1587 proves decisively that this is the true interpretation of this controverted passage.

* Spenser.

† Daniel.

in his thoughts, Golding's translation of Beza's *Mystery*, or, as he terms it, "tragedie of Abraham's Sacrifice," originally published in 1550, and exhibited by Golding in English verse in 1577. Spenser might also have had in his thoughts, "the Psalmes of David and others, with Beza's Commentary;" published by Golding in 1571, if that work were in verse, which I am unable to ascertain, never having seen it.

Between the years 1562 and 1595, he gave his country an English translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, *Cæsar's Commentaries*, *Justin*, *Seneca de Beneficiis*, *Julius Solinus*, and *Pomponius Mela*; and published about twelve pieces, chiefly translations from the French, and most of them of a religious complexion.

From the general cast of thinking in many of this poet's numerous pieces, he seems to have been a rigid Calvinist; a circumstance which may have recommended him to Leicester and Lord Burghley, in whose family he appears at one time to have lived. He was of a gentleman's family, and born in London, about the year 1535, as I conjecture; for he became a fellow commoner of Jesus College in Cambridge, in or before 1552. I know not the exact time of his death, but I suspect that it happened some time between 1596 and 1606. It must be recollected, that all the poets here alluded to, are spoken of as then living, except *Amyntas*, whom, though dead, and consequently incapable of singing the praises of Elizabeth, the poet has introduced by a happy artifice of language, from his affectionate attachment to the nobleman shadowed under that appellation. In

forming a conjecture, therefore, concerning each of the individuals alluded to, it is, in the first place, necessary to show that he was then living. That Arthur Golding was alive when this poem was published, is ascertained by his dedication of the "Politicke, Morall, and Martiall Discourses of Jaques Hurault," to William Lord Cobham, which is dated Jan. 27, 1595-6. Being now a versifier of above thirty years standing; and having, it would seem, obtained but little emolument from his labours; he is, with sufficient propriety, described as having sung so long as to have become hoarse⁴; and as an object of

⁴ "Yet he himself may rewed be more right,

"That sung so long untill quite hoarse he grew."

Spenser himself may, perhaps, supply the best comment on these lines. See his tenth Eclogue:

"Cuddy. Pierce, I have piped earst so long with paine

"That all mine oaten reedes bene rent and wore;

"And my poore Muse hath spent her spared store,

"Yet little good hath got and much less gaine."

Cuddy, or Cutlibert, was meant to designate a poet of that name, and a friend of Spenser's. See Three proper, &c. Letters, 4to. 1580, p. 40. Indeed, from a sonnet of Bishop Hall, yet preserved in manuscript, it should seem that all the interlocutors, introduced by Spenser in his Shepheard's Calendar, were not imaginary persons, but his own poetical contemporaries:

"Not all the shepheards in his Calendar,

"Though *learned* shepheards they, and *seen* in song—."

The same observation has been made by the Rev. Mr. Todd, in his late edition of Spenser, who also coincides with me in supposing Corydon to have meant Abraham Fraunce. But the present and preceding section were written some years before Mr. Todd's edition of Spenser appeared, and read by my friend Mr. Bindley.

compassion in consequence of being but ill provided for in his old age, notwithstanding his unwearied and pious endeavours to benefit mankind by his moral and religious productions. He does not appear to have entered into controversy with any of his contemporaries; and the general object of the greater part of his writings being the promotion of virtue and piety, he may be presumed to have well deserved the promise here given by our moral poet, that of being "free from spight;" in opposition to Palin, whose malevolence had recently been noticed. Like Abraham Fraunce, he was endeared to Spenser (whose friendly attachments appear to have had considerable weight in several of these eulogies), by his connexion with Sir Philip Sidney; by whom Golding was so much respected, that Sidney having begun a translation of Philip Mornay's work, "concerning the trewnesse of the Christian religion," which he did not live to complete, he desired that it should be nished by Golding, who, in conformity to his patron's wishes, published that piece in or before 1592.

All the shadowy and allusive denominations hitherto examined, have been found to be significant and appropriate; either taken from some peculiar circumstances in the history of the writer alluded to, or from the poetical compositions of the persons whom they were intended to designate. Of the former kind is the name of Alcyon; of the latter, are the names of Harpalus, Corydon, Palin, and Alcon. In like manner, Golding was denominated Palemon, with a particular reference to his poetical version of the

fourth book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, which he had translated and published about thirty years before, and in which the story of Melicerta, the son of Athamas and Ino, occurs; who, we are there told, after his untimely death, by his mother throwing herself and him into the ocean, became a sea-god under the name of Palemon. This fable, which Golding has translated with great spirit and vigour, Spenser has again alluded to, in the eleventh canto of the fourth book of his *Faery Queen*:

"Phorcys, the father of that fatall brood,
 "By whom these old heröes wonne such fame,
 "And Glaucus that wise soothsayes understood;
 "And tragicke Inoes sonne, the which became
 "A god of seas, through his mad mother's blame,
 "Now hight *Palemon*, and is sayler's friend⁴."

The late Mr. Warton, in his excellent *History of English Poetry*, has cited with just praise a large portion of Golding's translation of this part of the *Metamorphosis*, as a striking specimen of the abilities of Golding as a translator, whom in this respect he greatly prefers to Phaer and Twyne, the poetical translators of Virgil. Doubtless the English version of the story of Palemon, made a similar impression on Spenser and his contemporaries; and hence we may reasonably presume he was induced to conceal the translator of Ovid under this adumbration⁵.

⁴ See also *Faery Queen*, book v, c. 8, st. 47.

⁵ My friend Mr. Todd, in his valuable edition of Spenser, has also entered into an examination of *Colin Clouts Come Home*

In the midst of these fanciful adumbrations, we are surprised with the undisguised name of [William] Alabaster⁶, a very distinguished scholar, then about

Again, with a view to ascertain, as far as conjecture can assist us, who the persons were who were understood by the poet under the feigned names which he has introduced. In several instances he coincides with Mr. Malone, but in others they differ. Palin he supposes to have been Thomas Chaloner; Alcon, Thomas Watson; Old Palemon, Thomas Churchyard; and Harpalus, Barnaby Googe. With regard to Palemon, I am inclined to think that Mr. Todd was in the right. If indeed it could be proved that Churchyard was the author of that ballad which is preserved along with Surrey's poems, "Phillida was a fair maid," there could be little doubt that he was designated by Harpalus. But I know not upon what authority a composition of so much merit has been ascribed to him; it is certainly very different from his usual strain. I should think that he was commemorated under the name of Palemon, because he seems himself to have alluded to a line in that part of the poem:

"That sung so long untill *quite hoarse he grew*."

In Churchyard's *Cherishing*, 1596, he describes the Court as being

"The platform where all poets thrive,

"Save one *whose voice is hoarse they say*."

But the main object of our present inquiry, to which the other questions which these lines have suggested are comparatively unimportant, is, whether Shakspeare is pointed out under the name of Aetion. Mr. Todd applies it to Drayton. But there is nothing heroical in that poet's name; nor are "high thoughts" the distinguishing excellence of his poetry; while, on the other hand, Mr. Malone has, I think, sufficiently established the fondness of our ancestors for such a play of words as *Shaks-spear* would furnish. But the reader has the evidence already before him, and I shall not detain him longer by any observations of my own. BOSWELL.

⁶ William Alabaster was born in Suffolk, about the year 1567.

twenty-seven years of age; whose *Roxana*, a Latin tragedy, had been acted at Trinity College, in Cambridge, a few years before, with great applause, and was surreptitiously and imperfectly printed about forty years afterwards (1632); which drew from the author a genuine edition in the same year: but the unfinished performance here so highly eulogized, his *Eliseis*, a Latin poem of considerable length, in honour of Queen Elizabeth, with all its attributed merit, and notwithstanding the subject was once so popular, has never been submitted to the press. It is, however, yet extant in manuscript. Of his English poetry, I have been able to recover but two short specimens, preserved in the Bodleian Library, in a manuscript of Archbishop Sancroft's, which

He was educated at Trinity College, in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1587, and that of Master of Arts in 1591; and in 1592 he was incorporated into the University of Oxford. "He was," says Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. *Fest.* 144, "the rarest poet and Grecian that any one age or nation produced." About two years after this poem was written, he accompanied Lord Essex, as one of his chaplains, in the expedition against Cadiz. After his return from that expedition, he changed his religion for that of Rome, and published, in his justification, his *Seven Motives*, to which two answers appeared. Afterwards, being disgusted with his new friends, he returned to the church of England, became a Prebendary of St. Paul's, Rector of Thorfield, in Hertfordshire, and in 1614, Doctor of Divinity. He died in April, 1640. His works, beside those already mentioned, are, *Apparatus in Revelationem Jesu Christi*, 4to. 1607; *Spiraculum Tubarum*, n. d. *Eccæ Sponsus Venit*, 4to. 1633; *Lexicon Pentaglotton*, fol. 1637. His *Roxana*, he tells us himself, was the work of only a fortnight. Of this distinguished scholar and poet there is an admirable print, by Payne, which was well copied a few years ago.

have never been printed, and which, therefore, I shall give below⁷. In naming Alabaster thus directly,

7 “ *A New Year's Gift to my Saviour.*

“ Ho ! God be here. Is Christ, my Lord, at leisure ?

“ Blessed S^t. Peter, to my King present

“ This *Alabaster* box which I have sent ;

“ And if he ask how it may do him pleasure,

“ Tell him I hear that he hath endless treasure

“ But hath not vessels half sufficient,

“ And in this box are many moe content,

“ Wherein of grace he may bestow large measure :

“ Within my spirit his knowledge he may place,

“ Light in my mind, within my will his grace :

* * * * *

“ Merit in memory, love in my hart :

“ This if he doe, I hope by seeing it

“ Ten thousand may themselves likewise impart.”

The transcriber of this sonnet has written, in the third line, “ An *Alablaster* box ; ” a corruption so common that Sir Robert Cecil, in one of his letters, thus writes the word. See Winwood's Memor. ii. 147.

“ *Upon the Ensigns of our Crucified Saviour.*

“ O sweet and bitter monument of pain !

“ (Bitter to Christ, who all the pain endured,

“ But sweet to me whose life his death secured,)

“ How shall I full-express such loss, such gain.

“ My tongue shall be my pen ; mine eyes shall rain

“ Tears for the ink ; the Cross where I was cured

“ Shall be my book ; where having all abjured,

“ And calling heaven to record, in that place [plain]

“ Thus will I plainly write—*no sin like mine.*

“ When I have done, do thou, Jesu divine,

“ Take up the last sponge of thy passion

“ And blot that forth. Then be thy Spirit the quill,

Spenser's object, doubtless, was to recommend his friend to the Queen's favour, and to procure him promotion in the church, which he afterwards obtained.

In like manner, the poet next mentioned is not concealed under the cloud of description, or the mysterious perplexity of a fictitious name; but we are plainly told, that [Samuel] Daniel, *a new poet*⁸,

“Thy blood the ink, and with compassion

“Write thus upon my soul—*thy Jesu still.*”

The piety of these sonnets is more obvious than the poetry; yet Donne, and those in that age who admired Donne, doubtless thought them excellent. I have preserved them as the only English specimens of Alabaster's writing that I have been able to discover. In the first of these sonnets, it is manifest, from its structure, that a line has been omitted, by the negligence of the transcriber, which rhymed with the word *it*; and in the eighth line of the second, the word *place* was evidently written carelessly, instead of *plain*, or some other word of a similar termination. In the corresponding sonnet, the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth lines rhyme to each other.

In the former sonnet, the allusion to the name of the writer is an additional confirmation of what has been said on the propensity of that age to “a dalliance with names.”

⁸ Samuel Daniel was born in Somersetshire, in 1562, and educated at Magdalen-College, in Oxford, where he studied about five years. In 1585, he first became known to the public by translating a tract of Paulus Jovius, on Impresses. But he did not commence poet till 1592, when his sonnets, which are here referred to, and his Complaint of Rosamond, were published in quarto. When the present eulogy was written, he was about thirty-two years old. He died in 1619.

How very highly Daniel was estimated in his own time, and surely considerably above his deserts (though he was not wholly devoid of merit), may be learned from the high eulogies which

(whose sonnets to his "scornful" mistress, Delia, appeared in 1592,) had surpassed all his predecessors, and was equal to the most arduous poetical attempts.

The Shepherd of the Ocean, by other parts of this poem, is ascertained to have been Sir Walter Raleigh⁹,

his poetry extorted from others, as well as from Spenser. "As Parthenius Nicæus (says Meres) excellently sung the praises of his Arete, so Daniel hath *divinely* soneted the matchlesse beauty of his Delia." *Wit's Treasury*, 8vo. 1598, p. 280. In one of the miscellanies of that era, of which I have neglected to set down the title, is a paper of verses, addressed to Mr. Samuel Daniel, *Prince of English Poets*.

⁹ In Colin Clout, Spenser thus describes Raleigh's visit to him :

" One day, quoth he [Colin], I sat as was my trade,

" Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hore,

" Keeping my sheep amongst the cooly shade

" Of the greene alders by the Mullaes shore.

" There a straunge shepheard chaunced to find me out,

" Whether allured with my pipe's delight,

" Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,

" Or thither led by chaunce, I know not right :

" Whom when I asked from what place he came,

" And how he hight, him selfe he did yclepe,

" *The Shepheard of the Ocean* by name,

" And said he came far from the main sea deepe,

" He sitting me beside in that same shade,

" Provoked me to plaie some pleasant fit,

" And when he heard the musick which I made,

" He found him selfe full-greatly pleased at it.

" Yet æmuling my pipe, he took in hand

" My pipe before that æmuled of many,

" And plaid thereon, for well that skill he cond,

" Him-selfe as skilfull in that art as any."

at this time in disgrace with the Queen, for having seduced Elizabeth Throckmorton¹, one of her maids of honour; though he had made the best reparation in his power, by marrying that lady. He had some years before written a poem entitled *Cynthia*, expressly in honour of Elizabeth, of which, having in vain sought for it in many ancient manuscript collections, I fear no copy has been preserved; but Spenser, in the present passage, seems rather to have had in contemplation some passionate poetical effusions of Raleigh, who was now endeavouring to regain the Queen's favour; and, affecting a kind of romantic *love* for her Majesty, pretended that, while she frowned on him, and excluded him from her presence, life was not worth enjoying.

By Amyntas, the next person introduced, at once a poet himself, and a patron of poets, we may pronounce with certainty, was meant one of the most accomplished noblemen of his time, Ferdinand, the fifth Earl of Derby, and the husband of Alice Spenser, afterwards mentioned under the name of *Amarillis*², whom he married in or before the year

¹ The various circumstances of Raleigh's life are so generally known, that it is not necessary to give here even an abridgment of them. I shall, therefore, confine myself to his actions in Ireland, his connexion with Spenser, his marriage with Elizabeth Throckmorton and his subsequent disgrace, and his poetical productions; particulars connected in some measure with the verses before us, and concerning which the information supplied by his biographers is so imperfect and erroneous, that to state them truly will require a disquisition too long for this place. See the Appendix.

² Alice, the sixth daughter of Sir John Spenser, knight, was

1583. The high eulogy on Amyntas, which is found in the conclusion of one of Nashe's tracts³, was un-

married to Ferdinand Lord Strange, some time before Dec. 1583. (Peck's Desid. Curios. vol. i. p. 116, 4to.) Six years after her husband's death she married (Oct. 21, 1600) Sir Thomas Egerton, then lord keeper of the great seal. Before this lady, in 1633, Milton's Masque was originally presented at Hatfield, by the grandchildren of her second husband. Harrington, as Mr. Warton has observed, has an epigram highly in her praise, book iii. ep. 47. She died Jan. 26, 1635-6. Her sister Elisabeth, whom Spenser has distinguished by the name of Phillis, was the second daughter of Sir John Spenser, and the wife of Sir George Carey, eldest son of Henry Lord Hunsdon. Spenser's Charillis, was Anne, the fifth daughter of the same person, who had first married William Stanley, Lord Monteagle, and secondly, Henry, Lord Compton, and was at this time the second wife of Robert Sackville, eldest son of Thomas, Lord Buckhurst. In the group of court ladies afterwards introduced in this poem, they are thus described :

- " Ne less praiseworthy are the sisters three,
- " The honour of the noble family,
- " Of which I meanest boast my selfe to be,
- " And most that unto them I am so nigh ;
- " Phillis, Charillis, and sweet Amarillis :
- " Phillis the fair, is eldest of the three ;
- " The next to her is beautiful Charillis ;
- " But the youngest is the highest in degree."

After having expatiated in the praise of Phyllis and Charillis, with whom we are less concerned, the poet adds—

- " But Amaryllis, whether fortunate,
- " Or else unfortunate, may I aread,
- " That freed is from Cupid's yoke by fate,
- " *Since which* she doth new bonds adventure dread.
- " Shepherd, whatever thou hast heard to be
- " In this or that prays'd diversely apart,
- " In her thou mayst them all assembled see,
- " And seald up in the treasure of her heart."

doubtedly addressed to the same nobleman, who is represented as the second mystical argument of Spen-

In his Dedication of *The Tears of the Muses* to this lady, under the title of Lady Strange, he speaks of her and her lord with no less admiration and respect: "Most brave and noble Ladie; The things that make ye so much honored of the world as ye bee, are such as without my simple lines' testimonie are throughlie known to all men; namely, your excellent beautie, your virtuous behaviour, and your noble match with that most honorable lord, *the verie pattern of right nobilitie*. But the causes of which you have deserved of me to be honored, if honour it be at all, are both your particular *bounties*, and also some private bands of *affinitie*."

³ This passage, which has hitherto, I believe, escaped notice, affords so strong a confirmation of Spenser's eulogy on Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, that I shall transcribe it entire. It is found near the conclusion of Nashe's popular tract, entitled *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Divell*, of which the first edition appeared in the autumn of 1592:

"But from generall fame, let me digres to my private experience, and with a tongue unworthie to name a name of such worthines, affectionately emblazon to the eyes that wonder, the *matchless image of honour*, and *magnificent rewarder of vertue*, Jove's eagle-borne Ganimed, thrise noble Amintas: in whose high spirit such a deitie of wisdome appereth, that if Homer were to write his *Odyseea* new (where under the person of Ulysses he describeth a singular man of perfection, in whome all ornaments both of peace and war are assembled in the height of their excellence) he need no other instance to augment his conceipt, than the rare carriage of his honorable minde. Many writers and good wits are given to commend their patrons and benefactors, some for prowesse, some for policie, others for the glorie of their ancestrie and exceeding bountie and liberalitie; but if my unable pen should ever enterprise such a continuate taske of praise, I woulde embowell a number of these wind-puff bladders, and disfurnish their bald pates, of the periwigs poets have lent them; that so I might restore glorie to his right inheritance, and these stolen titles to their true owners: which, if it would so

ser's Redcrosse Knight. Lord Derby perhaps acquired the name given him in the verses under our consi-

fall out (as time maie worke all things), the aspiring nettles with their shady toppes shall no longer over-dreep the best hearbs, or keep them from the smiling aspect of the Sunn, that live and shine by his comfortable beames : none but Desert should sit in Fame's grace : none but Hector be remembered in the chronicles of prowesse, none but thou, most courteous Amyntas, be the *second mystical* argument of the *Knight of the Red Crosse*.

O decus atque ævi gloria summa tui !

“ And heere, heavenly Spencer, I am most highlie to acuse thee of forgetfulnes, that in that honorable catalogue of our English heroes, which insueth the conclusion of thy famous Fairie Queene, thou wouldest let so special a pillar of nobilitie passe unsaluted. The verie thought of his *farre-derived descent*, and *extraordinarie parts*, wherewith he *astonisheth the world*, and *draws all hearts to his love*, would have inspired thy fore-wearied Muse, with new furie to proceed, to the next triumphs of thy statelie Goddess; but I, in favour of so rare a scholler, suppose with this counsell he refrained his mention in this first part, that he might with full saile proceede to his due commendation in the second. Of this occasion long since I happened to frame a sonnet, which being wholie intended to the reverence of *this renowned lord* (to whom I owe all the utmost powers of my love and dutie), I meane here, for varietie of stile to insert :

“ Perusing yesterday with idle eyes

“ The Fairie Singers statelie tuned verse,

“ And viewing, after chapmen's wonted guise

“ What strange contents the title did rehearse ;

“ I streight leapt over to the latter end,

“ Where, like the queint comedians of our time,

“ That when their play is doone, do fall to ryme,

“ I found short lines to sundrie nobles pend ;

“ Whom he as speciall mirrours singled fourth,

“ To be the patrons of his poetry :

“ I read them all, and reverenc't their worth ;

“ Yet wondred he left out thy memory :

deration, either from his having written an original poem, of which Amyntas was the principal personage⁴, or from his having been thus denominated in some verses written expressly in his praise⁵, or from his

“ But therefore gest I, he supprest thy name,
 “ Because few words might not compose thy fame.”

“ Beare with me, gentle poet, though I conceive not aright of thy purpose, or be too inquisitive into the intent of thy *oblivion* : for, however my conjecture may miss the cushion, yet shall my speech savour of friendship, though it be not alied to judgement.”

It is observable that Lord Derby is here denominated the second mystical argument of Spenser's Red Cross Knight, as Sir Philip Sidney was undoubtedly intended to be shadowed in his Arthur. All the Knights of the Faery Queen, it is well known, had their original in the Court of Elizabeth.

Mr. Upton supposed that Amintas, mentioned by Spenser in his Faery Queen, book iii. c. vi. st. 45, was also the Earl of Derby ; but undoubtedly he was mistaken. The Amintas there alluded to, “ to whom sweet poet's verse hath given endless date,” is the poetical Amintas of Watson, who, according to him, was turned into an Amaranth ; and the two poets there complimented were Watson and Fraunce. See p. 253, note †.

⁴ Gabriel Harvey, in a manuscript which will be quoted hereafter, joins the poem of Amyntas with Astrophel. The piece which he has there alluded to, should seem, therefore, to have been an English composition, and perhaps was written by Lord Derby.

⁵ That Spenser sometimes in this manner shadowed real persons under poetical names given them by others, appears from a passage in his Ruins of Time, 1591 :

“ Therefore in this 'halfe happie do I read
 “ Good Melibæ, that hath a poet got
 “ To sing his living praises, being dead,
 “ Deserving never here to be forgot.”

Melibæ was here intended to designate Sir Francis Walsing-

having translated either Tasso's Pastoral (*Aminta*), or Thomas Watson's "*sugred Amyntas*," as it is called by a writer of that age; an admired Latin poem, published in 1585⁶.

This nobleman had long in his service a company of comedians, who were known by the appellation of the servants of the Lord Strange (the title which he bore till within a few months of his death), and who

singham; and Spenser thus denominates him, in consequence of Thomas Watson having published in the preceding year a Latin elegiack poem in honour of his memory, entitled *Melibæus*.—So, Thestylis, whom he has introduced as a shepherd in *Colin Clout*, was certainly meant to represent his friend, Lodowick Bryskett, who, a few years before, had written an elegy on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, under the title of "*The Mourning Muse of Thestylis*."

⁶ It is highly praised by Nashe in his Epistle prefixed to Green's *Arcadia*, 1589. This poem, which is in 8vo. contains the complaints of *Amintas* for eleven days after the death of *Phillis*, and is divided into eleven sections, each of which is entitled *Querela* (*Prima*, *Secunda*, &c.) On the eleventh day *Amintas* dies. The only copy of this very rare piece that I have seen, is in the British Museum. In 1587, Abraham Fraunce published a translation of it, with the following title: "*The Lamentation of Amyntas for the Death of Phillis, paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English hexameters*." He also published in 1591, "*The Countess of Pembroke's Ivy Church, containing the affectionate Life, and unfortunate Death of Phillis and Amyntas, that in a pastorall, this in a funeral; both in English hexameters*." "*An ould facioned love translated from Watson's Amintas*," by J. T. was published in 4to. in 1594. Watson's Latin poem, entitled *Amintæ Gaudia*, was a posthumous production (4to. 1592), and is not the "*sugred Amyntas*," praised by Nashe. Watson also wrote some English verses, entitled "*Amintas [lamenting] for the Death of his Phillis*," which are preserved in *England's Helicon*, 4to. 1600.

appear to have been held in considerable estimation ; being for many years employed to act before the Queen, during the festivity of Christmas⁷. In this company the celebrated actor Edward Alleyn, was the principal performer. The very high praise given to Lord Derby, both by Spenser and Nashe, might incline us to regret the loss of the greater part of his poetical compositions, had not one of his poems, consisting of more than a hundred lines, been preserved⁸, which affords abundant proof that the virtues and accomplishments of this "perfect pattern of right nobilitie," aided by the respect belonging to his high birth, by his union with a lady to whom Spenser was related, and perhaps by personal obligation⁹, induced him to view this nobleman's poetry with a very favourable eye. Had his judgment not been influenced by this friendly partiality, either Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, or Edward, Earl of Oxford¹, whose

⁷ See the History of the English Stage, in vol. iii. After the death of Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, in 1594, the troop of comedians that had been patronized by him, became the servants of the Lord Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham.

⁸ This poem is preserved in The Antiquarian Repertory, vol. iii. p. 133. It was printed from a manuscript volume belonging to Sir John Hawkins, which perished in the fire that consumed his house in Queen Square, in the year 1788. The heroine of this poem is Phillis, but her lover's name is not mentioned. Some of his poetry is preserved in a collection entitled "Belvidere, or the Garden of the Muses," as the editor informs us in his preface; but the verses in that work being printed without appropriation to their author, we know not which are Lord Derby's.

⁹ See the Dedication of The Tears of the Muses, quoted ante, p. 265, n. 2.

¹ It is highly probable, that in the selection of some of the poets

poetry has much more vigour and elegance than that of Lord Derby, would, perhaps, have been here substituted in his room. But the kindness and gratitude of our poet could find no defect in the poetical effusions of Stanley, Raleigh, Sidney, or his sister, Mary, Countess of Pembroke. In all other respects, however, Lord Derby strictly merited the high eulogy with which he has been honoured. Some of his letters have come down to us, which are written with perspicuity and spirit; and perhaps some more both of his poetry and prose may yet be extant in manuscript, or miscellaneous printed collections, erroneously attributed to others. But his career of lite-

here enumerated and eulogized, Spenser was governed in some degree by personal kindness. The principal poets whom he has omitted, comprising them under the general words—"All these, and *many others moe*, remaine," &c. were, The Earl of Oxford, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Edward Dyer, Sir John Harrington, William Warner, Henry Constable, Sir John Davys, Michael Drayton, Matthew Roydon, Joshua Sylvester, and George Chapman.—Watson, Turberville, Marlowe, and Greene, were at this time dead, and therefore could not, according to his scheme, be introduced.

² See Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, iii. 37. The disagreement between Lord Essex and Lord Derby, which gave rise to the Letters printed by Mr. Lodge, is referred to by Sir John Harrington, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 114, edit. 1804.

Other letters written by this gentleman are preserved in Peck's *Desid. Curios.* vol. i. p. 115, 141.

Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, was educated at College, in Cambridge, and was created Master of Arts at Oxford in Sept. 1589, together with Sir George Carew, and Sir John Spenser of Althorp. *Wood's Ath. Oxon.* i. Fast. 138.

Chapman, in an Epistle to his friend Matthew Roydon, prefixed to his poem entitled *The Shadow of Night*, published in 1594, thus highly commends this nobleman :

rary and honourable exertions lasted not long; for a short while before these verses were written, this amiable and much respected nobleman died at the age of thirty-seven, in extreme agony, having been poisoned, as there are the strongest grounds for believing, by one of his own servants³.

But where, it may be asked, among all these distinguished votaries of the Muses, is Shakspeare found?—He closes the poetical band, obscurely, yet unquestionably shadowed in these lines :

“ And then, though last, not least, is *Action*,—
 “ A gentler shepherd may no where be found;
 “ Whose Muse, full of high thoughts’ invention⁴,
 “ Doth, like himself, heroically sound.”

“ But I stay this spleen, when I remember, my good Mat. how joyfully oftentimes you reported unto me, that *most ingenious Darbie*, deepe-searching Northumberland [Henry, the ninth Earl] and skill-imbracing heire of Hunsdon [George, afterwards the second Lord Hunsdon] had most profitably entertained learning in themselves, to the vital warmth of freezing science, and to the admirable luster of their true nobilitie.”

³ Camden, Hist. Ellz. vol. iii. p. 885, edit. Hearne; and Collins’s Peerage, under the title of Derby. Sir John Harrington also alludes to “ the hastened fate ” of Ferdinand Earl of Derby, whom he styles “ one of England’s greatest peers.” Epig. book iii. ep. 47. His portrait is yet preserved at the ancient seat of this noble family in Lancashire.

⁴ We find a similar eulogy in Spenser’s verses addressed to his admired friend Raleigh, at the end of his third book of his Faery Queene, 4to. 1590:

“ To thee that art the summers nightingale
 “ Thy soveraigne goddesses most deare delight,
 “ Why do I send this rustick madrigale
 “ That may thy tunefull care unseason quite?
 “ Then only fit this argument to write,
 “ In whose *high thoughts* Pleasure hath bairt her boure.”

None of the poetical denominations in this list, we have already seen, were adopted capriciously, or are without meaning. In forming the name by which our great poet is here designated, as in some others introduced in his *Faery Queen*⁵, and elsewhere, the author is indebted to the Greek language, in the study of which he took great delight⁶, the word perhaps signifying only what in the preceding part of the line had been said in plainer terms⁷; or he may have formed this denomination with a reference to the cause or origin of our poet's surname, to which in the following lines he more openly alludes⁸. It may be conjectured that before this poem was written, Shakspeare had produced on the stage one or more of his historical plays, probably *King Richard the Second* and *Third*. Spenser, therefore,

⁵ Thus we have Acrates, Panope, Melissa, Philotime, Timias, Archimago, Eudoxus, and others of a similar formation.

In like manner, Sir Philip Sidney, in consequence of his passion for Stella, was denominated *Astrophil*, which, from some fancy Spenser always wrote *Astrophel* or *Astrosfell*, but which, conformably to the etymology, ought certainly to be written *Astrophil*, as Matthew Roydon has written it in his *Elegy* on Sidney. See Appendix.

⁶ A translation of Axiocha's Dialogues, attributed to Plato, by Spenser, was, I believe, published in 1592.

⁷ From α priv. and ΗΞΕΩΝ or ΗΤΙΩΝ or ΙΗΤΤΟΝ, inferior. Perhaps indeed he might have meant that our poet was *inferior to none*. So, in his *Faery Queen*, b. iii. c. iii. st. 54:

“——— in that royal hous,

“From whence, to none inferior, ye came.”

⁸ From αιτιον, *causa*: so we have in Latin, *Ætiologia*, derived in part from the same Greek root. My former conjecture, however, appears to me the more probable of the two.

he distinguished him by that characteristick epithet which several of his contemporaries have applied to him,—“A *gentler* shepherd may no where be” and alluded to the *brandished spear* from his name, so congenial with *heroick song*, originally derived⁹, may be supposed to have had in contemplation these imperial tragedies, then performing with applause at the Curtain Theatre, as his *Venus and Adonis*, and the newly published poem of the *Rape of Lucrece*, which had appeared in the middle of the year 1594, and may,

Jonson, as well as Spenser, alludes to the heroick sound of his name. “In Shakespeare,” says he (Worthies, Warw.), “three eminent poets may seem in some sort to be named. 1. Martial; in *the warlike sound of his surname*, some may conjecture him of a military extraction, *hastier or Shake-speare*.”

Jonson, in his posthumous verses on our author, has an allusion to Shakspeare's name:

“ ——— Look how the father's face
“ Lives in his issue; even so the grace
“ Of Shakspeare's mind and manners brightly shines
“ In his well-torned and true filed lines;
“ In each of which he seems to *shake a lance*,
“ As *brandish'd* at the eyes of ignorance.”

also Bancroft's Epigrams, 4to. 1639, signat. D 2, where it is thus addressed:

“ Thou hast so used thy pen, or *shook thy speare*,
“ That poets startle, not thy wit come near.”

In the description of two knights tilting, in Spenser's *Faery Queene* b. iii. c. i. st. 7, we find the component parts of our name thus heroically introduced:

“ Great shame and sorrow of that fall he tooke,
“ For never yet, sith warlike armes he bore
“ And shivering *speare* in bloody field first *shook*,
“ He found him selfe dishonored so sore.”

with perfect propriety, be referred to under the denomination of *heroick verse*. In Richard the Second, the challenge of Bolingbroke and the Duke of Norfolk in the first act, and the contention in the fourth act between the various noble disputants assembled in the lists at Coventry, being conducted with all the forms and pomp of chivalry, furnished, doubtless, a very splendid spectacle; and indeed the whole drama, as well as that of Richard the Third, doth, like its author, “*heroically sound*.”

Let it not, however, be supposed, that Shakspeare was lightly estimated by Spenser, because his name is last introduced in this list of poetical worthies; for, not to insist on the law of heraldry, by which, in all processions, the last place is considered the most honourable, and always assigned to the person of the greatest dignity, we may observe that Nashe, in an eulogy on his friend George Peele, whom he preferred to *all* the dramatic writers of the period when it was written (1589), introduces his admired and favourite poet precisely in the same manner, though certainly he intended to represent him as far surpassing all his contemporaries: “And for *the last, though not the least* of them all¹, I dare commend

¹ See also Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 4to. 1596, Signat. R. “Doctors Dove and Clarencius I turne loose to bee their owne arbitrators and advocates, . . . as also in like sort, Master Spencer, *whom I do not thrust into the lowest place, because I make the lowest valuation of*, but as we use to sett the *summ' tot'* underneath or at the bottom, he being the *summ' tot'* of whatsoever can be said of sharpe invention and schollership.”

“Though last, not least,” seems to have been a common formula in that age; and is always applied to a person very highly valued by the speaker. “Next like an ale-house ruffen, with

him [Peele] unto all that know him, as *the chief supporter of pleasaunce*, now living, the *Atlas* of

his dagger he slew the infortunate good King Henry the Sixt in the Tower of London. Then heaping murder upon murder, he caused George Duke of Clarence, his natural brother, to be drowned in a butte of malmsey; and *last, though not the least*, to rowle up a number of noble subjectes, ends with the death of Edward the Fift, and Richard Duke of Yorke," &c.

Again, in the Remembraunce of the woorthie and well imployed Life of the Right Honourable Sir Nicholas Bacon, &c. by the same author, 4to. [1578]:

"The *last*, but *not* of worldly evils *the least*,
 "When we have fed of vaine delights our fill,
 "Death comes in fine—."

So, in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy:

"The third and *last, not least* in our account."

Again, in his Cornelia, 1594:

"And *last, not least*, bereft of my best father."

Again, in Sylvester's Dubartas, 4to. 1605, p. 185:

"Thou *last, not least*, brave eagle, no contempt
 "Made me so long thy storie hence exempt."

Again, in the old anonymous play, entitled The History of King Leir, 4to. 1605:

"——— to thee *last of all*,
 "Not greeted *last*, 'cause thy desert is small."

Again, in A Woman Will Have her Will, a comedy by William Houghton, acted in 1598:

"*Last, yet as great in love, as to the first*,
 "If you remember," &c.

So, also, our author in his King Lear, 4to. 1608:

"——— But now, our *joy*,
 "Although *the last, not least* in our dear love."

Again, in his Julius Cæsar:

"Though *last, not least* in love, yours, good Trebonius."

Again, in Pattenham's Arte of Poetrie, 1589: "But *last* in recitall and *first* in degree, the Queen our sovereign ladie, whose learned, delicate, noble muse, easilie surmounteth all the rest that have written before her time or since, for sense, sweetness,

poetry, and *primus verborum artifex*; whose first increase [production], The Arraignment of Paris, might plead to your opinions his pregnant dexteritie of wit, and manifold variety of invention, wherein, *me judice*, he goeth a step *beyond all that write*²." Such having been the usage and phraseology of the time, no inference can be drawn to the disadvantage of Shakspeare, from the last place being allotted to him in this poetical catalogue; which Spenser may have been induced to assign him from his having been the last of the whole band, whose muse had solicited the publick favour. Churchyard and Golding preceded him many years. Gorges, Peele, Lodge, Alabaster, Raleigh, and Lord Derby, had written between 1580 and 1590, and Daniel in 1592. Shakspeare's two poems did not appear till afterwards, the one in 1593, the other in 1594; and the historical tragedies already mentioned, it is highly probable, were then also first produced. In like manner, our poet's Cordelia, though, as the youngest daughter, last interrogated concerning her filial af-

and subilltie, be it in ode, elegie, epigram, or any other kind of poeme, heroick or lyricke, wherein it shall please Her Majestie to employ her penne, even by so much oddes as her owne excellent estate and degree exceedeth all the rest of her most humble vassals."—[Here we find that Spenser's Eulogy on Her Majesty's poetry, extravagant as it is, was only the common language of that time.]

Thus also Webster (though the last, not the least apposite authority) in the preface to his *White Devil*, 1612: "—and *lastly, without wrong last to be named*, the right happy and copious industrie of Master Shake-speare," &c.

² Epistle prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, 4to. 1569.

fection, was unquestionably her fond father's "joy," and more beloved by him than either of her sisters, who, solely on account of their seniority, had been previously addressed.

For this long, but, I trust not wholly uninteresting, disquisition, no apology is necessary. Every poetical reader, I am confident, will be gratified by an endeavour to "pluck out the heart of this mystery," to penetrate the thick "veil of words," under which, for more than two centuries, the characters and productions of so many ingenious men have been concealed; and will feel no less satisfaction than I have done, on discovering, that, though Shakspeare was not the comick writer eulogized by the author of *The Tears of the Muses*, at a time when his name was scarcely known in the world, he yet, afterwards, was duly appreciated by his illustrious and amiable contemporary; who, in talents and virtues, more nearly resembled Shakspeare than did any writer of that age; and who, we find, at a very early period of our great poet's dramatiack life, had a high and just sense of his transcendent merits.

SECTION XIV.

Before we proceed to consider Shakspeare in his higher character of a poet, let us advert to those scanty portions of information which have come down to us respecting his merits as an actor, a very inferior capacity certainly, but naturally connected with his dramatiack career. Upon this point I have again to quote the authority of Mr. Aubrey, whose words are these:

"Being inclined naturally (says Mr. Aubrey) to

poetry and acting, he came to London, I guesse about eighteen, and was an actor at one of the playhouses, and did act exceedingly well. Now Ben Jonson never was a good actor, but an excellent instructor."

The first observation that I shall make on this account is, that the latter part of it, which informs us that Ben Jonson was a bad actor, is incontestably confirmed by one of the comedies of Decker; and therefore, though there were no other evidence, it might be plausibly inferred that Mr. Aubrey's information concerning our poet's powers on the stage was not less accurate. But in this instance I am not under the necessity of resting on such an inference; for I am able to produce the testimony of a contemporary in support of Shakspeare's histrionick merit. In the preface to a pamphlet entitled *Kinde-Hartes Dreame*, published in December 1592, which I have elsewhere had occasion to quote for another purpose, the author, Henry Chettle, who was himself a dramatick writer, and well acquainted with the principal poets and players of the time, thus speaks of Shakspeare:

"The other³, whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the hate of living writers, and might have used my own discretion, (especially in such a case, the author [Robert Greene] being dead,) I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault; because my selfe have seen his demeanour no less civil than he EXCELLENT in the qualitie he professes, besides, divers of worship have reported his upright-

³ That by the words "*The other*," was meant Shakspeare, will be shewn in the Essay on the Order of his plays.

ss of dealing, which argues his honestie, and his
etious grace in writing, that approves his art."

To those who are not conversant with the language
our old writers, it may be proper to observe, that
e words, " the quality he professes," particularly
note his profession as an *actor*. The latter part
the paragraph indeed, in which he is praised as a
od man and an elegant *writer*, shews this: how-
er, the following passage in Stephen Gosson's
hoole of Abuse, 1579, in which the very same words
cur, will put this matter beyond a doubt. " Over-
shing in apparell (says Gosson) is so common
fault, that the verye hyerlings of some of our
aiers, which stand at the reversion of vis. by the
eeke, jet under gentlemen's noses in autes of silke,
cercising themselves in prating on the stage, and
mmon scoffing when they come abroad; where they
oke askance at every man of whom the sonday bo-
re they begged an almea. I speak not this as
hough every one that *professeth the qualitie*, so
bused him selfe; for it is wel known, that some of
hem are sober, discret, properly learned, honest
ouseholders, and citizens well thought on amonge
heir neighbours at home, though the pride of their
hadowes (I meane those hange-byes whome they
uccour with stipend) cause them to bee somewhat
alked of abroad⁴."

Thus early was Shakspeare celebrated as an actor,
and thus unfounded was the information which Mr.

⁴ In the margin this cautious puritan adds—" Some players
modest, if I be not deceived."

Rowe obtained on this subject. Wright, a more diligent inquirer, and who had better opportunities of gaining theatrical intelligence, had said about ten years before, that he had "heard our author was a better poet than an actor;" but this description, though probably true, may still leave him a considerable portion of merit in the latter capacity: for if the various powers and peculiar excellencies of all the actors from his time to the present, were united in one man, it may well be doubted, whether they would constitute a performer whose merit should entitle him to "bench by the side" of Shakspeare as a poet.

A passage indeed in Lodge's *Incarnate Devils* of the Age, 1596, has been pointed out, as levelled at our poet's performance of the Ghost in Hamlet. But this in my apprehension is a mistake. The ridicule intended to be conveyed by the passage in question was, I have no doubt, aimed at the actor who performed the part of the Ghost in some miserable play which was produced before Shakspeare commenced either actor or writer. That such a play once existed, I shall afterwards shew to be highly probable; and the tradition transmitted by Betterton, that our poet's performance of the Ghost in his own Hamlet was his *chef-d'œuvre*, adds support to my opinion.]

That Shakspeare had a perfect knowledge of his art, is proved by the instructions which are given to the player in Hamlet, and by other passages in his works; which, in addition to what I have already stated, incline me to think that the traditional account transmitted by Mr. Rowe, relative to his powers on the stage, has been too hastily credited. In the

celebrated scene between Hamlet and his mother, she thus addresses him :

- “ — Alas, how is't with you ?
 “ That you do bend your eye on vacancy,
 “ And with the incorporal air do hold discourse ?
 “ Forth at your eyes your spirits wildly peep ;
 “ And, as the sleeping soldiers in the alarm,
 “ Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
 “ Starts up, and stands on end.—Whereon do you look ?
 “ *Ham.* On him ! on him ! look you, how pale he glares !
 “ His form and cause conjoin'd, preaching to stones,
 “ Would make them capable. Do not look upon me,
 “ Lest with this piteous action, you convert
 “ My stern effects : then what I have to do
 “ Will want true colour ; teais perchance for blood.”

Can it be imagined that he would have attributed these lines to Hamlet, unless he was confident that in his own part he could give efficacy to that *piteous action* of the Ghost, which he has so forcibly described ? or that the preceding lines spoken by the Queen, and the description of a tragedian in King Richard III. could have come from the pen of an ordinary actor ?

- “ *Rich.* Come, cousin, can'st thou quake and change thy colour ?
 “ Murther thy breath in middle of a word ?
 “ And then again begin, and stop again,
 “ As if thou wert distraught, and mad with terror ?
 “ *Buck.* Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian ;
 “ Speak, and look big, and pry on every side,
 “ Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
 “ Intending deep suspicion : ghastly looks
 “ Are at my service, like enforced smiles ;
 “ And both are ready in their offices,
 “ At any time, to grace my stratagems.”

I do not, however, believe, that our poet played parts of the first rate, though he probably distinguished himself by whatever he performed. If the names of the actors prefixed to *Every Man in his Humour* were arranged in the same order as the persons of the drama, he must have represented Old Knowell; and if we may give credit to an anecdote related in a former page, he was the Adam in his own *As You Like It*. Perhaps he excelled in representing old men. The following contemptible lines written by a contemporary, about the year 1611, might lead us to suppose that he also acted Duncan in *Macbeth*, and the parts of King Henry the Fourth, and King Henry the Sixth :

“ To our English Terence, Mr. William Shespearec.

“ Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,

“ Hadst thou not play’d some kingly parts in sport,

“ Thou hadst been a companion for a king,

“ And been a king among the meaner sort.

“ Some others raile, but raile as they think fit,

“ Thou hast no railing but a raigning wit :

“ And honesty thou sow’st, which they do reape,

“ So to increase their stock, which they do keepe.”

The Scourge of Folly, by John Davies, of Hereford, no date.

Another traditionary anecdote, relating to our author’s dramatic performances, is thus recorded in the MSS. of Mr. Oldys.

“ One of Shakspeare’s younger brothers, who lived to a good old age, even some years, as I compute, after the restoration of King Charles II. would in his younger days come to London to visit his brother Will, as he called him, and be a spectator of

him as an actor in some of his own plays. This custom, as his brother's fame enlarged, and his dramatick entertainments grew the greatest support of our principal, if not of all our theatres, he continued, it seems, so long after his brother's death, as even to the latter end of his own life. The curiosity at this time of the most noted actors [exciting them] to learn something from him of his brother, &c. they justly held him in the highest veneration. And it may be well believed, as there was besides a kinsman and descendant of the family, who was then a celebrated actor among them, [Charles Hart^s. See Shakspeare's Will.] this opportunity made them greedily inquisitive into every little circumstance, more especially in his dramatick character, which his brother could relate of him. But he, it seems, was so stricken in years, and possibly his memory so weakened with infirmities, (which might make him the easier pass for a man of weak intellects), that he could give them but little light into their enquiries; and all that could be recollected from him of his brother Will. in that station was, the faint, general, and almost lost ideas he had of having once seen him act a part in one of his own comedies, wherein being to personate a

^s — Charles Hart.] Mr. Charles Hart the player was born, I believe, about the year 1680, and died in or about 1682. If he was a grandson of Shakspeare's sister, he was probably the son of Michael Hart, her youngest son, of whose marriage or death there is no account in the parish register of Stratford, and therefore I suspect he settled in London.

[Charles Hart died in August, 1688, and was buried at Stanmore the 20th of that month. *Lysons's Environs of London*, vol. iii. p. 400. REED.]

decrepit old man, he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping and unable to walk, that he was forced to be supported and carried by another person to a table, at which he was seated among some company, who were eating, and one of them sung a song." See the character of Adam, in *As You Like It*, Act II. Sc. ult.

Mr. Oldys seems to have studied the art of "marrying a plain tale in the telling of it;" for he has in this story introduced circumstances which tend to diminish, instead of adding to, its credibility. *Male dum recitas, incipit esse tuus*. From Shakspeare's not taking notice of any of his brothers or sisters in his will, except Joan Hart, I think it highly probable that they were all dead in 1616, except her, at least all those of the whole blood; though in the register there is no entry of the burial of his brother Gilbert, antecedent to the death of Shakspeare, or at any subsequent period; but we know that he survived his brother Edmund.

The truth is, that this account of our poet's having performed the part of an old man in one of his own comedies, came originally from Mr. Thomas Jones, of Tarbick, in Worcestershire, who has been already mentioned (see p. 138), and who related it from the information, not of one of Shakspeare's *brothers*, but of a *relation* of our poet, who lived to a good old age, and who had seen him act in his youth. Mr. Jones's informer might have been Mr. Richard Quiney, who lived in London, and died at Stratford in 1656, at the age of 69; or Mr. Thomas Quiney, our poet's son-in-law, who lived, I believe, till 1663,

and was twenty-seven years old when his father-in-law died; or some one of the family of Hathaway. Mr. Thomas Hathaway, I believe Shakspeare's brother-in-law, died at Stratford in 1654-5, at the age of 85.

There was a Thomas Jones, an inhabitant of Stratford, who between the years 1581 and 1590 had four sons, Henry, James, Edmund, and Isaac: some one of these, it is probable, settled at Tarbick, and was the father of Thomas Jones, the relater of this anecdote, who was born about the year 1613.

If any of Shakspeare's brothers lived till after the Restoration, and visited the players, why were we not informed to what player he related it, and from what player Mr. Oldys had his account? The fact, I believe, is, he had it not from a player, but from the above-mentioned Mr. Jones, who likewise communicated the stanza of the ballad on Sir Thomas Lucy, which has been printed in a former page.

SECTION XV.

AN
ATTEMPT
TO ASCERTAIN
THE ORDER
IN WHICH
THE PLAYS OF SHAKSPEARE
WERE WRITTEN*.

——— Primusque per avia campi
Usque procul (necdum totas lux moverat umbras),
Nescio quid visu dubium, incertumque moveri,
Corporeque ire videt. STATIUS.
Trattando l'ombre come cosa salda. DANTE.

EVERY circumstance that relates to those persons whose writings we admire, awakens and interests our curiosity. The time and place of their birth, their education and gradual attainments, the dates of their productions and the reception they severally met with, their habits of life, their private friendships, and even their external form, are all points, which, how little

* The first edition of this Essay was published in January, 1778.

soever they may have been adverted to by their contemporaries, strongly engage the attention of posterity. Not satisfied with receiving the aggregated wisdom of ages as a free gift, we visit the mansions where our instructors are said to have resided, we contemplate with pleasure the trees under whose shade they once reposed, and wish to see and to converse with those sages, whose labours have added strength to virtue, and efficacy to truth.

Shakspeare, above all writers, since the days of Homer, has excited this curiosity in the highest degree; as perhaps no poet of any nation was ever more idolized by his countrymen. An ardent desire to understand and explain his works, is, to the honour of the present age, so much increased within the last forty years, that more has been done towards their elucidation, during that period⁷, than in a century before. All the ancient copies of his plays, hitherto discovered, have been collated with the most scrupulous accuracy. The meanest books have been carefully examined, only because they were of the age in which he lived, and might happily throw a light on some forgotten custom, or obsolete phraseology: and, this object being still kept in view, the toil of wading through *all such reading as was never read* has been cheerfully endured, because no labour was thought too great, that might enable us to add one new laurel to the father of our drama. Almost every circumstance that tradition or history has preserved relative

⁷ Within the period here mentioned, the commentaries of Warburton, Edwards, Heath, Johnson, Tyrwhitt, Farmer, and Steevens, have been published.

to him or his works, has been investigated, and laid before the publick ; and the avidity with which all communications of this kind have been received, sufficiently proves that the time expended in the pursuit has not been wholly misemployed.

However, after the most diligent inquiries, very few particulars have been recovered, respecting his private life or literary history : and while it has been the endeavour of all his editors and commentators to illustrate his obscurities, and to regulate and correct his text, no attempt has been made to trace the progress and order of his plays. Yet surely it is no incurious speculation to mark the gradations ⁶ by which

⁶ It is not pretended that a regular scale of gradual improvement is here presented to the publick ; or that, if even Shakspeare himself had left us a chronological list of his dramas, it would exhibit such a scale. All that is meant is, that, as his knowledge increased, and as he became more conversant with the stage and with life, his performances *in general* were written more happily and with greater art ; or (to use the words of Dr. Johnson) “ that however favoured by nature, he could only impart what he had learned, and as he must increase his ideas, like other mortals, by gradual acquisition, he, like them, grew wiser, as he grew older, could display life better as he knew it more, and instruct with more efficacy, as he was himself more amply instructed.” Of this opinion also was Mr. Pope. “ It must be observed (says he), that when his performances had merited the protection of his prince, and when the encouragement of the court had succeeded to that of the town, the works of his riper years are manifestly raised above those of the former.—And I make no doubt that this observation would be found true in every instance, were but editions extant from which we might learn the exact time when every piece was composed, and whether writ for the town or the court.”—From the following lines it appears, that Dryden also thought that our author's most imperfect plays were his earliest dramattick compositions :

he rose from mediocrity to the summit of excellence ; from artless and sometimes uninteresting dialogues, to those unparalleled compositions, which have rendered him the delight and wonder of successive ages.

The materials for ascertaining the order in which his plays were written, are indeed so few, that, it is to be feared, nothing very decisive can be produced

- “ Your Ben and Fletcher in their first young flight,
- “ Did no Volpone, no Arbaces write :
- “ But hopp’d about, and short excursions made
- “ From bough to bough, as if they were afraid ;
- “ And each were guilty of some Slighted Maid.
- “ Shakspeare’s own muse his Pericles first bore ;
- “ The Prince of Tyre was elder than the Moor :
- “ ’Tis miracle to see a first good play ;
- “ All hawthorns do not bloom on Christmas-day.
- “ A slender poet must have time to grow,
- “ And spread and burnish, as his brothers do :
- “ Who still looks lean, sure with some p— is curst,
- “ But no man can be Falstaff fat at first.”

Prologue to the tragedy of Circe.

The plays which Shakspeare produced before the year 1600, are known, and are seventeen or eighteen in number. The rest of his dramas, we may conclude, were composed between that year and the time of his retiring to the country. It is incumbent on those, who differ in opinion from the great authorities above-mentioned,—who think with Rowe, that “ we are not to look for his beginnings in his least perfect works,” it is incumbent, I say, on those persons, to enumerate in the former class, that is, among the plays produced before 1600, compositions of equal merit with Othello, King Lear, Macbeth, The Tempest, and Twelfth-Night, which we have reason to believe were all written in the latter period ; and among his late performances, that is, among the plays that are supposed to have appeared after the year 1600, to point out pieces, as hasty and indigested, as Love’s Labour’s Lost, The Comedy of Errors, and The Two Gentlemen of Verona, which, we know, were among his earlier works.

on this subject. In the following attempt to trace the progress of his dramattick art, probability alone is pretended to. The silence and inaccuracy of those persons, who, after his death, had the revisal of his papers, will perhaps for ever prevent our attaining to any thing like proof on this head. Little then remains, but to collect into one view, from his several dramas, and from the ancient tracts in which they are mentioned, or alluded to, all the circumstances that can throw any light on this new and curious inquiry. From those circumstances, and from the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, extracted and published by Mr. Steevens (to whom every admirer of Shakspeare has the highest obligations), it is probable that our author's plays were written nearly in the following succession; which, though it cannot at this day be ascertained to be their true order, may yet be considered as approaching nearer to it, than any which has been observed in the various editions of his works.

Of the twenty-one plays which were not printed in our author's life-time⁷, the *majority* were, I be-

⁷ They are King Henry VI. Part I., The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI. (as he wrote them) The Comedy of Errors, The Taming of the Shrew, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, King John, All's Well that Ends Well, As You Like It, King Henry VIII. Measure for Measure, The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, Macbeth, Julius Cæsar, Antony and Cleopatra, Timon of Athens, Coriolanus, Othello, The Tempest, and Twelfth-Night. None of these, except Othello, were printed in quarto, but appeared first in the folio edition published by Heminge and Condell, in 1623. Of these plays, seven, viz. The First Part of King Henry VI. (allowing that play to be Shak-

lieve, late compositions⁸. The following arrangement is in some measure formed on this notion. Two reasons may be assigned, why Shakspeare's late performances were not published till after his death.

1. If we suppose him to have written for the stage during a period of twenty years, those pieces which were produced in the latter part of that period were less likely to pass through the press in his life-time, as the curiosity of the publick had not been so long engaged by them, as by his early compositions.
2. From the time that Shakspeare had the superintendence of a playhouse, that is, from the year 1603⁹,

speare's), The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI. King John, The Comedy of Errors, The Taming of the Shrew, and The Two Gentlemen of Verona, were certainly early compositions, and are an exception to the general truth of this observation. One other, viz. All's Well that Ends Well, though supposed to have been an early production, was, it must be acknowledged, not published in Shakspeare's life-time; but for the date of this play we rely only on conjecture.

⁸ This supposition is strongly confirmed by Meres's list of our author's plays, in 1598. From that list, and from other circumstances, we learn, that of the fourteen plays which were printed in Shakspeare's life-time, thirteen were written before the end of the year 1600. The fourteen plays published in our author's life-time, are—A Midsummer-Night's Dream, Love's Labour's Lost, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, King Richard II. King Richard III. The First Part of King Henry IV. The Second Part of King Henry IV. The Merchant of Venice, King Henry V. Much Ado about Nothing, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Troilus and Cressida, and King Lear.

⁹ None of the plays which in the ensuing list are supposed to have been written subsequently to this year, were printed till after the author's death, except King Lear, the publication of which was probably hastened by that of the old play with the

when he and several others obtained a licence from King James to exhibit comedies, tragedies, histories, &c. at the Globe Theatre, and elsewhere, it became strongly his interest to preserve those pieces unpublished, which were composed between that year and the time of his retiring to the country; manuscript plays being then the great support of every theatre. Nor were the plays which he wrote after he became a manager, so likely to get abroad, being confined to his own theatre, as his former productions, which perhaps had been acted on different stages, and of consequence afforded the players at the several houses where they were exhibited, an easy opportunity of making out copies from the separate parts transcribed for their use, and of selling such copies to printers; by which means there is reason to believe that some of them were submitted to the press, without the consent of the author.

The following is the order in which I suppose the plays of Shakspeare to have been written, including, for the sake of the discussion connected with it, the first part of Henry the VI. which I believe to be the composition of another writer.

same title, in 1605.—The copy of *Troilus and Cressida*, which seems to have been composed the year before King James granted a licence to the company at the Globe Theatre, appears to have been obtained by some uncommon artifice. “Thank fortune (says the editor) for the *scape* it hath made amongst you; since, by the grand possessors’ wills, I believe, you should have pray’d for them [*r. ut*] rather than been pray’d.”—By the *grand possessors*, Shakspeare and the other managers of the Globe Theatre, were certainly intended.

1. First Part of King Henry VI.	1589
2. Second Part of King Henry VI.	1591
3. Third Part of King Henry VI.	1591
4. Two Gentlemen of Verona.	1591
5. Comedy of Errors.	1592
6. King Richard the Second.	1593
7. King Richard the Third.	1593
8. Love's Labour's Lost.	1594
9. Merchant of Venice.	1594
10. Midsummer-Night's Dream.	1594
11. Taming of the Shrew.	1596
12. Romeo and Juliet.	1596
13. First Part of King Henry IV.	1597
14. Second Part of King Henry IV.	1599
15. As You Like It.	1599
16. King Henry V.	1599
17. Much Ado About Nothing.	1600
18. Hamlet.	1600
19. Merry Wives of Windsor.	1601
20. Troilus and Cressida.	1602
21. Measure for Measure.	1603
22. Henry VIII.	1603
23. Othello.	1604
24. Lear.	1605
25. All's Well That Ends Well.	1606
26. Macbeth.	1606
27. Julius Cæsar.	1607
28. Twelfth Night.	1607
29. Antony and Cleopatra.	1608
30. Cymbeline.	1609
31. Coriolanus.	1610
32. Timon of Athens.	1610

33. Winter's Tale.	1611
34. Tempest.	1611

1. *The First Part of King Henry VI.* 1589.

In what year our author began to write for the stage, or which was his first performance, has not been hitherto ascertained. And indeed we have so few lights to direct our enquiries, that any speculation on this subject may appear an idle expence of time. But the method which has been already marked out, requires that such facts should be mentioned, as may serve in any manner to elucidate these points.

Shakspeare was born on the 23d of April, 1564, and was probably married in, or before, September, 1582, his eldest daughter, Susanna, having been baptized on the 26th of May, 1583. At what time he left Warwickshire, or was first employed in the playhouse, tradition does not inform us. However, as his son Hamnet and his daughter Judith were baptized at Stratford, Feb. 2, 1584-5, we may presume that he had not left the country at that time.

He could not have wanted an easy introduction to the theatre; for Thomas Greene¹, a celebrated co-

¹ "There was not (says Heywood, in his preface to Greene's *Tu Quoque*, a comedy), an actor of his nature in his time, of better ability in the performance of what he undertook, more applauded by the audience, of greater grace at the court, or of more general love in the city." The birth-place of Thomas Greene is ascertained by the following lines, which he speaks in one of the old comedies, in the character of a clown:

"I pratted poesie in my nurse's arms,

median was his townsman, perhaps his relation, and Michael Drayton was likewise born in Warwickshire; the latter was nearly of his own age, and both were in some degree of reputation soon after the year

“ And, born where late our swan of Avon sung,

“ In Avon's streams we both of us have lav'd,

“ And both came out together *.”

Chetwood, in his *British Theatre*, quotes this passage from the comedy of the *Two Maids of Moreclack*; but no such passage is there to be found. He deserves but little credit, having certainly forged many of his dates; however, he probably met with these lines in some ancient play, though he forgot the name of the piece from which he transcribed them. Greene was a writer as well as an actor. There are some verses of his prefixed to a collection of Drayton's poems, published in the year 1613. In the register of the parish of Stratford, Thomas Greene, alias Shaxpere, is said to have been buried there, March 6, 1589. He might have been the actor's father.

* The turn of these lines is apparently borrowed from a passage in Milton's *Lycidas*. See v. 23, *et seq.* The whole is a forgery by Chetwood. STEEVENS.

I cannot think this probable. Chetwood was not likely to have been a writer of verses; nor can I see much resemblance between these lines and those referred to in *Lycidas*. That the reader may form his own judgment on this point, I shall quote the passage from Milton:

“ For we were nurs'd upon the self same hill,

“ Fed the same flock by fountain, shade, and rill.

“ Together both, ere the high lawns appear'd

“ Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,

“ We drove a-field, and both together heard

“ What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn,

“ Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night,

“ Oft till the star, that rose, at evening bright,

“ Toward Heaven's descent had slop'd his westering wheel.”

BOSWELL.

1590. If I were to indulge a conjecture, I should name the year 1591, as the era when our author commenced a writer for the stage; at which time he was somewhat more than twenty-seven years old. The reasons that induce me to fix on that period are these. In Webbe's Discourse of English Poetry, published in 1586, we meet with the names of most of the celebrated poets of that time; particularly those of George Whetstone² and Anthony Munday³, who

² The author of *Promos* and *Cassandra*, a play which furnished Shakspeare with the fable of *Measure for Measure*.

³ This poet is mentioned by Meres, in his *Wit's Treasury*, 1598, as an eminent comick writer, and the *best plotter* of his time. He seems to have been introduced under the name of Don Antonio Balladino, in a comedy that has been attributed to Ben Jonson, called *The Case is Altered*, and from the following passages in that piece appears to have been city-poet; whose business it was to compose an annual panegyrick on the Lord Mayor, and to write verses for the pageants; an office which has been discontinued since the death of Elkanah Settle in 1722:

"*Onion*. Shall I request your name?

"*Ant*. My name is Antonio Balladino.

"*Oni*. Balladino! You are not pageant-poet to the city of Milan, sir, are you?

"*Ant*. I supply the place, sir, when a worse cannot be had, sir.—Did you see the last pageant I set forth?"

Afterwards Antonio, speaking of the plays he had written, says:

"Let me have good ground,—no matter for the pen; *the plot* shall carry it.

"*Oni*. Indeed that's right; *you are in print already for THE BEST PLOTTER*.

"*Ant*. Ay, I might as well have been put in for a dumb-shew too."

It is evident, that this poet is here intended to be ridiculed by Ben Jonson: but he might, notwithstanding, have been deservedly

were *dramatick* writers ; but we find no trace of our author, or of any of his works. Three years afterwards, Puttenham printed his *Art of English Poesy* ; and in that work also we look in vain for the name of Shakspeare⁴. Sir John Harrington, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, prefixed to the Translation of Ariosto (which was entered in the Stationers' books Feb. 26, 1590-1, in which year it was published), takes occasion to speak of the theatre, and mentions some of the celebrated dramas of that time ; but says not a word of Shakspeare, or of his plays. If any of his dramatick compositions had then appeared, is it imaginable, that Harrington should have mentioned the *Cambridge Pedantius*, and *The Play of the Cards*, which last, he tells us, was a *Londen* [i. e. an English] comedy, and have passed by, unnoticed, the new prodigy of the dramatick world ?

Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Defence of Poesie*, speaks at some length of the low state of dramatick lite-

eminent. That malignity which endeavoured to tear a wreath from the brow of Shakspeare, would certainly not spare inferior writers.

⁴ The thirty-first chapter of the first book of Puttenham's *Art of English Poesy* is thus entitled : " Who in any age have bene the most commended writers in our English Poesie, and the author's censure given upon them."

After having enumerated several authors who were then celebrated for various kinds of composition, he gives this succinct account of those who had written for the stage : " Of the latter sort I thinke thus ;—that for tragedie, the Lord Buckhurst and Maister Edward Ferrys, for such doings as I have sene of theirs, do deserve the hiest price ; the Earl of Oxford and Maister Edwardes of her Majestie's Chappell, for comedie and enterlude."

rature at the time he composed this treatise ; but has not the slightest allusion to Shakspeare, whose plays, had they then appeared, would doubtless have rescued the English stage from the contempt which is thrown upon it by this accomplished writer, and to which it was justly exposed by the wretched compositions of those who preceded our poet. The Defence of Poesie was not published till 1595 ; but must have been written some years before, as it is referred to by Sir John Harrington, in 1591, in the essay already mentioned. Sir Philip allows no merit to any of our plays, excepting Gorboduck alone : “ Our Tragedies and Comedies, not without cause cried out against, obseruing rules neither of honest ciuilitie, nor skilfull Poetrie. Excepting Gorboduck (againe I say of those that I haue seene) which notwithstanding, as it is full of stately speeches, and well sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca his stile, and as full of notable moralitie, which it doth most delightfully teach, and so obtaine the verie end of Poesie : Yet in truth, it is verie defectious in the circumstances, which grieues me, because it might not remaine as an exact modell of all Tragedies. For it is faultie both in place and time, the two necessarie companions of all corporall actions. For where the Stage should alway represent but one place ; and the vttermost time pre-supposed in it, should be both by Aristotles precept, and common reason, but one day ; there is both many dayes and many places, inartificially imagined. But if it be so in Gorboducke, how much more in all the rest ? ” After ridiculing the extrava-

gance of the English dramatists, in their total neglect of the unities of time and place, the necessity of which Sidney, as a scholar, strenuously maintains, he proceeds to declaim against their mongrell Tragicomedie, and the low buffoonery in which they indulged: "But I speake to this purpose, that all the end of the comicall part, be not vpon such scornful matters as stir laughter only, but mixe with it that delightfull teaching, which is the end of Poesie. And the great fault euen in that point of laughter, and forbidden plainly by Aristotle, is, that they stir laughter in sinfull things, vvhich are rather execrable then ridiculous: or in miserabbe, which are rather to be pittied then scorned. For what is it to make folkes gape at a wretched begger, and a beggerly Clowne: or against law of hospitalitie, to iest at strangers, because they speak not English so well as we do? What do we learn, since, it is certain, 'Nil habet infœlix paupertas durius in se, Quam quod ridiculos homines facit.' But rather a busie louing Courtier, and a heartlesse threatening Thraso; a selfe-wise seeming schoolemaster; a wrie transformed Trauailer: these if we saw walke in stage names, which we play naturally, therein were delightfull laughter, and teaching delightfulness, as in the other the Tragedies of Buchanan do iustly bring forth a diuine admiration. But I haue lauished out too many words of this play-matter; I do it, because as they are excelling parts of Poesie, so is there none so much vsed in England, *and none can be more pittifully abused; which like an vnmanerly*

daughter, shewing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesies honesty to be called in question." It is impossible to believe that our great poet could be included in this censure.

But whatever grounds we may have for thinking that none of his plays had appeared before 1591, it is certain that Shakspeare had commenced a writer for the stage, and had even excited the jealousy of his contemporaries, before September, 1592. This is now decisively proved by a passage extracted by Mr. Tyrwhitt from Robert Greene's *Groatsworth of Witte* bought with a Million of Repentance, in which there is an evident allusion to our author's name, as well as to a line in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.*

This tract was published at the dying request of Robert Greene, a very voluminous writer of that time. The conclusion of it, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed, is "an address to his brother poets to dissuade them from writing for the stage, on account of the ill treatment which they were used to receive from the players." It begins thus: "To those gentlemen his quondam acquaintance that spend their wits in making playes, R. G. wisheth a better exercise, and wisdome to prevent his extremities." His first address is undoubtedly to Christopher Marlowe, the most popular and admired dramatick poet of that age, previous to the appearance of Shakspeare, "Wonder not," (says Greene,) "for with thee will I first begin, thou famous gracer of tragedians, that Greene (who hath said *with thee*, like the foole in

his heart, there is no God), should now give glory unto his greatness ; for penetrating is his power, his hand is heavy upon me ; &c. Why should thy excellent wit, his gift, be so blinded, that thou should give no glory to the giver ?—The brother [*f. breather*] of this diabolical atheism is dead, and in his life had never the felicitie he aimed at : but as he beganne in craft, lived in feare, and ended in despair. And wilt thou, my friend, be his disciple ?—Looke unto me, by him persuaded to that libertie, and thou shalt find it an infernal bondage.”

Greene's next address appears to be made to Thomas Lodge. “ With thee I joyne young Juvenall, that byting satirist, that lastly with mee together writ a comedie. Sweet boy, might I advise thee, be advised, and get not many enemies by bitter words : inveigh against vaine men, for thou canst do it, no man better, no man so well : thou hast libertie to reprove all, and name none.—Stop shallow water still running. it will rage ; tread on a worme, and it will turn ; then blame not schollers, who are vexed with sharp and bitter lines, if they reprove too much libertie of reproof.”

George Peele, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has remarked, is next addressed. “ And thou no lesse deserving than the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferior, driven, as my selfe, to extreame shifts, a little have I to say to thee : and were it not an idolatrous oath, I would sweare by sweet S. George, thou art unworthy better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base-minded men all three of you, if by my

misery you be not warned : for unto none of you, like me, sought those burs to cleave ; those puppets, I meane, that speake from our mouths ; those anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they all have bin beholding, is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholding, shall (were yee in that case that I am now) be both of them at once forsaken? Yes, trust them not, for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his *tygres heart wrapt in a players hide*, supposes hee is as well able to bombaste out a blanke verse as the best of you ; and being an absolute *Johannes fac-totum*, is in his own conceit the only *Shake-scene*, in a countrey. O that I might intreat your rare wittes to be employed in more profitable courses ; and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaynte them with your admired inventions."

This tract appears to have been written by Greene not long before his death ; for near the conclusion he says, "*Albeit weakness will scarce suffer me to write*, yet to my fellow-scollers about this city will I direct these few insuing lines." He died, according to Dr. Gabriel Harvey's account, on the third of September, 1592⁵.

I have already quoted a very scarce pamphlet entitled *Kind Hart's Dreame*, written by Henry Chettle, from the preface to which it appears that he was the editor of *Green's Groatsworth of Wit*, and that it was published between September and December, 1592⁶.

⁵ Additions by Oldys to Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, MS.

⁶ Probably in October, for on the Stationers' books I find The

Our poet, we find, was not without reason displeased at the preceding allusion to him. As what Chettle says of him, corresponds with the character which all his contemporaries have given him, and the piece is extremely rare, I shall extract from the address to the Gentlemen Readers, what relates to the subject before us :

“About three months since died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booksellers’ hands, among others, his *Groatsworth of Wit*, in which a letter written to divers play-makers is offensively by one or two of them taken ; and because on the dead they cannot be revenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living author : and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. How I have, all the time of my conversing in printing, hindered the bitter inveighing against schollers, it hath been very well known ; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prove. With *neither* of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them [Marlowe] I care not if I never be. The other [Shakspear], whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the hate of living writers, and might have used my own discretion, (especially in such a case, the author being dead,) that I did not, I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault ; because *my selfe have seen his demeanour no less civil than he*

Repentaunce of Robert Greene, Master of Arts, entered by John Danter, Oct. 6, 1592. The full title of Greene’s pamphlet is, “Greene’s Groatsworth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance.”

excellent in the qualitie he professes : Besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honestie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art. For the first, whose learning I reverence, and at the perusing of Greene's booke, strooke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ; or had it been true, yet to publish it was intollerable; him I would wish to use me no worse than I deserve. I had onely in the copy this share: it was il written, as sometime Greene's hand was none of the best; licensed it must bee, ere it could be printed, which could never bee if it cuold not be read. To be brief, I writ it over, and as near as I could followed the copy; onely in that letter I put something out, but in the whole book not a word in: for I protest it was all Greenes, not mine, nor Master Nashes, as some unjustly have affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an Epistle to 'The Second Part of Gerileon; though by the workman's error T. N. were set to the end: that I confess to be mine, and repent it not.

"Thus, Gentlemen, having noted the private causes that made me nominate myself in print, being as well to purge Master Nashe of what he did not, as to justifie what I did, and withall to confirm what M. Greene did, I beseech you to accept the publick cause, which is both the desire of your delight and common benefit; for though the toye bee shadowed under the title of Kind Harts Dreame, it discovers the false hearts of divers that wake to commit mischief," &c.

That I am right in supposing the two who took

offence at Greene's pamphlet were Marlowe and Shakspeare, whose names I have inserted in a preceding paragraph in crotchets, appears from the passage itself already quoted; for there was nothing in Greene's exhortation to Lodge and Peele, the other two persons addressed, by which either of them could possibly be offended. Dr. Farmer is of opinion that the second person addressed by Greene is not Lodge, but Nashe, who is often called Juvenal by the writers of that time; but that he was not meant, is decisively proved by the extract from Chettle's pamphlet; for he never would have laboured to vindicate Nashe from being the writer of the Groatsworth of Wit, if any part of it had been professedly addressed to him⁷. Besides, Lodge had written a play in conjunction with Greene, called A Looking-Glass for London and England, and was author of some satirical pieces; but we do not know that Nashe and Greene had ever written in conjunction.

Henry Chettle was himself a dramatick writer, and appears to have become acquainted with Shakspeare, or at least seen him, between Sept. 1592, and the following December. Shakspeare was at this time twenty-eight years old; and then we find from the testimony of this writer *his demeanour was no less civil than he excellent in the qualitie he professed*. From the subsequent paragraph—"Divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing,

⁷ Nashe himself also takes some pains in an Epistle prefixed to Pierce Pennilesse, &c. to vindicate himself from being the author of Greene's Groatsworth of Wit.

which argues his honestie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art,—” it may be reasonably presumed, that he had exhibited more than one comedy on the stage before the end of the year 1592; perhaps *Love’s Labour’s Lost* in a less perfect state than it now appears in, and *A Midsummer-Night’s Dream*.

In what time soever he became acquainted with the theatre, we may presume that he had not composed his first piece long before it was acted; for being early incumbered with a young family, and not in very affluent circumstances, it is improbable that he should have suffered it to lie in his closet, without endeavouring to derive some profit from it; and in the miserable state of the drama in those days the meanest of his genuine plays must have been a valuable acquisition, and would hardly have been refused by any of our ancient theatres.

In a Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI. which I have subjoined to those plays, I have mentioned that I do not believe *The First Part of King Henry VI.* to have been the composition of Shakspeare; or that at most he wrote but one or two scenes in it. It is unnecessary here to repeat the circumstances on which that opinion is founded. Not being Shakspeare’s play (as I conceive), at whatever time it might have been first exhibited, it does not interfere with the supposition already stated, that he had not produced any dramatick piece before 1590.

The First Part of King Henry VI. which, I imagine, was formerly known by the name of *The Historical Play of King Henry VI.* had, I suspect, been

a very popular piece for some years before 1592, and perhaps was first exhibited in 1588 or in 1589. Nashe, in a tract entitled *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Devill*, which was first published in 1592⁸, expressly mentions one of the characters in it, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who dies in the fourth act of the piece, and who is not, I believe, introduced in any other play of that time. "How" (says he) "would it have joyed brave Talbot, *the terror of the French*⁹, to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least, (at several times,) who, in the tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding?"

In the Dissertation above referred to, I have endeavoured to prove that this play was written neither by Shakspeare, nor by the author or authors of the other two plays formed on a subsequent period of the reign of Henry the Sixth. By whom it *was* written, it is now, I fear, impossible to ascertain. It was not entered on the Stationers' books, nor printed, till the year 1623, when it was registered with Shakspeare's

⁸ *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication*, &c. was first published in that year, being entered for the first time on the Stationers' books by Richard Jones, Aug. 1592. There was a second edition in the same year, printed by Abell Jeffes for John Busbie.

⁹ Thus Talbot is described in *The First Part of K. Henry VI.* Act I. Sc. III:

"Here, said they, is *the terror of the French*."

Again, in Act V. Sc. I:

"Is Talbot slain, the Frenchman's only scourge,

"Your kingdom's *terror*?"

undisputed plays by the editors of the first folio, and improperly entitled *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* In one sense it might be called so, for two plays on the subject of that reign had been printed before. But considering the history of that king, and the period of time which the piece comprehends, it ought to have been called, what in fact it is, *The First Part of King Henry VI.*

At this distance of time it is impossible to ascertain on what principle it was that our author's friends, Heminge and Condell, admitted *The First Part of King Henry VI.* into their volume: but I suspect they gave it a place as a necessary introduction to the two other parts, and because Shakspeare had made some slight alterations, and written a few lines in it.

Titus Andronicus, as well as *The First Part of King Henry VI.* may be referred to the year 1589, or to an earlier period; but not being in the present edition admitted into the regular series of our author's dramas, I have not given it a place in the preceding table of his plays. In a note prefixed to that play, which may be found in vol. xxi. p. 258, et seq. I have declared my opinion that *Andronicus* was not written by Shakspeare, or that at most a very few lines in it were written by him; and have stated the reasons on which that opinion is founded. From Ben Jonson's *Induction to Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, we learn that this piece had been exhibited on the stage twenty-five or thirty years before, that is, at the lowest computation, in 1589; or, taking a middle period (which is perhaps more just), in 1587. "A booke entitled a Noble Roman History of *Titus Andronicus*,"

(without any author's name) was entered at Stationers' Hall by John Danter, Feb. 6, 1593-4. This was undoubtedly the play, as it was printed in that year according to Langbaine, who alone appears to have seen the first edition, and acted by the servants of the Earls of Pembroke, Derby, and Sussex. Of this play there was a second edition in quarto in 1600, and a third in 1611, in the title-page of which neither the name of Shakspeare (though he was in the zenith of his reputation), nor of any author, is found, and therefore we may presume that the title-page of the first edition also (like the entry on the Stationers' books) was anonymous. Marlowe's *King Edward II.* and some other old plays were performed by the servants of the Earl of Pembroke, by whom not one of Shakspeare's undisputed dramas was exhibited.

2, 3. Second and Third Parts of K. Henry VI. 1591.

In a Dissertation annexed to these plays, I have endeavoured to prove that they were not written *originally* by Shakspeare, but formed by him on two preceding dramas, one of which is entitled *The First Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, &c.* and the other *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c.* My principal object in that Dissertation was, to show from various circumstances that those two old plays which were printed in 1600, were written by some writer or writers who preceded Shakspeare, and moulded by him, with many alterations and additions, into the shape in which they at present appear in his works

under the titles of The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI. ; and if I have proved that point, I have obtained my end. I ventured, however, to go somewhat further, and to hazard a conjecture concerning the persons by whom they were composed : but this was not at all material to my principal argument, which, whether my conjectures on that head were well or ill founded, will remain the same.

The passage which has been already quoted from Greene's pamphlet, led me to suspect that the old plays were the production of either him or Peele, or both of them. I too hastily supposed that the words which have been printed in a former page,—“ Yes, trust them not ; for there is an upstart crow beautified with *our* feathers,” &c. as they immediately followed a paragraph addressed to George Peele, were addressed to him particularly ; and consequently that the word *our* meant Peele and Greene, the writer of the pamphlet : but these words manifestly relate equally to the *three* persons previously addressed, and allude to the theatrical compositions of Marlowe, Lodge, Peele, and Greene ; whether we consider the writer to lament in general that players avail themselves of the labours of authors, and derive more profit from them than the authors themselves, or suppose him to allude to some particular dramattick performances, which had been originally composed by himself or one of his friends, and thrown into a new form by some other dramatist, who was also a player. The two old plays therefore on which the Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI. were formed, may have been written by any one or more of the authors

above enumerated. Towards the end of the Essay I have produced a passage from the old King John, 1591, from which it appeared to me probable that the two elder dramas, which comprehend the greater part of the reign of King Henry VI. were written by the author of King John, whoever he was ; and some circumstances which have lately struck me, confirm an opinion which I formerly hazarded, that Christopher Marlowe was the author of that play. A passage in his historical drama of King Edward II. which Dr. Farmer has pointed out to me since the Dissertation was printed, also inclines me to believe, with him, that Marlowe was the author of one, if not both, of the old dramas on which Shakspeare formed the two plays which in the first folio edition of his works are distinguished by the titles of The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.

Two lines in The Third Part of King Henry VI. have been produced as a decisive and incontrovertible proof that these pieces were originally and entirely written by Shakspeare. “ Who” (says Mr. Capell,) “ sees not the future monster, and *acknowledges at the same time the pen that drew it*, in these two lines only spoken over a king who lies stabb’d before him, [i. e. before Richard Duke of Gloster,]—

“ What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster

“ Sink in the ground ? I thought it would have mounted.”

let him never pretend to discernment hereafter, in any case of this nature.”

The two lines above quoted are found in The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c. on which, according to my hypothesis, Shakspeare’s Third

Part of King Henry VI. was formed. If therefore, these lines decisively mark the hand of Shakspeare, the *old* as well as the *new* play must have been written by him, and the fabrick which I have built with some labour falls at once to the ground. But let not the reader be alarmed; for if it suffers from no other battery but this, it may last till the “crack of doom.” Marlowe, as Dr. Farmer observes to me, has the very same phrasology in King Edward II.:

“ ——— scorning that the lowly *earth*
 “ *Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air.*”

and in the same play I have lately noticed another line in which we find the very epithet here applied to the pious Lancastrian king:

“ Frown'st thou thereat, *aspiring Lancaster?* ”

So much for Mr. Capell's irrefragable proof. It is not the proper business of the present Essay to enter further into this subject. I merely seize this opportunity of saying, that the preceding passages now incline me to think Marlowe the author of *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, &c.* and perhaps of the other old drama also, entitled *The First Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster.*

Of these plays, the first, as I have mentioned in my Dissertation on the Three Parts, was printed in 1593, and the second in 1594. They were both printed together, *anonymously*, by Thomas Millington, in quarto, in the year 1600.

A very ingenious friend has suggested to me, that it is not probable that Shakspeare would have ven-

tured to use the ground-work of another dramatist, and form a new play upon it, in the life-time of the author or authors. I know not how much weight this argument is entitled to. We are certain that Shakspeare *did* transcribe a whole scene almost *verbatim* from The old Taming of a Shrew, and incorporate it into his own play on the same subject; and we do not know that the author of the original play was then dead. Supposing, however, this argument to have some weight, it does not tend in the slightest degree to overturn my hypothesis that The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI. were formed on the two preceding dramas, of which I have already given the titles; but merely to show, that I am either mistaken in supposing that they were new-modelled and re-written in 1591, or in my conjecture concerning the authors of the elder pieces on which those of Shakspeare were formed. Greene died in September, 1592, and Marlowe about May, 1593. By assigning our poet's part in these performances to the end of the year 1593 or the beginning of 1594, this objection is done away, whether we suppose Greene to have been the author of one of the elder plays, and Marlowe of the other, or that celebrated writer the author of them both.

Dr. Farmer is of opinion, that Ben Jonson particularly alludes in the following verses to our poet's having followed the steps of Marlowe in the plays now under our consideration, and greatly *surpassed* his original:

“ For, if I thought my judgment were of years,
“ I should commit thee surely with thy peers;

“ And tell how much thou did'st our Lily *outshine*,
 “ Or sporting Kyd, or *Marlowe's* mighty line.”

From the epithet *sporting*, which is applied to Kyd, and which is certainly in some measure a quibble on his name, it is manifest that he must have produced some *comick* piece upon the scene, as well as the two tragedies of his composition which are now extant, *Cornelia*, and *The Spanish Tragedy*. This latter is printed, like many plays of that time, anonymously. Dr. Farmer, with great probability suggests to me, that Kyd might have been the author of *The old Taming of a Shrew* printed in 1594, on which Shakspeare formed a play with nearly the same title¹. The praise which Ben Jonson gives to Shakspeare, that he “ *outshines* Marlowe and Kyd,” on this hypothesis, will appear to stand on one and the same foundation ; namely on his eclipsing those ancient dramatists by new-modelling their plays, and producing pieces much superior to theirs, on stories which they had already formed into dramas, that, till Shakspeare appeared, satisfied the publick, and were classed among the happiest efforts of dramatick art².

¹ Kyd was also, I suspect, the author of the old plays of *Hamlet*, and of *King Leir*. See the article on *Hamlet*.

² At the close of the *Dissertation on the three parts of Henry VI.* I have informed the reader that Mr. Malone had altered his opinion with regard to the original writers of the second and third of these plays, but have not incorporated in that *Essay* the supposed correction which he has here made. That Marlowe may have had some share in these compositions, I am not disposed to deny ; but I cannot persuade myself that they entirely proceeded from his pen. Some passages are possessed of so much merit, that they can scarcely be ascribed to any one except the

4. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1591.

This comedy was not entered on the books of the Stationers' Company till 1623, at which time it was

most distinguished of Shakspeare's predecessors ; but the tameness of the general style is very different from the peculiar characteristics of that poet's " mighty line," which are great energy both of thought and language, degenerating too frequently into tumour and extravagance. The versification appears to me to be also of a different colour. Marlowe, as I have endeavoured to show in the Essay on Shakspeare's Metre, although he was not altogether free from the monotonous pomp of numbers which is found in all his contemporaries, had less of it than any writer of that time, and has introduced a variety of pauses into English blank verse, which, however it may fall short of the endlessly diversified melody of Shakspeare, yet places him, in this respect, much above the models which were before him. Dr. Farmer's interpretation of the passage in Ben Jonson's commendatory verses, seems very hastily formed. Shakspeare might well be said to have outshined Marlowe, Kyd, and Lilly, without its being supposed that he had new-modelled their plays. From Lilly he appears to have taken nothing ; and Kyd is conjectured to have been a writer of comedy upon very slight foundation. Jonson is in the habit of turning the author of *Jeronimo* into ridicule, and, I believe, upon this occasion, meant merely a quibble upon the name of a writer whom he never could mention without some ludicrous recollection. That Marlowe, Peele, and Greene, may all of them have had a share in these dramas, is consonant to the frequent practice of that age, of which ample proofs may be found in the extracts from Henslowe's MSS. vol. iii.

I should not omit to mention here, that I find some slight memoranda by Mr. Malone, in which he seems to ascribe these plays to so late a period as 1600. I have stated at the end of his Dissertation, why I think his conjectures unfounded. I shall only add here, that if *Hamlet* and *Much Ado About Nothing* are correctly placed in 1600, it can scarcely be supposed that any other dramas could be produced in the same year by Shakspeare.

BOSWELL.

first printed; but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, and bears strong internal marks of an early composition. The comick parts of it are of the same colour with the comick parts of Love's Labour's Lost, the Comedy of Errors, and A Midsummer-Night's Dream; and the serious scenes are eminently distinguished by that elegant and pastoral simplicity which might be expected from the early effusions of such a mind as Shakspeare's, when employed in describing the effects of love. In this piece also, as in The Comedy of Errors and Love's Labour's Lost, some alternate verses are found.

Sir William Blackstone concurs with me in opinion on this subject; observing, that "one of the great faults of The Two Gentlemen of Verona is the hastening too abruptly and without preparation to the denouëment, which shows that it was one of Shakspeare's very early performances."

The following lines in Act I. Sc. III. had formerly induced me to ascribe this play to the year 1595:

" — He wonder'd, that your lordship
 " Would suffer him to spend his youth at home,
 " While other men, of slender reputation,
 " Put forth their sons to seek preferment out:
 " *Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there,*
 " *Some, to discover islands far away."*

Shakspeare, as has been often observed, gives to almost every country the manners of his own: and though the speaker is here a Veronese, the poet, when he wrote the last two lines, was thinking of England; where voyages for the purpose of *discovering islands far away* were at this time much prose-

cuted. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh undertook a voyage to the island of Trinidad, from which he made an expedition up the river Oronoque, to discover Guiana. Sir Humphry Gilbert had gone on a similar voyage of discovery the preceding year.

The particular situation of England in 1595 I had supposed might have suggested the line above quoted: "Some to the wars," &c. In that year it was generally believed that the Spaniards meditated a second invasion of England with a much more powerful and better appointed Armada than that which had been defeated in 1588. Soldiers were levied with great diligence, and placed on the sea-coasts, and two great fleets were equipped; one to encounter the enemy in the British seas; the other to sail to the West-Indies, under the command of Hawkins and Drake, to attack the Spaniards in their own territories. About the same time also Elizabeth sent a considerable body of troops to the assistance of King Henry IV. of France, who had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the English Queen, and had newly declared war against Spain. Our author, therefore, we see, had abundant reason for both the lines before us:

"Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there,
"Some to discover islands far away."

Among the marks of love, Speed in this play (Act II. Sc. I.) enumerates the walking alone, "like one that had the pestilence." In the year 1593 there had been a great plague, which carried off near eleven thousand persons in London. Shakspeare was

undoubtedly there at that time, and his own recollection might, I thought, have furnished him with this image. But since my former edition, I have been convinced that these circumstances by no means establish the date I had assigned to this play. When Lord Essex went in 1591 with 4000 men to assist Henry IV. of France, we learn from Sir Robert Carey's Memoirs, p. 59, that he was attended by many volunteers; and several voyages of discovery were undertaken about that very time by Raleigh, Cavendish, and others. There was a considerable plague in London in 1583.

Valentinus, putting himself at the head of a band of outlaws in this piece, has been supposed to be copied from Sydney's *Arcadia*, where Pylades heads the Helots. The first edition of the *Arcadia* was in 1590.

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* there are two allusions to the story of Hero and Leander, which I suspect Shakspeare had read recently before he composed this play. Marlowe's poem on that subject was entered at Stationers' Hall, Sept. 18, 1593, and I believe was published in that or the following year, though I have met with no copy earlier than that printed in quarto in 1598. Though that should have been the first edition, Shakspeare might yet have read this poem before the author's death in 1593: for Marlowe's fame was deservedly so high, that a piece left by him for publication was probably handed about in manuscript among his theatrical acquaintances antecedently to its being issued from the press.

In the following lines of this play,

“ Why, Phaeton, (for thou art Merops’ son,)
 “ Wilt thou aspire to guide the heavenly car,
 “ And with thy daring folly burn the world? ”

the poet, as Mr. Steevens has observed, might have been furnished with his mythology by the old play of King John, in two parts, 4to. 1591 :

“ — as sometimes Phaeton,
 “ Mistrusting silly Merops for his sire.”

Mr. Boaden justly observes to me that this comedy in various places contains the germ of other plays which Shakspeare afterwards wrote ; and this circumstance adds considerable support to the notion that this was one of his earliest productions.

5. *Comedy of Errors*, 1592.

The only note of time that occurs in this play is found in the following passage :

“ *Ant. S.* In what part of her body stands—
France ?

“ *Drom. S.* In her forehead, arm’d and reverted,
 making war against the *hair*.”

I have no doubt that an equivoque was here intended, and that, beside the obvious sense, an allusion was intended to King Henry IV. the *heir* of France⁷, concerning whose succession to the throne there was a civil war in that country, from August

⁷ The words *heir* and *hair* were, I make no doubt, pronounced alike in Shakspeare’s time, and hence they are frequently confounded in the old copies of his plays.

1589, when his father was assassinated, for several years. Henry, after struggling long against the power and force of the League, extricated himself from all his difficulties by embracing the Roman Catholick religion at St. Denis, on Sunday the 25th of July, 1593, and was crowned King of France in Feb. 1594; I therefore imagine this play was written before that period. In 1591 Lord Essex was sent with 4000 troops to the French King's assistance, and his brother Walter was killed before Rouen in Normandy. From that time till Henry was peaceably settled on the throne, many bodies of troops were sent by Queen Elizabeth to his aid: so that his situation must then have been a matter of notoriety, and a subject of conversation in England.

This play was neither entered on the Stationers' books, nor printed till 1623, but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, and exhibits internal proofs of having been one of Shakspeare's earliest productions. I formerly supposed that it could not have been written till 1596; because the translation of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, from which the plot appears to have been taken, was not published till 1595. But on a more attentive examination of that translation, I find that Shakspeare might have seen it before publication; for from the printer's advertisement to the reader, it appears that, for some time before, it had been handed about in MS. among the translator's friends. The piece was entered at Stationers' Hall, June 10, 1594; and as the author had translated all the comedies of Plautus, it may be presumed that the whole work had been the employment of some years:

and this might have been one of the earliest translated. Shakspeare must also have read some other account of the same story not yet discovered; for how otherwise could he have got the names of Erraticus and Surreptus, which do not occur in the translation of Plautus? There the brothers are called Menæchmus Sosicles, and Menæchmus the traveller.

The alternate rhymes that are found in this play, as well as in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, are a further proof that these pieces were among our author's earliest productions. We are told by himself that *Venus and Adonis* was "the first heir of his invention." The *Rape of Lucrece* probably followed soon afterwards. When he turned his thoughts to the stage, the measure which he had used in those poems, naturally presented itself to him in his first dramatick essays: I mean in those plays which were written *originally* by himself. In those which were grounded, like the *Henries*, on the preceding productions of other men, he naturally followed the example before him, and consequently in those pieces no alternate rhymes are found.

The doggrel measure, which, if I recollect right, is employed in none of our author's plays except *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, also adds support to the dates assigned to these plays: for these long doggrel verses, as I have observed in a note at the end of the piece now under our consideration, are written in that kind of metre which was usually attributed by the dra-

mattick poets before his time to some of their inferior characters. He was imperceptibly infected with the prevailing mode, in these his early compositions; but soon learned to "deviate boldly from the common track," left by preceding writers.

A play with the same title as that before us, was exhibited at Gray's Inn in December, 1594; but I know not whether it was Shakspeare's play, or a translation from Plautus. "After such sports (says the writer of *Gesta Grayorum*, 1688,) a Comedy of Errors, like to Plautus his *Menechmus*, was played by the players: so that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors. Whereupon it was ever afterwards called the Night of Errors." The Registers of Gray's Inn have been examined for the purpose of ascertaining whether the play above mentioned was our author's; but they afford no information on the subject.

From its having been represented, by *the players*, not by the gentlemen of the inn, I think it probable that it was Shakspeare's piece.

The name of Dowsabel, which is mentioned in this play, occurs likewise in an Eclogue entitled *The Shepherd's Garland*, by Michael Drayton, printed in 4to. in 1593.

6. *King Richard II.* 1593.

King Richard II. was entered on the Stationers' books, August 29, 1597, and printed in that year.

There had been a former play on this subject, which appears to have been called *King Henry IV.* in which Richard was deposed, and killed on the

stage. This piece, as Dr. Farmer and Mr. Tyrwhitt have observed, was performed on a publick theatre, at the request of Sir Gilly Merick, and some other followers of Lord Essex, the afternoon before his insurrection: "so earnest was he," (Merick) says the printed account of his arraignment, "to satisfy his eyes with a sight of that tragedy which he thought soone after his lord should bring from the stage to the state." "The players told him the play was *old*, and they should have loss by playing it, because few would come to it; but no play else would serve: and Sir Gilly Merick gave forty shillings to Philips the player to play this, besides whatsoever he could get²."

It may seem strange that this old play should have been represented after Shakspeare's drama on the same subject had been printed: the reason undoubtedly was, that in the old play the deposing King Richard II. made a part of the exhibition: but in the first edition of our author's play, one hundred and fifty-four lines, describing a kind of trial of the king, and his actual deposition in parliament, were omitted: nor was it probably represented on the stage. Merick, Cuffe, and the rest of Essex's train, naturally preferred the play in which his *deposition* was represented, their plot not aiming at the life of the queen. It is, I know, commonly thought, that the parliament-scene (as it is called), which was first printed in the quarto of 1608, was an addition made by Shakspeare to his play after its first repre-

² Bacon's Works, vol. iv. 412. State Trials, vol. viii. p. 60.

sentation : but it seems to me more probable that it was written with the rest, and suppressed in the printed copy of 1597, from the fear of offending Elizabeth ; against whom the Pope had published a bull in the preceding year, exhorting her subjects to take up arms against her. In 1599 Hayward published his *History of the First Year of Henry IV.* which in fact is nothing more than an history of the deposing Richard II. The displeasure which that book excited at court, sufficiently accounts for the omitted lines not being inserted in the copy of this play which was published in 1602. Hayward was heavily censured in the Star-chamber, and committed to prison. At a subsequent period (1608), when King James was quietly and firmly settled on the throne, and the fear of internal commotion, or foreign invasion, no longer subsisted, neither the author, the managers of the theatre, nor the bookseller, could entertain any apprehension of giving offence to the sovereign : the rejected scene was restored without scruple, and from some playhouse copy probably found its way to the press.

7. *King Richard III.* 1593.

Entered at the Stationers' Hall, Oct. 20, 1597.
Printed in that year.

8. *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1594.

Shakspeare's natural disposition leading him, as Dr. Johnson has observed, to comedy, it is highly probable that his first *original* dramatiick production was of the comick kind : and of his comedies *Love's Labour's Lost* appears to me to bear strong marks of

having been one of his earliest essays. The frequent rhymes with which it abounds³, of which, in his early performances, he seems to have been extremely fond, its imperfect versification, its artless and desultory dialogue, and the irregularity of the composition, may be all urged in support of this conjecture.

Love's Labour's Lost was not entered at Stationers' Hall till the 22d of January, 1606-7, but is men-

³ As this circumstance is more than once mentioned, in the course of these observations, it may not be improper to add a few words on the subject of our author's metre. A mixture of rhymes with blank verse, in the same play, and sometimes in the same scene, is found in almost all his pieces, and is not peculiar to Shakspeare, being also found in the works of Jonson, and almost all our ancient dramattick writers. It is not, therefore, merely the use of rhymes, mingled with blank verse, but their frequency, that is here urged, as a circumstance which seems to characterize and distinguish our poet's earliest performances. In the whole number of pieces which were written antecedent to the year 1600, and which, for the sake of perspicuity, have been called his early compositions, more rhyming couplets are found, than in all the plays composed subsequently to that year, which have been named his late productions. Whether in process of time Shakspeare grew weary of the bondage of rhyme, or whether he became convinced of its impropriety in a dramattick dialogue, his neglect of rhyming (for he never wholly disused it) seems to have been gradual. As, therefore, most of his early productions are characterized by the multitude of similar terminations which they exhibit, whenever of two early pieces it is doubtful which preceded the other, I am disposed to believe (other proofs being wanting) that play in which the greater number of rhymes is found, to have been first composed. The plays founded on the story of King Henry VI. do not indeed abound in rhymes; but this probably arose from their being originally constructed by preceding writers.

tioned by Francis Meres⁴, in his *Wit's Treasury*, being the Second Part of *Wit's Commonwealth*⁵, in 1598, and was printed in that year. In the title-page of this edition (the oldest hitherto discovered), this piece is said to have been *presented before her highness [Queen Elizabeth] the last Christmas [1597]*, and to be *newly corrected and augmented*: from which it should seem, either that there had been a former impression, or that the play had been originally represented in a less perfect state, than that in which it appears at present.

I think it probable, that our author's first draft of this play was written in or before 1594; and that some additions were made to it between that year and 1597, when it was exhibited before the Queen. One of those additions may have been the passage which seems to allude to *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, by Sir John Harrington, printed in 1596: "Your

⁴ This writer, to whose list of our author's plays we are so much indebted, appears, from the following passage of the work here mentioned, to have been personally acquainted with Shakspeare:

"As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakspeare. Witness his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends," &c. *Wit's Treasury*, p. 282. There is no edition of Shakspeare's Sonnets, now extant, of so early a date as 1598, when Meres's book was printed; so that we may conclude, he was one of those friends to whom they were privately recited, before their publication.

⁵ This book was probably published in the latter end of the year 1598; for it was not entered at Stationers' Hall till September in that year.

lion—will be given to *A-jax* ⁶.” This, however, is not certain; for the conceit of *A-jax* and *a-jakes* may not have originated with Harrington, and may hereafter be found in some more ancient tract.

In this comedy Don Armado says,—“The *first* and *second* cause will not serve my turn: the *passado* he respects not, the *duello* he regards not: his disgrace is to be called boy; but his glory is to subdue man.” Shakspeare seems here to have had in his thoughts Saviolo’s treatise Of Honour and Honourable Quarrels, published in 1595 ⁷. This passage also may have been an addition.

Bankes’s horse, which is mentioned in the play before us, had been exhibited in London in or before 1589, as appears from a story recorded in Tarlton’s Jests ⁸.

⁶ See vol. iv. p. 443, n. 4.

⁷ See a note on As You Like It, vol. vi. p. 503, n. 9.

⁸ “There was one Bankes in the time of Tarlton, who served the Earl of Essex, and had a horse of strange qualities; and being at the Cross Keyes in Gracious-streete, getting money with him, as he was mightily resorted to, Tarlton then (with his fellowes) playing at the Bell [*f. Bull*] by, came into the Cross keyes, amongst many people to see fashions: which Bankes perceiving, to make the people laugh, saies, ‘Signior,’ to his horse, ‘go fetch me the veriest foole in the company.’ The jade comes immediately, and with his mouth drawes Tarlton forth. Tarlton, with merry words, said nothing but ‘God a-mercy, horse.’ In the end Tarlton seeing the people laugh so, was angry inwardly, and said, ‘Sir, had I power of your horse, as you have, I would do more than that.’ ‘Whate’er it be,’ said Bankes, to please him, ‘I will charge him to do it.’ ‘Then,’ saies Tarlton, ‘charge him to bring me the veryest whore-master in the company.’ ‘He shall,’ saies Bankes. ‘Signior,’ says he, ‘bring Master Tarlton the veryest

In this comedy there is more attempt at delineation of character than in either *The Comedy of Errors* or *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*; a circumstance which once inclined me to think that it was written subsequently to both those plays. Biron and Katharine, as Mr. Steevens, I think, has observed, are faint prototypes of Benedick and Beatrice.

The doggrel verses in this piece, like those in *The Comedy of Errors*, are longer and more hobbling than those which have been quoted from *The Taming of the Shrew*:

- “ You two are bookmen ; can you tell by your wit
 “ What was a month old at Cain's birth, that's not five
 weeks old as yet ? ”—
 “ O' my truth most sweet jests ! most incony vulgar wit,
 “ When it comes so smoothly off, so obscenely as it were, so
 fit,” &c.

This play is mentioned in a mean poem entitled *Alba, the Months Minde of a Melancholy Lover*, by R. T. Gentleman, printed 1598 :

- “ Love's Labour Lost I once did see, a play
 “ Y-cleped so, so called to my paine,
 “ Which I to heare to my small joy did stay,
 “ Giving attendance to my froward dame :
 “ My misgiving mind presaging to me ill,
 “ Yet was I drawne to see it 'gainst my will.

* * * * *

whore-master in the company.' The horse leads his master to him. Then, 'God a-mercy, horse, indeed,' saies Tarleton. The people had much ado to keep peacc: but Bankes and Tarleton had like to have squared, and the horse by, to give aime. But ever after it was a by word thorow London, 'God-a-mercy, horse !' and is to this day." *Tarleton's Jestes*, 4to. 1611.—Tarleton died in 1589.

- " Each actor plaid in cunning wise his part,
 " But chiefly those entrapt in Cupid's snare ;
 " Yet all was fained, 'twas not from the hart,
 " They seeme to grieve, but yet they felt no care :
 " 'Twas I that grieve indeed did beare in brest,
 " The others did but make a shew in jest."

Mr. Gildon, in his observations on *Love's Labour's Lost*, says, he " cannot see why the author gave it this name."—The following lines exhibit the train of thoughts which probably suggested to Shakspeare this title, as well as that which anciently was affixed to another of his comedies,—*Love's Labour Won* :

- " To be *in love*, where scorn is bought with groans,
 " Coy looks with heart-sore sighs ; one fading moment's
 mirth
 " With twenty watchful, weary, tedious nights :
 " If haply won, perhaps a hapless gain ;
 " If *lost*, why then a grievous *labour won*."

Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act I. Sc. I.

9. *The Merchant of Venice*, 1594.

Entered at the Stationers' Hall, July 22, 1598; and mentioned by Meres in that year. Published in 1600.

Among the extracts from Henslowe's MSS. we find the Venesyan Comedy, acted in 1594. This was probably *The Merchant of Venice*. In Act III. Sc. II. Portia exclaims—

- " — He may win,
 " And what is musick then ? then musick is
 " Even as the flourish when true subjects bow
 " To a new crowned monarch."

Shakspeare is fond of alluding to events occurring at the time when he wrote, and the coronation of

Henry the Fourth of France, who was crowned at Chartres in the midst of his *true* subjects in 1594, (Rheims, where that ceremony ought to have taken place, being possessed by the rebels,) seems to have excited great interest in England. The following is an extract from a pamphlet published on that subject, entitled “The Order of Ceremonies observed in the Anointing and Coronation of the Most Christian French King of Navarre, Henry the IIII. of that Name, celebrated in our Lady Church in the Cittie of Chartres, uppon Sonday the 27 of February. 1594. Faithfully translated out of the French Coppie, printed at Roan by Commaundment of the said Lord. By E. A. London, Imprinted by John Windet, and are to be sold by John Flasket, at the great north doore of Paules.”

After describing various parts of this ceremonial, the writer proceeds thus, C 3. verso :

“Then the said Archbishop holding the King by the hand, caused him to sit down, saying,

In hoc regni solio, confirmet te, &c.

“This prayer ended, and the king being set in his throne, the said Archbishop took off his mitre, and after great reverence and honour done by him to his Majesty, he kissed him, and then sayd,

Vivat Rex in æternum, &c.

“After him all the other peeres kissed him, the peeres ecclesiasticall first beginning, saying thus,

Vivat Rex in æternum, &c.

“ Then the people gave a great shout, crying *God save the King*, and immediately the harquebuzes shot off, and after them the great ordinance, and the *trumpets, cornets, hautbois, drommes, and other instruments sounded* ; and the said Lord Archbishop begun, *Te Deum laudamus, &c.* being accompanied with the organs and other musicke.

“ During all this joy and acclamation the herauldes cryed ‘ a largesse ; ’ whereuppon were cast foorth a great number of peeces of gold and silver, some money current, others coyned purposely and marked with the kings picture.

* * * *

“ Here we are to note, that so often as the king returned ever so little to the body of the church, the people being in infinite number, cryed *God save the king* ; and the church rung with theyr cries, and with harquebuze shot.”

After describing some other ceremonies, the author then adds :

“ Then the king thus arayed in his garments royall, accompanied with the aforesayd peeres, in like ceremony and order as he came to church, returned to his pallace.

“ The people with great acclamation and signes of joy, cryed *God save the King* ; the cannons and small shotte played their parts, the *trumpettes, drommes, and other instruments, sounded and played.*”

10. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, 1594.

The poetry of this piece, glowing with all the

warmth of a youthful and lively imagination, the many scenes which it contains of almost continual rhyme⁹, the poverty of the fable, and want of discrimination among the higher personages, dispose me to believe that it was one of our author's earliest attempts in comedy¹.

⁹ See p. 327, n. 3.

¹ Dryden was of opinion that *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, was our author's first dramatic composition :

"Shakspeare's own muse his *Pericles* first bore,

"*The Prince of Tyre* was elder than *The Moor*."

Prologue to the Tragedy of Circe, by Charles D'Avenant, 1677.

Mr. Rowe in his *Life of Shakspeare* (first edition) says, "There is good reason to believe that the greatest part of *Pericles* was not written by him, though it is owned some part of it certainly was, particularly the last Act." I have not been able to learn on what authority the latter assertion was grounded. Rowe in his second edition omitted the passage.

Pericles was not entered on the Stationers' books till May 2, 1608, nor printed till 1609; but the following lines in a metrical pamphlet, entitled *Pimlyco, or Runne Red-cap*, 1609, ascertain it to have been written and exhibited on the stage, prior to that year :

"Amazde I stood to see a crowd

"Of civil throats stretch'd out so lowd:

"(As at a new play,) all the roomes

"Did swarm with gentiles mix'd with groomes ;

"So that I truly thought all these

"Came to see *Shore* or *Pericles*."

The play of *Jane Shore* is mentioned (together with another very ancient piece not now extant) in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1613: "I was ne'er at one of these plays before; but I should have seen *Jane Shore*, and my husband hath promised me any time this twelvemonth to carry me to *The Bold Beauchamps*." The date of *The Bold Beauchamps* is in some measure ascertained by a passage in *D'Avenant's Playhouse* to be let :

It seems to have been written, while the ridiculous competitions prevalent among the histrionick tribe were strongly impressed by novelty on his mind. He would naturally copy those manners first, with which he was first acquainted. The ambition of a theatrical candidate for applause he has happily ridiculed in Bottom the weaver. But among the more dignified persons of the drama we look in vain for any traits of character. The manners of Hippolita, the Amazon, are undistinguished from those of other females. Theseus, the associate of Hercules, is not engaged in any adventure worthy of his rank or reputation, nor is he in reality an agent throughout the play. Like King Henry VIII. he goes out a Maying. He meets the lovers in perplexity, and makes no effort to promote their happiness; but when supernatural accidents have reconciled them, he joins their company, and concludes his day's entertainment by uttering some miserable puns at an interlude represented by a troop of clowns. Over the fairy part of the drama he cannot be supposed to

“ ————— There is an old tradition,
 “ That in the times of mighty Tamburlaine,
 “ Of conjuring Faustus, and The Beauchamps Bold,
 “ You poets used to have the second day.”

Tamburlain and Faustus were exhibited in or before 1590.

The Lamentable End of Shore's Wife also made a part of the old anonymous play of King Richard III. which was entered in the Stationers' books, June 19, 1594. Both the dramas in which Jane Shore was introduced were probably on the stage soon after 1590; and from the manner in which Pericles is mentioned in the verses above quoted, we may presume, that drama was equally ancient and equally well known.

have any influence. This part of the fable, indeed (at least as much of it as relates to the quarrels of Oberon and Titania), was not of our author's invention².—Through the whole piece, the more exalted characters are subservient to the interests of those beneath them. We laugh with Bottom and his fellows; but is a single passion agitated by the faint and childish solitudes of Hermia and Demetrius, of Helena and Lysander, those shadows of each other?—That a drama, of which the principal personages are thus insignificant, and the fable thus meagre and uninteresting, was one of our author's earliest compositions, does not, therefore, seem a very improbable conjecture; nor are the beauties with which it is embellished, inconsistent with this sup-

² The learned editor of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, printed in 1775, observes in his introductory discourse (vol. iv. p. 161), that Pluto and Proserpina in the *Marchant's Tale*, appear to have been "the true progenitors of Shakspeare's Oberon and Titania." In a tract already quoted, *Greene's Groatworth of Witte*, 1592, a player is introduced, who boasts of having performed the part of the King of Fairies with applause. Greene himself wrote a play, entitled *The Scottishe Historie of James the Fourthe, slaine at Floddon*, intermixed with a pleasant Comedie presented by Oberon King of Fayeries; which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, and printed in 1598. Shakspeare, however, does not appear to have been indebted to this piece. The plan of it is shortly this. Bohan, a Scot, in consequence of being disgusted with the world, having retired to a tomb where he has fixed his dwelling, is met by Aster Oberon, king of the fairies, who entertains him with an antick or dance by his subjects. These two personages, after some conversation, determine to listen to a tragedy, which is acted before them, and to which they make a kind of chorus, by moralizing at the end of each Act.

position ; for the genius of Shakspeare, even in its minority, could embroider the coarsest materials with the brightest and most lasting colours.

Oberon and Titania had been introduced in a dramattick entertainment exhibited before Queen Elizabeth in 1591, when she was at Elvetham in Hampshire ; as appears from *A Description of the Queene's Entertainment in Progress at Lord Hartford's, &c.* printed in 4to. in 1591. Her majesty, after having been pestered a whole afternoon with speeches in verse from the three Graces, Sylvanus, Wood Nymphs, &c. is at length addressed by the Fairy Queen, who presents her majesty with a chaplet,

“ Given me by Auberon [Oberon] the fairie king.”

A Midsummer-Night's Dream was not entered at Stationers' Hall till Oct. 8, 1600, in which year it was printed ; but is mentioned by Meres in 1598.

From the comedy of *Doctor Dodipoll*, Mr. Steevens has quoted a line, which the author seems to have borrowed from Shakspeare :

“ 'Twas I that led you through the painted meads,
“ Where the light *fairies* danc'd upon the *flowers*,
“ *Hanging in every leaf an orient pearl.*”

So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* :

“ And hang a *pearl* in ev'ry cowslip's ear.”

Again:

“ And that same dew, which sometimes on the buds
“ Was wont to swell, like round and *orient pearls*,
“ Stood now within the pretty *floweret's* eyes,
“ Like tears,” &c.

There is no earlier edition of the anonymous play

in which the foregoing lines are found, than that in 1600 : but Doctor Dodipowle is mentioned by Nashe, in his preface to Gabriel Harvey's *Hunt is up*, printed in 1596.

The passage in the fifth Act, which has been thought to allude to the death of Spenser⁵, is not inconsistent with the early appearance of this comedy, for it might have been inserted between the time of that poet's death, and the year 1600, when the play was published. And indeed, if the allusion was intended, which I do not believe, the passage must have been added in that interval; for *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* was certainly written before 1598, and Spenser, we are told by Sir James Ware (whose testimony with respect to this controverted point must have great weight), did not die till 1599: "others, (he adds,) have it *wrongly*, 1598⁶." So

- 5 "The thrice three muses, mourning for the death
"Of learning, *late* deceas'd in beggary."

6 Preface to Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*. Dublin, fol. 1633. This treatise was written, according to Sir James Ware, in 1596. The testimony of that historian, relative to the time of Spenser's death, is confirmed by a fact related by Ben Jonson to Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, and recorded by that writer. When Spenser and his wife were forced in great distress to fly from their house, which was burnt in the Irish Rebellion, the Earl of Essex sent him twenty pieces; but he refused them; telling the person that brought them, he was sure he had no time to spend them. He died soon afterwards, according to Ben Jonson's account, in King Street. Lord Essex was not in Ireland in 1598, and was there from April to September in the following year.

It should also be remembered that verses by Spenser are prefixed to Lewknor's *Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, published in 1599.

careful a searcher into antiquity, who lived so near the time, is not likely to have been mistaken in a fact concerning which he appears to have made particular enquiries.

The passage in question, however, in my apprehension, has been misunderstood. It relates, I conceive, not to the death of Spenser, but to *the nine Muses lamenting the decay of learning*, in that author's poem entitled 'The Tears of the Muses,

That this celebrated poet was alive in Sept. 1598, is proved by the following paper, addressed by Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices of Ireland, which is preserved in the Museum, MSS. Harl. 286, and has not, I believe, been noticed by any of his biographers :

“ Last of Sept. 1598.

“ To the Lords Justices of Ireland.

“ Though we doubt not but you will without any motion from us have good regard for the appointing of meete and serviceable persons to be Sheriffs in the severall counties, which is a matter of great importance, especially at this time, when all parts of the realme are tinged with the infection of rebellion, yet wee thinke it not amiss sometime to recommend unto you such men as wee should [wish] to have for that office. Among whom we may justly reckon Edm. Spenser, a gentleman dwelling in the county of Corke, who is so well known unto you all for his good and commendable parts, (being a man endowed with good knowledge in learning, and not unskilful or without experience in the service of the warres,) as we need not use many words in his behalf. And therefore as we are of opinion that you will favour him for himselfe and of your own accord, so we do pray you that this letter may increase his credit so far forth with you as that he may not fayle to be appointed Sheriffe of the county of Corke, unlesse there be to you knowne some important cause to the contrary.

“ We are perswaded he will so behave himselfe in this particular as you shall have just cause to allowe of our recommendation, and his good service. And so,” &c.

which was published in 1591 : and hence probably the words, "*late* deceas'd in beggary." This allusion, if I am right in my conjecture, may serve to confirm the early date assigned to *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*.

11. *The Taming of the Shrew*, 1596.

This play and *The Winter's Tale* are the only pieces which I have found reason, since the first edition of this Essay appeared, to attribute to an era widely different from that in which I had originally placed them⁷. I had supposed the piece now under consideration to have been written in the year 1606. On a more attentive perusal of it, and more experience in our author's style and manner, I am persuaded that it was one of his very early productions, and near in point of time to the *Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

In the old comedies, antecedent to the time of our author's writing for the stage, (if indeed they deserve that name,) a kind of doggrel measure is often found, which, as I have already observed, Shakspeare adopted in some of those pieces which were undoubtedly among his early compositions; I mean his *Errors*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*. This kind of metre being found also in the play before us, adds support to the

⁷ A minute change has been made in the arrangement of five other plays; *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Cymbeline*; but the variation is not more than a period of two or three years.

supposition that it was one of his early productions. The last four lines of this comedy furnish an example of the measure I allude to :

“ ’Twas I won the wager, though you hit the white,
 “ And being a winner, God give you good night.
 “ Now go thy ways, thou hast tam’d a curst shrew,
 “ ’Tis a wonder, by your leave, she will be tam’d so.”

Another proof of *The Taming of the Shrew* being an early production arises from the frequent play of words which we find in it, and which Shakspeare has condemned in a subsequent comedy.

Some of the incidents in this comedy are taken from the *Supposes* of Gascoigne, an author of considerable popularity, when Shakspeare first began to write for the stage.

The old piece entitled *The Taming of a Shrew*, on which our author’s play is founded, was entered on the Stationers’ books by Peter Short, May 2, 1594, and probably soon afterwards printed. As it bore nearly the same title with Shakspeare’s play (which was not printed till 1623), the hope of getting a sale for it under the shelter of a celebrated name, was probably the inducement to issue it out at that time : and its entry at Stationers’ Hall, and publication in 1594⁸, (for from the passage quoted below it must have been published ⁹,) gives weight to the suppo-

⁸ It was published in 1596, and copies of the edition are in the libraries of the Dukes of Bridgewater and Roxburgh. REED.

⁹ From a passage in a tract written by Sir John Harrington, entitled *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, this old play appears to have been printed before that time, probably in the year 1594, when it was entered at Stationers’ Hall ; though no edition of so

sition that Shakspeare's play was written and first acted in that year. There being no edition of the genuine play in print, the bookseller hoped that the old piece with a similar title might pass on the common reader for Shakspeare's performance. This appears to have been a frequent practice of the booksellers in those days; for Rowley's play of King Henry VIII. I am persuaded, was published in 1605, and 1613, with the same view; as were King Leir and his Three Daughters in 1605, and Lord Sterline's Julius Cæsar in 1607.

In the year 1607 it is highly probable that this comedy of our author's was revived, for in that year Nicholas Ling republished The old Taming of a Shrew, with the same intent, as it should seem, with which that piece had originally been issued out by another bookseller in 1594. In the entry made by Ling in the Stationers' books, January 22, 1606-7, he joined with this old drama two of Shakspeare's genuine plays, Romeo and Juliet, and Love's Labour's Lost, neither of which he ever published, nor does his name appear in the title page of any one of our author's performances; so that those two plays could only have been set down by him, along with the other, with some fraudulent intent.

In the same year also (Nov. 17), our author's genuine play was entered at Stationers' Hall, by J.

early a date has hitherto been discovered. "*Read*" (says Sir John) "*the booke of Taming a Shrew, which hath made a number of us so perfect, that now every one can rule a shrew in our country, save he that hath her.*"

Smethwyck¹ (one of the proprietors of the second folio); which circumstance gives additional weight to the supposition that the play was *revived* in that year. Smethwyck had probably procured a copy of it, and had then thoughts of printing it, though for some reason, now undiscoverable, it was not printed by him till 1631, eight years after it had appeared in the edition by the players in folio.

It should be observed that there is a slight variation between the titles of the anonymous play and Shakspeare's piece; both of which, in consequence of the inaccuracy of Mr. Pope, and his being very superficially acquainted with the phrasology and manner of our early writers, were for a long time unjustly attributed to our poet. The old drama was called *The Taming of a Shrew*; Shakspeare's comedy, *The Taming of the Shrew*.

It must not be concealed, however, that *The Taming of the Shrew* is not enumerated among our author's plays by Meres in 1598; a circumstance which yet is not sufficient to prove that it was not then written: for neither are *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* mentioned by him; though those plays had undoubtedly appeared before that year.

I formerly imagined that a line² in this comedy

¹ For this bookseller *Romeo and Juliet* was printed in 4to. in 1609, and an edition of *Hamlet* without date; the latter was printed either in that year or 1607.

² "This is the way to kill a wife with kindness." *Taming of the Shrew*, Act IV. Sc. I. Heywood's play is mentioned in *The Black Booke*, 4to. 1604. I am not possessed of the first edition

alluded to an old play written by Thomas Heywood, entitled *A Woman Kill'd with Kindness*, of which the second edition was printed in 1607, and the first probably not before the year 1600; but the other proofs which I have already stated with respect to the date of the play before us, have convinced me that I was mistaken.

12. *Romeo and Juliet*, 1596.

It has been already observed, that our author in his early plays appears to have been much addicted to rhyming; a practice from which he gradually departed, though he never wholly deserted it. In this piece *more* rhymes, I believe, are found, than in any other of his plays, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* only excepted. This circumstance, the story on which it is founded, so likely to captivate a young poet, the imperfect form in which it originally appeared, and its very early publication³, all incline me to believe that this was one of Shakspeare's first tragedies.

In a former edition of this Essay, I placed the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1595, not adverting to a particular circumstance, which ascertains with great precision that it must have been produced between the 23d of July, 1596, and the 17th of April, 1597; and from that, and other circumstances which I shall presently state, and from the entry in the

of it, nor is it in any of the great collections of old plays that I have seen.

³ There is no edition of any of our author's genuine plays extant, prior to 1597, when *Romeo and Juliet* was published.

Stationers' Registers, printed in a subsequent page ⁴ (whether that entry relates to a ballad on the same subject, or to the play itself; the former of which, I believe to be the case); it is extremely probable that this tragedy was first acted at the Curtain Theatre in the autumn of 1596; and that it was published early in the following year.

It is observable, that in the title-page of the original quarto copy of 1597, it is said that it had been "often (with great applause) plaid publicquely by the right honourable Lord Hunsdon his servants." I formerly had not been aware that two noblemen of this family in our author's time, Henry Lord Hunsdon, the father, and George Lord Hunsdon, his son, both filled the office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household to Queen Elizabeth, though not successively. Henry, the father, after holding this station for eleven years, died on the 22d of July, 1596. The company of comedians who were his lordship's servants, among whom Shakspeare, Burbage, Heminge, Condell, and others, were enrolled, during that period, or a considerable part of it, were distinguished by the appellation of "the Lord Chamberlain's men." Having, however, been appended to him, not as Lord Chamberlain, but as a peer of the realm, on the death of their patron, they naturally fell under the protection of his son and successor in the title, and for some time continued to play under his sanction, like the servants of Lord Derby, Lord

⁴ "August 5, 1596, a new ballad of Romeo and Juliet," licensed to Edward White.

Pembroke, or any other nobleman, who had not enjoyed any official situation in the court of Elizabeth. In August, 1596, the vacant office of Chamberlain was given to William Brooke, the fourth Lord Cobham (of that family), which station he held till he died, on Saturday, the 5th of March, 1596-7⁵; a period of about seven months; and about six weeks afterwards, George Lord Hunsdon was appointed Lord Chamberlain in his room. During the interval between the 22d of July, 1596, and the following April, Shakspeare's company could only be denominated the servants of Lord Hunsdon, as they are properly styled in the original title-page of this play; nor did they recover their more honourable designation, till, on the 17th of April, 1597, the nobleman by whom they were licensed, was advanced to the office which Lord Cobham had held. Hence in the autumn of that year⁶, our poet's King Richard the Second, and King Richard the Third, which I believe were originally acted whilst he and his fellows were under the patronage of Henry the father, and were then exhibiting under that of his son, were, after he had been invested with the same office, properly set forth, "as acted by the right honourable the Lord Chamberlain his servants:" and the very tragedy now under our consideration, when revised and enlarged, was printed in 1599, as acted, not by the Lord Hunsdon's servants (as in the former

⁵ In the Shrewsbury Papers, iii. 67, his death is placed on February 24, 1597-8; but this is a mistake.

⁶ Andrew Wise paid for a licence to print King Richard II. August 29, 1597; and King Richard III. on October 20, 1597.

edition), but by those of the Lord Chamberlain. These circumstances appear to me to ascertain the date of *Romeo and Juliet* beyond a doubt.

The words “publicly acted,” which are found in the title-page of the original edition, show, that this tragedy was performed at a publick, in contradistinction to a private theatre; and a passage in Marston’s *Satires*, which I have already had occasion to notice, informs us, that it was played at the Curtain Theatre, then occupied by the Lord Chamberlain’s servants, and the fortunate spot where our author’s early dramatick productions were first exhibited.

In Marston’s tenth Satire, in which the author portrays the various humours of the time, after a description of Curio, “a capering youth,” who thinks of nothing but dancing, Luscus, a constant haunter of playhouses, is thus introduced :

“Luscus, what’s plaid to-day? i’ faith now I know;
 “I see thy lips a broach, from whence doth flow
 “Naught but pure Juliet and Romeo.
 “Say, who acts best? Drusus, or Roscio?—
 “Now I have him, that ne’er of ought did speake
 “But when of playes or players he did treat;
 “Hath made a common place booke out of plaies,
 “And speakes in print, at least what ere he sayes,
 “Is warranted by Curtain plaudities,
 “If ere you heard him courting Lesbia’s eyes.”

In the third Act *the first and second cause* are mentioned: that passage, therefore, was probably written after the publication of Saviolo’s *Book on Honour and Honourable Quarrels*; which appeared in 1594.

From several passages in the fifth Act of this tragedy it is manifest, I think, that Shakspeare had recently read, and remembered, some of the lines in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, which, I believe, was printed in 1592²: the earliest edition, however, that I have seen of that piece is dated in 1594:

"And nought-respecting death, the last of paines,
 "Plac'd his *pale colours*, (the *ensign* of his might,)
 "Upon his new-got spoil," &c. *Complaint of Rosamond*.

"—— beauty's *ensign* yet
 "Is crimson in thy lips, and in thy cheeks,
 "And *death's pale flag*," &c. *Romeo and Juliet*.

"Decayed roses of discolour'd cheeks
 "Do yet retain some notes of former grace,
 "And *ugly death sits faire within her face*."
Complaint of Rosamond.

"Death that hath suck'd the honey of thy breath,
 "Hath had no power yet upon thy beauty."
Romeo and Juliet.

"Ah now methinks I see *death dallying seeks*
 "To entertaine *itselfe in love's sweet place*."
Complaint of Rosamond.

"—— Shall I believe
 "That unsubstantial *death is amorous*?"
Romeo and Juliet.

If the following passage in an old comedy already mentioned, entitled *Doctor Dodipoll*, which had appeared before 1596, be considered as an imitation,

² "A booke called *Delia*, containynge diverse sonates, with the *Complainte of Rosamonde*," was entered at Stationers' Hall by Simon Waterson, in Feb. 1591-2, and the latter piece is commended by Nashe in a tract entitled *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Divell*, published in 1592.

it may add some weight to the supposition that *Romeo and Juliet* had been exhibited before that year :

“ The glorious parts of fair Lucilia,
 “ Take them and join them in the heavenly spheres,
 “ And fix them there as an eternal light,
 “ For lovers to adore and wonder at.” *Dr. Dodipoll.*

“ Take him and cut him out in little stars,
 “ And he will make the face of heaven so fine,
 “ That all the world shall be in love with night,
 “ And pay no worship to the garish sun.”

Romeo and Juliet.

In the fifth Act of this tragedy mention is made of the practice of sealing up the doors of those houses in which “ the infectious pestilence did reign.” Shakspeare probably had himself seen this practised in the plague which raged in London in 1593.

From a speech of the Nurse in this play, which contains these words—“ It is now since the earthquake eleven years,” &c. Mr. Tyrwhitt conjectured, that *Romeo and Juliet*, or at least part of it, was written in 1591 ; the novels from which Shakspeare may be supposed to have drawn his story, not mentioning any such circumstance ; while on the other hand, there actually was an earthquake in England on the 6th of April, 1580, which he might here have had in view ³.—It formerly seemed improbable to me that Shakspeare, when he was writing this tragedy, should have adverted, with such precision, to the date of an earthquake which had been felt in his youth. The passage quoted struck me, as only displaying one of those characteristic traits, which

³ See *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. Sc. III.

distinguish old people of the lower class ; who delight in enumerating a multitude of minute circumstances that have no relation to the business immediately under their consideration ⁴, and are particularly fond of computing time from extraordinary events, such as battles, comets, plagues, and earthquakes. This feature of their character our author has in various places strongly marked. Thus (to mention one of many instances), the Grave-digger in *Hamlet* says that he came to his employment, “ of all the days i’ the year, that day that the last king o’ercame *Fortinbras*,—that very day that young *Hamlet* was born.”—A more attentive perusal, however, of our poet’s works, and his frequent allusions to the manners and usages of England, and to the events of his own time, which he has described as taking place wherever his scene happens to lie, have shown me that Mr. Tyrwhitt’s conjecture is not so improbable as I once supposed it. Shakspeare might have laid the foundation of this play in 1591, and finished it at a subsequent period. The passage alluded to is in the *first* Act.

If the earthquake which happened in England in 1580, was in his thoughts, when he composed the first part of this play, and induced him to state the earthquake at Verona as happening on the day on which Juliet was *weaned*, and *eleven* years before the

⁴ Thus Mrs. Quickly, in King Henry IV. reminds Falstaff, that he “ swore on a parcel-gilt goblet, to marry her, sitting in her dolphin chamber, at a round table, by a sea-coal fire, on Wednesday in Whitsun-week, when the prince broke his head for likening his father to a singing man of Windsor.”

commencement of the piece, it has led him into a contradiction ; for, according to the Nurse's account, Juliet was within a fortnight and odd days of completing her *fourteenth* year ; and yet, according to the computation made, she could not well be much more than *twelve* years old. Whether indeed the English earthquake was, or was not, in his thoughts, the nurse's account is inconsistent and contradictory.

Perhaps Shakspeare was more careful to mark the garrulity, than the precision of the old woman :—or perhaps, he meant this very incorrectness as a trait of her character :—or, without having recourse to either of these suppositions, shall we say, that our author was here, as in some other places, hasty and inattentive ? It is certain that there is nothing in which he is less accurate, than the computation of time. Of his negligence in this respect, *As You Like It*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Othello*, furnish remarkable instances ⁵.

13. *King John*, 1596.

This historical play was founded on a former drama, entitled *The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England*, with the Discoverie of King Richard Cordelion's base Son, vulgarly named the Bastard Fawconbridge : also the Death of King John at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publickly acted by the Queenes Majesties Players in the honourable Cittie of London. This piece, which is

⁵ See *Measure for Measure*, Act I. Sc. III. and IV.—*As You Like It*, Act IV. Sc. I. and III.—*Othello*, Act III. Sc. III. : “ I slept the *next night* well,” &c.

in two parts, and was printed at London for Sampson Clarke, 1591, has no author's name in the title-page. On its republication in 1611, the bookseller for whom it was printed, inserted the letters *W. Sh.* in the title-page; and in order to conceal his fraud, omitted the words—*publikely*—in *the honourable Cittie of London*, which he was aware would proclaim this play not to be Shakspeare's King John; the company to which he belonged, having no *publick* theatre in London: that in Blackfriars being a private play-house, and the Globe, which was a publick theatre, being situated in Southwark. He also, probably with the same view, omitted the following lines addressed *to the Gentlemen Readers*, which are prefixed to the first edition of the old play:

“ You that with friendly grace of smoothed brow
 “ Have entertain'd *the Scythian Tamburlaine*,
 “ And given applause unto an infidel;
 “ Vouchsafe to welcome, with like curtesie,
 “ A warlike Christian, and your countryman.
 “ For Christ's true faith indur'd he many a storme,
 “ And set himselfe against the man of *Rome*,
 “ Until base treason by a damned wight
 “ Did all his former triumphs put to flight.
 “ Accept of it, sweete gentles, in good sort,
 “ And thinke it was prepar'd for your disport.”

Shakspeare's play being then probably often acted, and the other wholly laid aside, the word *lately* was substituted for the word *publickly*:—as they were sundry times *lately* acted,” &c.

Thomas Dewe, for whom a third edition of this old play was printed in 1622, was more daring. The two parts were then published, “ as they were

sundry times lately acted ; ” and the name of William Shakspeare inserted at length. “ By the Queen’s Majesties players ” was wisely omitted, as not being very consistent with the word *lately*, Elizabeth being then dead nineteen years.

King John is the only one of our poet’s untested plays that is not entered in the books of the Stationers’ Company. It was not printed till 1623, but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, unless he mistook the old play in two parts, printed in 1591, for the composition of Shakspeare.

It is observable, that our author’s son, Hamnet, died in August, 1596. That a man of such sensibility, and of so amiable a disposition, should have lost his only son, who had attained the age of twelve years, without being greatly affected by it, will not be easily credited. The pathetick lamentations which he has written for Lady Constance on the death of Arthur, may perhaps add some probability to the supposition that this tragedy was written at or soon after that period.

In the first scene of the second Act the following lines are spoken by Chatillon, the French ambassador, on his return from England to King Philip :

“ And all the unsettled humours of the land—
“ Rash, inconsiderate, fiery voluntaries,
“ With ladies’ faces and fierce dragons’ spleens,—
“ Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,
“ Bearing their birth-rights proudly on their backs,
“ To make a hazard of new fortunes here.
“ In brief, a braver choice of dauntless spirits
“ Than now the English bottoms have waft o’er,

“ Did never float upon the swelling tide,
“ To do offence and scathe to Christendom.”

Dr. Johnson has justly observed, in a note on this play, that many passages in our poet's works evidently show that “ he often took advantage of the facts then recent, and the passions then in motion.” Perhaps the description contained in the last six lines was immediately suggested to Shakspeare by the grand fleet which was sent against Spain in 1596. It consisted of eighteen of the largest of the Queen's ships, three of the Lord Admiral's, and above one hundred and twenty merchant-ships and victuallers, under the command of the earls of Nottingham and Essex. The regular land-forces on board amounted to ten thousand; and there was also a large body of *voluntaries* (as they were then called), under the command of Sir Edward Winkfield. Many of the nobility went on this expedition, which was destined against Cadiz. The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the third of June, 1596; before the end of that month the great Spanish armada was destroyed, and the town of Cadiz was sacked and burned. Here Lord Essex found 1200 pieces of ordnance, and an immense quantity of treasure, stores, ammunition, &c. valued at twenty million of ducats. The victorious commanders of this successful expedition returned to Plymouth, August 8, 1596, four days before the death of our poet's son. Many of our old historians speak of the splendour and magnificence displayed by the noble and gallant adventurers who served in this expedition; and Ben Jonson has par-

ticularly alluded to it in his *Silent Woman*, written a few years afterwards⁵. To this I suspect two lines already quoted particularly refer :

“ Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,
 “ *Bearing their birth-rights proudly on their backs.*”

Dr. Johnson conceived that the following lines in this play—

“ And meritorious shall that hand be call'd,
 “ Canonized, and worshipp'd as a saint,
 “ That takes away by any secret course
 “ Thy hateful life—.”

might either refer to the bull published against Queen Elizabeth, or to the canonization of Garnet, Faux, and their accomplices, who, in a Spanish book which he had seen, are registered as saints. If the latter allusion had been intended, then this play, or at least this part of it, must have been written after 1605. But the passage in question is founded on a similar one in the old play, printed in 1591, and therefore no allusion to the gunpowder-plot could have been intended.

A line of *The Spanish Tragedy* is quoted in *King John*. That tragedy, I believe, had appeared in or before 1590.

In the first Act of *King John*, an ancient tragedy, entitled *Solyman and Perseda*, is alluded to. The earliest edition of that play, now extant, is that of 1599, but it was written, and probably acted, many

⁵ “ I had as fair a *gold jerkin* on that day as any was worn in the *Island Voyage*, or *Cadiz*, none dispraised.”

Silent Woman, 1609.

years before; for it was entered on the Stationers' books, by Edward Whyte, Nov. 20, 1592.

Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, which, according to Langbaine, was printed in 1603, contains a passage, which, if it should be considered as an imitation of a similar one in *King John*, will ascertain this historical drama to have been written at least before that year :

" Then how much more in me, whose youthful veins,
 " *Like a proud river, overflow their bounds.*"

So, in *King John* :

" Why holds thine eye that lamentable rheum,
 " *Like a proud river peering o'er his bounds?*"

Marston has in many other places imitated Shakspeare.

A speech spoken by the Bastard in the second Act of this tragedy ⁶ seems to have been formed on one in an old play entitled *The famous History of Captain Thomas Stukely*. Captain Stukely was killed in 1578. The drama of which he is the subject, was not printed till 1605, but it is in the black letter, and, I believe, had been exhibited at least fifteen years before.

Of the only other note of time which I have observed in this tragedy, beside those already mentioned, I am unable to make any use. " When I was in *France*," says young Arthur,

" Young gentlemen would be as sad as night,
 " Only for wantonness."

⁶ See vol. xv. p. 251.

I have not been able to ascertain when the fashion of being *sad and gentlemanlike* commenced among our gayer neighbours on the continent. A similar fashion prevailed in England, and is often alluded to by our poet, and his contemporaries. Perhaps he has in this instance attributed to the French a species of affectation then only found in England. It is noticed by Lyly in 1592, and Ben Jonson in 1598.

13. *First Part of King Henry IV.* 1597.

Entered, Feb. 25, 1597. [1597-8.] Written therefore probably in 1597. Printed in 1598.

14. *Second Part of King Henry IV.* 1598.

The Second Part of King Henry IV. was entered in the Stationers' books, August 23, 1600, and was printed in that year. It was written, I believe, in 1598. From the epilogue it appears to have been composed before King Henry V. which itself must have been written in or before 1599.

Meres in his *Wit's Treasury*, which was published in September, 1598, has given a list of our author's plays, and among them is King Henry IV. ; but as he does not describe it as a play in two parts, I doubt whether this second part had been exhibited, though it might have been then written. If it was not in his contemplation, it may be presumed to have appeared in the latter part of the year 1598. His words are these: "As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for comedy and tragedy, among the Latines, so Shakspeare, among the English, is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage: for

comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love's Labour's Lost*, his *Love's Labour's Wonne*, his *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; for tragedy⁸, his *Richard II.* *Richard III.* *Henry IV.* *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*⁹."

The following allusion to one of the characters in this play, which is found in *Every Man out of his Humour*, Act V. Sc. II. first acted in 1599, is an additional authority for supposing *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* to have been written in 1598 :

" *Savi.* What's he, gentle Mons. Brisk? Not that gentleman?

" *Fast.* No, lady; this is a kinsman to *Justice Shallow*."

That this play was not written before the year 1596, is ascertained by the following allusions. In the last Act, Clarence, speaking of his father, says,

" The incessant care and labour of his mind

" Hath wrought the mure that should confine it in,

" So thin, that life looks through, and will break out."

These lines appear to have been formed on the following in *Daniel's Civil Warres*, 1595, b. iii. st. 116 :

" Wearing the wall so thin, that now the mind

" Might well look thorough, and his frailty find."

⁸ The circumstance of *Hotspur's* death in this play, and its being an historical drama, I suppose, induced *Meres* to denominate *The First Part of King Henry IV.* a tragedy.

⁹ *Wit's Treasury*, p. 282.

Daniel's Poem, though not published till 1595, was entered on the Stationers' books, in October, 1594.

The distich, with which Pistol consoles himself, *Si fortuna me tormenta*, &c. had, I believe, appeared in an old collection of tales, and apophthegms, entitled Wits, Fits, and Fancies, which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1595, and probably printed in that year. Sir Richard Hawkins, as Dr. Farmer has observed, "in his voyage to the South Sea in 1593, throws out the same jingling distich on the loss of his pinnace." But no account of that voyage was published before 1598.

In the last Act of this play the young king thus addresses his brothers :

" Brothers, you mix your sadness with some fear.
 " This is the English, not the Turkish court ;
 " Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
 " But Harry Harry."

It is highly probable, as is observed in a note on that passage, that Shakspeare had here in contemplation the cruelty practised by the Turkish emperor, Mahomet, who after the death of his father, Amurath the Third, in Feb. 1596¹, invited his unsuspecting brothers to a feast, and caused them all to be strangled.

15. *King Henry IV.* 1599.

Mr. Pope thought that this historical drama was

¹ The affairs of this court had previously attracted the publick attention ; for in 1594 was published at London, A Letter sent by Amurath the great Turke to Christendom.

one of our author's latest compositions; but he was evidently mistaken. King Henry V. was entered on the Stationers' books, Aug. 14, 1600, and printed in the same year. It was written *after* the Second Part of King Henry IV. being promised in the epilogue of that play; and while the Earl of Essex was in Ireland³. Lord Essex went to Ireland April 15, 1599, and returned to London on the 28th of September in the same year. So that this play (unless the passage relative to him was inserted after the piece was finished) must have been composed between April and September, 1599. Supposing that passage a subsequent insertion, the play was probably not written *long* before; for it is not mentioned by Meres in 1598.

The prologue to Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*⁴ seems clearly to allude to this play; and, if it had been written at the same time with the piece itself, might induce us, notwithstanding the silence of Meres, to place King Henry V. a year or two earlier; for *Every Man in his Humour* is said to have been acted in 1598. But the prologue which now appears before it, was not written till after 1601, when the play was printed without the prologue, which first appeared in the folio edition of Jonson's Works, published in 1616⁵. It is certain, that, not

³ See the Chorus to the fifth Act of King Henry V.

⁴ "He rather prays, you will be pleased to see

"One such, to day, as other plays should be;

"*Where neither Chorus wafts you o'er the seas,*" &c.

Prologue to Every Man in his Humour. Fol. 1616.

⁵ I had formerly supposed that *Every Man in his Humour* was Jonson's first dramatick performance; but the discovery of Hen-

long after the year 1600, a coolness⁶ arose between Shakspeare and him, which, however he may talk of

slowe's MSS. renders this very doubtful. That register contains a curious account of payments made to Jonson, at various times, for his labours in writing for the theatre. See vol. iii. p. 333.

⁶ See an old comedy called *The Return from Parnassus*: [This piece was not published till 1606; but appears to have been written in 1602,—certainly was produced before the death of Queen Elizabeth, which happened on the 24th of March, 1602-3.] “Why here's our fellow Shakspeare puts them all down; ay and *Ben Jonson* too. O, that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow; he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakspeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit.”

The play of Jonson's in which *he gave the poets a pill*, is the *Poetaster*, acted in 1601. In that piece some passages of King Henry V. are ridiculed. In what manner Shakspeare *put him down, or made him bewray his credit*, does not appear. His retaliation, we may be well assured, contained no gross or illiberal abuse; and, perhaps, did not go beyond a ballad or an epigram, which may have perished with things of greater consequence. He has, however, marked his disregard for the calumniator of his fame, by not leaving him any memorial by his Will.—In an apologetical dialogue which Jonson annexed to the *Poetaster*, he says, he had been provoked for three years (i. e. from 1598 to 1601) on every stage by slanderers; as for the players, he says,

“—— It is true, I tax'd them,
 “ And yet but some, and those so sparingly,
 “ As all the rest might have sat still unquestion'd:—
 “—— What they have done against me
 “ I am not mov'd with. If it gave them meat,
 “ Or got them cloaths, 'tis well; that was their end.
 “ Only, amongst them, I am sorry for
 “ Some better natures, by the rest drawn in
 “ To run in that vile line.”

By the words “Some better natures,” there can, I think, be little doubt that Shakspeare was alluded to.

his almost idolatrous affection, produced on his part, from that time to the death of our author, and for many years afterwards, much clumsy sarcasm, and many malevolent reflections⁷.

⁷ In his *Silent Woman*, 1609, Act V. Sc. II. Jonson perhaps pointed at Shakspeare, as one whom he *viewed with scornful, yet with jealous, eyes* :

“So they may censure poets and authors, and compare them ; Daniel with Spenser, Jonson with *l’other youth*, and so forth.” Decker, however, might have been meant.

Again, in the same play :

“You two shall be the *chorus* behind the arras, and whip out between the acts, and speak.”

In the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, which was acted in 1614, two years before the death of our author, three of his plays, and in the piece itself two others, are attempted to be ridiculed.

In *The Devil’s an Ass*, acted in 1616, all his historical plays are obliquely censured :

“*Meer-cr.* By my faith you are cunning in the chronicles.

“*Fitz-dot.* No, I confess, I ha’t from the play-books, and think they are more authentick.”

They are again attacked in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* :

“An some writer that I know, had but the penning o’ this matter, he would ha’ made you such a *jig-a-jog i’ the booths*, you should ha’ thought an *earthquake* had been in the fair. But these *master-poets*, they will ha’ their own absurd courses, they will be informed of nothing.”

The following passage in *Cynthia’s Revels*, 1601, was, I think, likewise pointed against Shakspeare :

“Besides, they would wish our poets would leave to be promoters of other men’s jests, and to way-lay all the stale apothegms or *old books* they can hear of in print or otherwise, to farce their scenes withal :—Again, that feeding their friends with nothing of their own, but what they have *twice* or *thrice cooked*, they should not wantonly give out how soon they had *dress’d it*, nor

On this play, Mr. Pope has the following note, Act I. Sc. I. :

“ This first scene was added since the edition of 1608, which is much short of the present editions,

how many coaches came to carry away the broken meat, besides hobby-horses and foot-cloth nags.”

Jonson's plots were all his own invention ; our author's chiefly taken from preceding plays or novels. The former employed a year or two in composing a play ; the latter probably produced two every year, while he remained in the theatre.

The Induction to *The Staple of News*, which appeared in 1625, not very long after the publication of our author's plays in folio, contains a sneer at a passage in *Julius Cæsar* :

“ Know, Cæsar doth not wrong ; nor without cause

“ Will he be satisfied.”

which for the purpose of ridicule is quoted unfaithfully ; and in the same play may be found an effort, as impotent as that of Voltaire *, to raise a laugh at Hamlet's exclamation when he kills Polonius.

Some other passages which are found in Jonson's works, might be mentioned in support of this observation, but being quoted hereafter for other purposes, they are here omitted.

Notwithstanding these proofs, Jonson's malevolence to Shakespeare, and jealousy of his superior reputation, have been doubted by Mr. Pope and others : and much stress has been laid on a passage in his *Discoveries*, and on the commendatory verses prefixed to the first edition of our author's plays in folio.—The reader, after having perused the following character of Jonson, drawn by Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, a contemporary, and an intimate acquaintance of his, will not, perhaps, readily believe these *posthumous* encomiums to have been sincere. “ Ben Jonson,” says that writer, “ was a great lover and praiser of himself ; a contemner and scorner of others ; given rather to lose a

* “ Ah ! ma mère, s'écrie-t-il, il y a un gros rat derrière la tapisserie ;—il tire son épée, court au rat, et tue le bon homme Polonius.” (*Œuvres de Voltaire*, t. xv. p. 473, 4to.

wherein the speeches are generally enlarged, and raised ; several whole scenes besides, and the choruses also, were since *added by Shakspeare.*"

Dr. Warburton also positively asserts, that this first scene was written after the accession of King

friend than a jest ; jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived ; a dissembler of the parts which reign in him ; a bragger of some good that he wanted ; thinketh nothing well done, but what either he himself or some of his friends have said or done ; he is passionately kind and angry ; careless either to gain or keep ; vindictive, but if he be well answered, [angry] at himself ; interprets best sayings and deeds often to the worst *. He was for any religion, as being versed in both ; oppressed with fancy, which over-mastered his reason, a general disease in many poets. His inventions are smooth and easy, but above all, he excelleth in translation." *Drummond's Works*, fol. 1711 ; p. 226.

In the year 1619 Jonson went to Scotland, to visit Mr. Drummond, who has left a curious account of a conversation that passed between them, relative to the principal poets of those times.

[I have already stated that, in superintending Mr. Malone's work in its passage through the press, I did not feel justified in withdrawing any of his opinions, however erroneous I might think them, unless where I was authorized, either by his papers, or by something which I might have collected from him in conversation. I have, therefore, suffered this note to remain as it was originally written ; although, at the same time, I do not hesitate to express my conviction that the charge against Jonson, which it contains, has been satisfactorily answered by Mr. Gifford. With this avowal, to prevent my being misunderstood, I quit a most unpleasing topick. BOSWELL.]

* His misquoting a line of Julius Cæsar, so as to render it nonsense, at a time when the play was in print, is a strong illustration of this part of his character. The plea of an unfaithful memory cannot be urged in his defence, for he tells us in his *Discoveries*, that till he was past forty, he could repeat every thing that he had written.

James I.; and the subsequent editors agree, that several additions were made *by the author* to King Henry V. after it was originally composed. But there is, I believe, no good ground for these assertions. It is true, that no perfect edition of this play was published before that in folio, in 1623; but it does not follow from thence, that the scenes which then first appeared in print, and all the choruses, were added *by Shakspeare*, as Mr. Pope supposes, after 1608. We know, indeed, the contrary to be true; for the Chorus to the fifth Act must have been written in 1599.

The fair inference to be drawn from the imperfect and mutilated copies of this play, published in 1600, 1602, and 1608, is, not that the whole play, as we now have it, did not then exist, but that those copies were surreptitious; and that the editor in 1600, not being able to publish the whole, published what he could.

I have not, indeed, met with any evidence (except in three plays) that the several scenes which are found in the folio of 1623, and are not in the preceding quartos, were added by the second labour of the author.—The last chorus of King Henry V. already mentioned, affords a striking proof that this was not always the case. The two copies of The Second Part of King Henry IV. printed in the same year (1600), furnish another. In one of these, the whole first scene of Act III. is wanting; not because it was then unwritten (for it is found in the other copy published in that year), but because the editor was not possessed of it. That what have been called *addi-*

tions by the author, were not really such, may be also collected from another circumstance; that in some of the quartos where these supposed additions are wanting, references and replies are found to the passages omitted⁸.

I do not, however, mean to say, that Shakspeare never made any alterations in his plays. We have reason to believe that *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, were revised and augmented by the author; and a second revisal, or temporary topicks, might have suggested, in a course of years, some additions and alterations in some other of his pieces. But with respect to the entire scenes that are wanting in some of the early editions (particularly those of *King Henry V.* *King Richard II.* and *The Second Part of King Henry IV.*), I suppose the omissions to have arisen from the imperfection of the copies; and instead of saying that “the first scene of *King Henry V.* was *added by the author* after the publication of the quarto in 1600,” all that we can pronounce with certainty is, that this scene is not *found* in the quarto of 1600.

16. *As You Like It*, 1599.

This comedy was not printed till 1623, and the

⁸ Of this see a remarkable instance in *King Henry IV.* Part II. Act I. Sc. I. where Morton in a long speech having informed Northumberland that the Archbishop of York had joined the rebel party, the Earl replies,—“I knew of this before.” The quarto contains the reply, but not a single line of the narrative to which it relates.

caveat or memorandum⁹ in the second volume of the books of the Stationers' Company, relative to the three plays of *As You Like It*, *Henry V.* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, has no date except Aug. 4. But immediately *above* that caveat there is an entry, dated May 27, 1600,—and the entry immediately *following* it, is dated Jan. 23, 1603. We may therefore presume that this caveat was entered *between* those two periods; more especially, as the dates scattered over the pages where this entry is found, are, except in one instance, in a regular series from 1596 to 1615. This will appear more clearly by exhibiting the entry exactly as it stands in the book:

27 May, 1600.

To Mr. Roberts.] Allarum to London.

4 Aug.

As You Like It, a book.

Henry the Fifth, a book.

Every Man in his Humour, a book. } to be

Comedy of Much Ado about Nothing. } staied.

23 Jan. 1603.

To Thomas Thorpe, } This to be their copy, &c.
and William Aspley, }

It is extremely probable that this 4th of August was of the year 1600; which standing a little higher on the paper, the Clerk of the Stationers' Company might have thought unnecessary to be repeated. All the plays which were entered with *As You Like It*,

⁹ See Mr. Steevens's extracts from the books of the Stationers' Company, in a subsequent part of this volume.

and are here said *to be staied*, were printed in the year 1600 or 1601. The stay or injunction against the printing appears to have been very speedily taken off; for in ten days afterwards, on the 14th of August, 1600, King Henry V. was entered, and published in the same year. So, *Much Ado about Nothing* was entered August 23, 1600, and printed also in that year: and *Every Man in his Humour* was published in 1601.

Shakspeare, it is said, played the part of Adam in *As You Like It*. As he was not eminent on the stage, it is probable that he ceased to act some years before he retired to the country. His appearance, however, in this comedy, is not inconsistent with the date here assigned; for we know that he performed a part in Jonson's *Sejanus* in 1603.

A passage in this comedy furnishes an additional proof of its not having been written before the year 1596, nor after the year 1603. "I will weep for nothing," says Rosalind, "*like Diana in the fountain.*" Stowe, in his *Survey of London*, 1598, informs us, that in the year 1598, at the east side of the Cross in Cheapside was set up "a curious wrought tabernacle of gray marble, and in the same an alabaster image of Diana, and water conveyed from the Thames, prilling from her naked breast." To this the passage above cited certainly alludes. In his second edition of the same work, printed in 1603, he informs the reader, that the water flowed in this manner *for a time*, but that the statue was then *decayed*. It was, we see, in order in 1598, and continued so without doubt for a year afterwards, that

is, till 1599, when *As You Like It* appears to have been written.

In this comedy a line of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* is quoted. That poem was published in 1598, and probably before.

17. *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1600.

Much Ado About Nothing was written, we may presume, early in the year 1600; for it was entered at Stationers' Hall, August 23, 1600, and printed in that year.

It is not mentioned by Meres in his list of our author's plays, published in the latter end of the year 1598.

18. *Hamlet*, 1600.

In a former edition of this Essay I was induced to suppose that *Hamlet* must have been written prior to 1598, from the loose manner in which Mr. Steevens has mentioned a manuscript note by Gabriel Harvey in a copy, which had belonged to him, of Speght's edition of Chaucer, in which, we are told, he has set down *Hamlet* as a performance with which he was well acquainted in the year 1598. See vol. vii. p. 168. But I have been favoured by the Bishop of Dromore [Dr. Percy], the possessor of the book referred to, with an inspection of it; and, on an attentive examination, I have found reason to believe, that the note in question may have been written in the latter end of the year 1600. Harvey doubtless purchased this volume in 1598, having, both at the beginning and end of it, written his name. But it by no means

follows that all the intermediate remarks which are scattered throughout were put down at the same time. He speaks of *translated Tasso* in one passage; and the first edition of Fairfax, which is doubtless alluded to, appeared in 1600. There can be very little doubt that Hamlet was first performed in the autumn of that year, from the reference which is made in it to the "inhibition of the players" which comes by means of the late innovation. All the theatres except the Fortune and the Globe were inhibited by an Order of Council in June, 1600, printed by Mr. Chalmers⁴; and so the other city tragedians were forced to travel. This order arose probably from the licentiousness of the children of Paules, who indulged in personal allusion, and were tyrannically clapped for it.

The following passage is found in an Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of the Two Universities, by Thomas Nashe, prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, which was published in 1589: "I will turn back to my first text of studies of delight, and talk a little in friendship with a few of our trivial translators. It is a common practice now a-days, among a sort of shifting companions, that runne through every art, and thrive by none, to leave the trade of *Noverint*⁵,

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 453.

⁵ "The country lawyers too jog down apace,

"Each with his *noverint universi* face."

Ravenscroft's Prologue prefixed to Titus Andronicus.

Our ancient deeds were written in Latin, and frequently began with the words, *Noverint Universi*. The form is still retained. *Know all men, &c.*

whereto they were born, and busie themselves with the endeavors of art, that could scarcely latinize their neck-verse if they should have neede; yet English *Seneca*, read by candle-light, yeelds many good sentences, as *Bloud is a beggar*, and so forth: and, if you intreat him faire in a frosty morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say, Handfuls, of tragical speeces. But O grief! *Tempus edax rerum*;—what is it that will last always? The sea exhaled by drops will in continuance be drie; and *Seneca*, let bloud line by line, and page by page, at length must needes die to our stage.”

Not having seen the first edition of this tract till a few years ago, I formerly doubted whether the foregoing passage referred to the tragedy of Hamlet; but the word *Hamlets* being printed in the original copy in a different character from the rest, I have no longer any doubt upon the subject.

It is manifest from this passage that some play on the story of Hamlet had been exhibited before the year 1589; but I am inclined to think that it was not Shakspeare's drama, but an elder performance, on which, with the aid of the old prose History of Hamlet, his tragedy was formed. The great number of pieces which we *know* he formed on the performances of preceding writers⁶, renders it highly probable that some others also of his dramas were constructed on plays that are now lost. Perhaps the

⁶ See the Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI. vol. xvii.

original Hamlet was written by Thomas Kyd : who was the author of one play (and probably of more) to which no name is affixed ⁷. The only tragedy to which Kyd's name is affixed (Cornelia), is a professed *translation* from the French of Garnier, who, as well as his translator, imitated Seneca. In Kyd's Spanish Tragedy, as in Shakspeare's Hamlet, there is, if I may say so, a play represented *within a play* : if the old play of Hamlet should ever be recovered, a similar interlude, I make no doubt, would be found there ; and somewhat of the same contrivance may be traced in The old Taming of a Shrew, a comedy which perhaps had the same author as the other ancient pieces now enumerated.

Nashe seems to point at some dramatick writer of that time, who had originally been a scrivener or attorney :

“ A clerk foredoom'd his father's soul to cross,
 “ Who *penn'd* a stanza when he should engross ; ”

who, instead of transcribing deeds and pleadings, chose to imitate Seneca's plays, of which a translation had been published many years before. Our author, however freely he may have borrowed from Plutarch and Holinshed, does not appear to be at all indebted to Seneca ; and therefore I do not believe that he was the person in Nashe's contemplation.

The tragedy of Hamlet was not registered in the books of the Stationers' Company till the 26th of

⁷ The Spanish Tragedy.

July, 1602. I believe it was then published, though the earliest copy now extant is dated in 1604. In the title-page of that copy, the play is said to be “*newly* imprinted, and enlarged to almost as much again as it was, according to the true and perfect copy;” from which words it is manifest that a former *less perfect* copy had been issued from the press.

In a tract entitled *Wits Miserie or the World's Madnesse*, discovering the incarnate Devils of the Age, by Thomas Lodge, which was published in quarto in 1596, one of the devils (as Dr. Farmer has observed) is said to be “a foule lubber, and looks as pale as the vizard of the *ghost*, who cried so miserably at the theatre, *Hamlet, revenge.*” If the allusion was to our author's tragedy, this passage will ascertain its appearance in or before 1596; but Lodge must have had the elder play in his contemplation.

19. *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1601.

The following line in the earliest edition of this comedy,

“Sail like my pinnacle to those *golden shores*,”

shows that it was written after Sir Walter Raleigh's return from Guiana in 1596.

The first sketch of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was printed in 1602. It was entered in the books of the Stationers' Company on the 18th of January, 1601-2, and was therefore probably written in 1601, after the two parts of King Henry IV. being, it is said, composed at the desire of Queen Elizabeth, in

order to exhibit Falstaff in love, when all the pleasantries which he could afford in any other situation was exhausted. But it may not be thought so clear, that it was written after King Henry V. Nym and Bardolph are both hanged in King Henry V. yet appear in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Falstaff is disgraced in *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* and dies in *King Henry V.*; but in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, he talks as if he were yet in favour at court¹; "If it should come to the ear of the court how I have been transformed," &c.: and Mr. Page discountenances Fenton's addresses to his daughter *because he kept company with the wild Prince and with Rhyntz*. These circumstances seem to favour the supposition that this play was written between the First and Second Parts of *King Henry IV.* But that it was not written then, may be collected from the tradition above mentioned. The truth, I believe, is, that though it ought to be read (as Dr. Johnson has observed) between *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* and *King Henry V.* it was written after *King Henry V.* and after Shakspeare had killed Falstaff. In obedience to the royal commands, having revived him, he found it necessary at the same time to revive all those persons with whom he was wont to be exhibited; Nym, Pistol, Bardolph, and the Page: and disposed of them as he found it convenient, without a strict regard to their situations, or catastrophes in former plays.

¹ "Well, an the fine wits of the Court heare this theyle so whip me," &c. 4to. 1602.

There is reason to believe that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was revised and enlarged by the author, after its first production. The old edition in 1602, like that of *Romeo and Juliet*, is apparently a rough draught, and not a mutilated or imperfect copy². The precise time when the alterations and additions were made, has not been ascertained: however, some passages in the enlarged copy may assist us in our conjectures on the subject.

Falstaff's address to Justice Shallow in the first scene shows that the alterations were made after King James came to the throne: "Now, Master Shallow, you'll complain of me to the *king*." In the first copy the words are, "to the *council*."

When Mrs. Page observes to Mrs. Ford, that "these knights will hack," which words are not in the original copy, Shakspeare, it has been thought, meant to convey a covert sneer at King James's prodigality in bestowing knighthood in the beginning of his reign. Between the king's arrival at Berwick and

² Mr. Bowden dissents from this opinion; and contends that the chasms which sometimes occur in the story of this drama as it appears in the early quarto, point out that copy as one which was imperfectly taken down during the representation. As an instance of this he points out a passage in Act I. Sc. IV. where Dr. Caius says "Sir Hugh send a you?" and upon that, determines to send him a challenge; in the folio, Mrs. Quickly had before told him that Simple had come with a message from Parson Hugh; but this piece of information being omitted in the first edition, the doctor's anger against the parson is rendered unintelligible. Yet this may have proceeded from the carelessness of the author himself; let the reader judge. **BOWWELL.**

the 2d of May, 1603, he made 237 knights ; and in the following July near four hundred.

“ The best courtier of them all,” says Mrs. Quickly, “ when the court lay at Windsor, could never have brought her to such a canary. Yet there have been knights, and lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches, I warrant you, coach after coach,” &c.

The court went to Windsor, in the beginning of July, 1603, and soon afterwards the feast of Saint George was celebrated there with great solemnity. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lenox, our poet's great patron the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Marre, were installed knights of the garter ; and the chief ladies of England did homage to the queen. The king and queen afterwards usually resided in the summer at Greenwich. The allusion to the insignia of the order of the garter in the fifth Act of this comedy, if written recently after so splendid a solemnity, would have a peculiar grace ; yet the order having been originally instituted at Windsor by King Edward III. the place in which the scene lay, might, it must be owned, have suggested an allusion to it, without any particular or temporary object.— It is observable that Mrs. Quickly says, there had been knights, lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches, *coach after coach*, &c. Coaches, as appears from Howes's Continuation of Stowe's Chronicle, did not come into general use, till the year 1605. It may therefore be presumed, that this play was not enlarged very long before that year.

There is yet another note of time to be considered. In the first scene of the enlarged copy of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Slender asks Mr. Page, "How does your fallow greyhound, sir? I hear he was outrun on Cotsale." He means the Cotswold hills in Gloucestershire. In the beginning of the reign of James the First, the Cotswold games were instituted by one Dover. They consisted, as Mr. Warton has observed of "wrestling, leaping, pitching the bar, handling the pike, dancing of women, various kinds of hunting, and particularly coursing the hare with greyhounds." Mr. Warton is of opinion, that two or three years must have elapsed before these games could have been effectually established, and therefore supposes that our author's additions to this comedy were made about the year 1607. Dr. Farmer doubts whether Capt. Dover was the founder of these games. "Though the Captain," he observes, "be celebrated in the *Annalia Dubrensis* as the *founder* of them, he might be the *reviver* only, or some way contribute to make them more famous; for in the second part of King Henry IV. Justice Shallow reckons among the *swinge-bucklers*, "Will Squeele, a *Cotsole* man." In confirmation of Dr. Farmer's opinion, Mr. Steevens remarks, that in Randolph's poems, 1638, is found "An eclogue on the noble assemblies *revived* on Cotswold hills by Mr. Robert Dover."

If the Cotswold games were celebrated before the death of Queen Elizabeth, the passage above cited certainly proves nothing. Let us then endeavour to

ascertain that fact. Dover himself tells us in the *Annalia Dubrensia* that he was the *founder* of these games :

“ Yet I was bold for better recreation

“ To *invent* these sports, to counter-check that fashion : ”

and from Ben Jonson's verses in the same collection we learn that they were exhibited in the time of James I. and revived in 1636. Nothing more then follows from Randolph's verses, compared with Jonson's, than that the games had been discontinued after their first institution by Dover (probably soon after the death of King James), and were *revived* by their *founder* at a subsequent period. Cotswold, long before the death of Elizabeth, might have been famous for swinge bucklers, or in other words for strong men, skilled in fighting with sword and buckler, wrestling, and other athletick exercises : but there is no ground for supposing that coursing with greyhounds, in order to obtain the prize of a silver collar, was customary there, till Dover instituted those prizes after the accession of James to the throne.

That they were instituted about the year 1603, when King James acceded to the English throne, may be collected from the account given of them by Wood, in his *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 812 : “ The said games were *begun*, and continued at a certain time of the year, for 40 years, by one Robert Dover, an attorney of Burton on the heath in Warwickshire ; who did, *with leave from King James I.*

select a place on Cotswold-hills in Gloucestershire, whereon those games should be acted. Dover was constantly there in person, well mounted and accoutred, and was the chief director and manager of those games, even till the rascally rebellion was begun by the Presbyterians, which gave a stop to their proceedings, and spoiled all that was generous and ingenious elsewhere."

This comedy was not printed in its present state till 1623, when it was published with the rest of our author's plays in folio. The republication of the imperfect copy in 1619 has been mentioned as a circumstance from which we may infer that Shakespeare's improved play was not written, or at least not acted, till some years after 1607. I confess, I do not perceive, on what ground this inference is made. Arthur Johnson, the bookseller for whom the imperfect copy of this play was published in 1602, when the whole edition was sold off, reprinted it in 1619, knowing that the enlarged copy remained in MS. in the hands of the proprietors of the Globe theatre, and that such of the publick as wished to read the play in any form, must read the imperfect play, of which he had secured the property by entering it at Stationers' Hall. In the same manner Thomas Pavier in 1619 reprinted the first and second parts of *The Whole Contention of the Two Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, though he could not but know that the Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI. which were formed on those pieces, and were much more valuable than them, had been fre-

quently acted, antecedent to his republication, and that the original plays had long been withdrawn from the scene. Not being able to procure the improved and perfect copies, a needy bookseller would publish what he could.

20. *Troilus and Cressida*, 1602.

Troilus and Cressida was entered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 7, 1602-3, under the title of *The booke of Troilus and Cressida*, by J. Roberts, the printer of *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. It was therefore, probably, written in 1602. It was printed in 1609, with the title of *The History of Troilus and Cressida*, with a preface by the editor, who speaks of it as if it had not been then acted. But it is entered in 1602-3, "as acted by my Lord Chamberlen's men." The players at the Globe theatre, to which Shakspeare belonged, were called *the Lord Chamberlen's servants*, till the year 1603. In that year they obtained a licence for their exhibitions from King James; and from that time they bore the more honourable appellation of *his majesty's servants*. There can, therefore, be little doubt, that the *Troilus and Cressida* which is here entered, as acted at Shakspeare's theatre, was his play, and was, if not represented, intended to have been represented there.

Perhaps the two discordant accounts, relative to this piece, may be thus reconciled. It might have been performed in 1602 at *court*, by the lord cham-

berlain's servants (as many plays at that time were), and yet not have been exhibited on the publick stage till some years afterwards. The editor in 1609 only says, "it had never been *staled* with the *stage*, never clapper-claw'd with the palms of *the vulgar*."

As a further proof of the early appearance of *Troilus and Cressida*, it may be observed, that an incident in it seems to be burlesqued in a comedy entitled *Histriomastix*, which, though not printed till 1610, must have been written before the death of Queen Elizabeth, who, in the last Act of the piece, is shadowed under the character of *Astræa*, and is spoken of as then living.

In our author's play, when *Troilus* and *Cressida* part, he gives her his sleeve, and she, in return, presents him with her glove.

To this circumstance these lines in *Histriomastix* seem to refer. They are spoken by *Troilus* and *Cressida*, who are introduced in an interlude :

" *Troi.* Come, *Cressida*, my cresset light,
 " Thy face doth shine both day and night.
 " Behold, behold, *thy garter blue*
 " *Thy knight his valiant elbow weares,*
 " That, when he shakes his furious speare,
 " The foe in shivering fearful sort
 " May lay him down in death to snort.

" *Cress.* O knight, with valour in thy face,
 " *Here take my skreene,* weare it for grace ;
 " Within thy helmet put the same,
 " Therewith to make thy enemies lame."

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Troilus* is mentioned as " the first employer of pandars." Shakspeare,

therefore, probably had read Chaucer's poem before the year 1600, when that play was printed.

In Cymbeline it is said, that

“Thersites' body is as good as Ajax',

“When neither are alive.”

This seems to import a precedent knowledge of Ajax and Thersites, and in this light may be regarded as a presumptive proof that *Troilus and Cressida* was written before *Cymbeline*.

Dryden supposed *Troilus and Cressida* to have been one of Shakspeare's earliest performances³; but has not mentioned on what principles he founded his judgment. Pope, on the other hand, thought it one of his last; grounding his opinion not only on the preface by the editor in 1609, but on “the great number of observations both moral and political with which this piece is crouded, more than any other of our author's.” For my own part, were it not for the entry in the Stationers' books, I should have been led, both by the colour of the writing, and by the above-mentioned preface, to class it (though not one of our author's happiest effusions) in 1608, rather than in that year in which it is here placed.

Yet, after all, I may still be mistaken. It appears

³ “The tragedy which I have undertaken to correct, was in all probability one of his *first endeavours* on the stage.—Shakspeare (as I hinted) *in the apprenticeship of his writing* modelled it [the story of Lollus] into that play which is now called by the name of *Troilus and Cressida*.”—*Dryden's Pref. to Troilus and Cressida*.

from Henslowe's MSS. vol. iii. p. 331, that a play upon the subject of Troilus and Cressida had been written by Dekker and Chettle in 1599; and this elder drama may have been the object of satire in *Histriomastix*.

24. *Measure for Measure*, 1603.

This play was not registered at Stationers' Hall, nor printed, till 1623. But from two passages in it, which seem intended as a courtly apology for the stately and ungracious demeanour of King James I. on his entry into England, it appears probable that it was written not long after his accession to the throne :

" I'll privily away. I love the people,
 " But do not like to stage me to their eyes.
 " Though it do well, I do not relish well
 " Their loud applause, and aves vehement ;
 " Nor do I think the man of safe discretion
 " That does affect it." *Measure for Measure*, Act I. Sc. I.

Again, Act II. Sc. IV. :

" — So
 " The general, subject to a well-wish'd king,
 " Quit their own part, and in obsequious fondness
 " Croud to his presence, where their untaught love ,
 " Must needs appear offence ⁴."

King James was *so much offended* by the *untaught*, and, we may add, undeserved, gratulations of his subjects, on his entry into England, that he issued a proclamation, forbidding the people to resort to him.

⁴ See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note.

—"Afterwards," says the historian of his reign, "in his publick appearances, especially in his sports, the accesses of the people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with frowns, that we may not say with *curses* ³."

It is observable throughout our author's plays that he does not scruple to introduce English signs, habits, customs, names, &c. though the scene of his drama lies in a foreign country; and that he has frequent allusions to the circumstances of the day, though the events which form the subject of his piece are supposed to have happened a thousand years before. Thus, in *Coriolanus*, Hob and Dick are plebeians; and the Romans toss their caps in the air, with the same expressions of festivity which our poet's contemporaries displayed in Stratford or London. In *Twelfth-Night* we hear of the bed of Ware, and the bells of Saint Bennet; and in *The Taming of the Shrew* the *Pegasus*, a sign of a publick house in Cheapside in the time of Queen Elizabeth, is hung up in a town in Italy. In *Hamlet* the Prince of Denmark and Guildenstern hold a long conversation concerning the children of the Chapel and St. Pauls. The opening of the present play, viewed in this light, furnishes an additional argument in support of the date which I have assigned to it. When King James came to the throne of England, March 24, 1602-3, he found the kingdom engaged in a war with Spain, which had lasted near twenty years. "Heaven grant us his *peace*!" says a gen-

³ Wilson's History of King James, ad ann. 1603.

tleman to Lucio, Act I. Sc. II. ; and afterwards the bawd laments, that “ what with *the war*, what with the sweat, she was custom-shrunk.” Supposing these two passages to relate to our author’s own time, they almost decisively prove Measure for Measure to have been written in 1603 ; when the war was not yet ended, as the latter words seem to imply, and when there was some *prospect* of peace, as the former seem to intimate. Our British Solomon very soon after his accession to the throne manifested his pacifick disposition, though the peace with Spain was not proclaimed till the 19th of August, 1604.

By *the sweat*, considering who the speaker is, it is probable that the disorder most fatal to those of her profession was intended. However, the plague was sometimes so called ; and perhaps the dreadful pestilence of 1603 was meant ; which carried off in the month of July in that year 857 persons, and in the whole year 30,578 persons : that is, one fifth part of the people in the metropolis ; the total number of the inhabitants of London being at that time about one hundred and fifty thousand. If such was the allusion, it likewise confirms the date attributed to this play.

Some part of this last argument in confirmation of the date which I had assigned some years ago to the comedy before us, I owe to Mr. Capell ; and while I acknowledge the obligation, it is but just to add, that it is the only one that I met with, which in the smallest degree could throw any light on the present inquiry into the dates of our author’s plays,

“ In the dry desert of *ten thousand lines* ;”

after wading through two ponderous volumes in quarto, written in a style manifestly formed on that of the Clown in the comedy under our consideration, whose narratives, we are told, were calculated to last out *a night in Russia, when nights are at the longest.*

In the year 1604, says Wilson the historian, "the sword and buckler trade being out of date, diverse sects of vitious persons, under the title of *roaring boys, bravadoes, roysters, &c.* commit many insolencies; the streets swarm night and day with quarrels: private duels are fomented, especially between the English and Scotch: and great feuds between protestants and papists." A proclamation was published to restrain these enormities; which proving ineffectual, the legislature interposed, and the act commonly called the statute of stabbing, 1 Jac. I. c. 8. was made. This statute, as Sir Michael Foster observes, was principally intended to put a stop to the outrages above enumerated, "committed by persons of inflammable spirits and deep resentment, who, wearing short daggers under their cloaths, were too well prepared to do quick and effectual execution upon provocations extremely slight." King James's first parliament met on the 19th of March, 1603-4, and sat till the 7th of July following. From the time of James's accession to the throne great animosity subsisted between the English and Scotch; and many of the outrageous acts which gave rise to the statute of stabbing, had been committed in the preceding year, about the end of which year I suppose Measure for Measure to have been written. The enumeration

made by the Clown, in the fourth Act, of the persons who were confined with him in the prison, is an additional confirmation of the date assigned to it. Of ten prisoners whom he names, four are stabbers, or duellists: "Master Starvelacky, the rapier and dagger man, young Drop-heir that killed lusty Pudding, Master Forth-right, the tilter, and wild Half-can that stabbed Pots."

That *Measure for Measure* was written before 1607, may be fairly concluded from the following passage in a poem published in that year, which we have good ground to believe was copied from a similar thought in this play, as the author, at the end of his piece, professes a personal regard for Shakspeare, and highly praises his *Venus* and *Adonis*¹,

" So play the foolish *throngs* with one that *swoons* ;
 " Come all to *help* him, and so stop the *air*
 " By which he should revive."

Measure for Measure, Act II. Sc. IV.

" And like as when some sudden extasie
 " Seizeth the nature of a sicklie man ;
 " When he's discern'd to *swoone*, strait by and by
 " Folke to his *helpe* confusedly have ran ;
 " And seeking with their art to fetch him backe,
 " So many *throng*, that he the *ayre* doth lacke."

Myrrha, the Mother of Adonis, or Luste's Prodigies,
 by William Barksted, a poem, 1607.

¹ See the verses alluded to, in a note on the extracts from the Stationers' Registers. This writer does not seem to have been very scrupulous about adopting either the thoughts or expressions of his contemporaries ; for in his poem are found two lines taken verbatim from Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, printed four years before *Myrrha, the Mother of Adonis*, &c. :

22. *King Henry VIII.* 1603.

This play was probably written, as Dr. Johnson and Mr. Steevens observe, partly before the death of Queen Elizabeth, which happened on the 24th of March, 1602-3. The elogium on King James, which is blended with the panegyrick on Elizabeth, in the last scene, was evidently a subsequent insertion, after the accession of the Scottish monarch to the throne: for Shakspeare was too well acquainted with courts, to compliment, in the life-time of Queen Elizabeth, her presumptive successor, of whom history informs us she was not a little jealous. That the prediction concerning King James was added after the death of the Queen, is still more clearly evinced, as Dr. Johnson has remarked, by the awkward manner in which it is connected with the foregoing and subsequent lines.

The following lines in that prediction may serve to ascertain the time when the compliment was introduced :

“ Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
 “ His honour and the greatness of his name
 “ Shall be, and make new nations.”

Though Virginia was discovered in 1584, the

“ Night, like a masque, was enter’d heaven’s great hall,
 “ With thousand torches ushering the way.”

It appears from Ben Jonson’s *Silent Woman*, that W. Barksted was an actor, and was employed in the theatre where our author’s plays were represented. He might therefore have performed a part in *Measure for Measure*, or have seen the copy before it was printed.

first colony sent out went there in 1606. In that year the king granted two letters patent for planting that country, one to the city of London, the other to the cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth. The colony sent from London, settled in Virginia; that from the other cities, in New England; the capital of which was built in the following year, and called *James town*. In 1606 also a scheme was adopted for the plantation of Ulster in Ireland². I suspect, therefore, that the panegyrick on the king was introduced either in that year, or in 1612, when a lottery was granted expressly for the establishment of English Colonies in Virginia.

It may be objected, that if this play was written after the accession of King James, the author could not introduce a panegyrick on him, without making Queen Elizabeth the vehicle of it, she being the object immediately presented to the audience in the last Act of King Henry VIII.: and that, therefore, the praises so profusely lavished on her, do *not* prove this play to have been written in her life-time; on the contrary, that the concluding lines of her character seem to imply that she was dead, when it was composed. The objection certainly has weight; but, I apprehend, the following observations afford a sufficient answer to it.

1. It is more likely that Shakspeare should have written a play, the chief subject of which is, the disgrace of Queen Catharine, the aggrandizement of Anne Boleyn, and the birth of her daughter, in the

² Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 440.

life-time of that daughter, than after her death: at a time when the subject must have been highly pleasing at court, rather than at a period when it must have been less interesting.

Queen Catharine, it is true, is represented as an amiable character, but still she is *eclipsed*; and the greater her merit, the higher was the compliment to the mother of Elizabeth, to whose superior beauty she was obliged to give way.

2. If King Henry VIII. had been written in the time of King James I. the author, instead of expatiating so largely in the last scene, in praise of the Queen, which he could not think would be acceptable to her successor, who hated her memory³, would probably have made him the principal figure in the prophecy, and thrown her into the back-ground as much as possible.

3. Were James I. Shakspeare's chief object in the original construction of the last Act of this play, he would probably have given a very short character of Elizabeth, and have *dwelt* on that of James, with whose praise he would have *concluded*, in order to make the stronger impression on the audience, instead of returning again to Queen Elizabeth, in a very awkward and abrupt manner, after her character seemed to be quite finished: an awkwardness that can only be accounted for, by supposing the panegyric on King James an after-production⁴.

³ King James on his accession to the throne studiously marked his disregard for Elizabeth by the favour which he showed to Lord Southampton, and to every other person who had been disgraced by her. Of this Shakspeare could not be ignorant.

⁴ After having enumerated some of the blessings which were

4. If the Queen had been dead when our author began to write this play, he would have been acquainted with the particular circumstances attending her death, the situation of the kingdom at that time, and of foreign states, &c. and as Archbishop Cranmer is supposed to have had the gift of prophecy, Shakspeare, probably, would have made him mention some of those circumstances. Whereas the prediction, as it stands at present, is quite general, and such as might, without any hazard of error, have been pronounced in the life-time of her Majesty; for the

to ensue from the birth of Elizabeth, and celebrated her majesty's various virtues, the poet thus proceeds :

“ *Cran.* In *her* days every man shall eat in safety

“ Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing

“ The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours.

“ God shall be truly known; and those about her

“ From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,

“ And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.

“ [Nor shall this peace *sleep* with her; but as when

“ The bird of wonder *dies*, the maiden phoenix,

“ Her ashes new-create another heir,

“ As great in admiration as herself;

“ So shall she leave her blessedness to one, &c.

“ ————— *He* shall flourish.

“ And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches

“ To all the plains about him :—our children's children

“ Shall see this, and bless heaven.

“ *King.* Thou speakest wonders.]

“ *Cran.* *She* shall be, to the happiness of England,

“ An aged princess; many days shall see her,

“ And yet no day without a deed to crown it.

“ Would I had known no more! but she must *die*,

“ She must, the saints must have her; yet a virgin,” &c.

The lines between crotchets are those supposed to have been inserted by the author after the accession of King James.

principal facts that it foretells, are, that she should die aged, and a virgin. Of the former, supposing this prediction to have been written in 1602, the author was sufficiently secure; for she was then near seventy years old. The latter may perhaps be thought too delicate a subject, to have been mentioned while she was yet living. But we may presume, it was far from being an ungrateful topic; for very early after her accession to the throne, she appears to have been proud of her maiden character; declaring that she was *wedded* to her people, and that she desired no other inscription on her tomb, than—"Here lyeth Elizabeth, who reigned and died a *virgin*." Besides, if Shakspeare knew, as probably most people at that time did, that she became very solicitous about the reputation of virginity, when her title to it was at least equivocal, this would be an additional inducement to him to compliment her on that head.

5. Granting that the *latter part* of the panegyrick on Elizabeth implies that she was dead when it was composed, it would not prove that this play was written in the time of King James; for *these latter lines* in praise of the Queen, as well as the whole of the compliment to the King, might have been added after his accession to the throne, in order to bring the speaker back to the object immediately before him, the infant Elizabeth. And this Mr. Theobald conjectured to have been the case. I do not, however, see any *necessity* for this supposition; as there is nothing, in my apprehension, contained in *any* of

the lines in praise of the Queen, inconsistent with the notion of the *whole* of the panegyrick on her having been composed in her life-time.

In further confirmation of what has been here advanced to show that this play was partly written while Queen Elizabeth was yet alive, it may be observed (to use the words of an anonymous writer⁶), that “Shakspeare has cast the disagreeable parts of her *father's* character as much into shade as possible; that he has represented him as greatly displeased with the grievances of his subjects, and ordering them to be relieved; tender and obliging [in the early part of the play] to his queen, grateful to the cardinal, and in the case of Cranmer, capable of distinguishing and rewarding true merit.”—“He has exerted (adds the same author) an equal degree of complaisance, by the amiable lights in which he has shown the *mother* of Elizabeth. Anne Bullen is represented as affected with the most tender concern for the sufferings of her mistress, queen Catharine; receiving the honour the king confers on her, by making her marchioness of Pembroke, with a graceful humility; and more anxious to conceal her advancement from the queen, lest it should aggravate her sorrows, than solicitous to penetrate into the meaning of so extraordinary a favour, or of indulging herself in the flattering prospect of future royalty.”

It is unnecessary to quote particular passages in support of these assertions; but the following lines, which are spoken of Anne Boleyn by the Lord Chamberlain, appear to me so evidently calculated for the

⁶ The author of Shakspeare Illustrated. [Mrs. Lennox.]

ear of Elizabeth (to whom such incense was by no means displeasing), that I cannot forbear to transcribe them :

“ She is a gallant creature, and complete
 “ In mind and feature. I persuade me, *from her*
Will fall some blessing to this land, which shall
In it be memoriz'd.”

Again :

“ ——— I have perus'd her well ;
 “ Beauty and honour are in her so mingled,
 “ That they have caught the king: *and who knows yet,*
But from this lady may proceed a gem,
To lighten all this isle.”

Our author had produced so many plays in the preceding years, that it is not likely that King Henry VIII. was written *before* 1603. It might perhaps with equal propriety be ascribed to 1602, and it is not easy to determine in which of those years it was composed; but it is extremely probable that it was written in one of them. It was not printed till 1623.

A poem, called *The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal*, which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, and published, in the year 1599, perhaps suggested this subject to Shakspeare.

He had also certainly read Churchyard's *Legend of Cardinal Wolsey*, printed in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1587.

“ Have we some strange Indian with the great tool come to court, the women so besiege us,” says the Porter in the last Act of this play. This note

of time may perhaps hereafter serve to ascertain the date of this piece, though I cannot avail myself of it, not having been able to discover to what circumstance Shakspeare here alludes.

Rowley's King Henry VIII. was published in 1605, probably with a view that it also might be confounded with Shakspeare's drama; and both it and Lord Cromwell were re-printed with the same fraudulent intention in 1613, in which year our author's play was revived with great splendour.

The Globe play-house, we are told by the continuator of Stowe's Chronicle, was burnt down, on St. Peter's day, in the year 1613, while the play of King Henry VIII. was exhibiting. Sir Henry Wotton (as Mr. Tyrwhitt has observed) says, in one of his letters, that this accident happened during the exhibition of a *new* play, called All is True; which, however, appears both from Sir Henry's minute description of the piece, and from the account given by Stowe's continuator, to have been our author's play of King Henry VIII. If indeed Sir H. Wotton was accurate in calling it a *new* play, all the foregoing reasoning on this subject would be at once overthrown: and this piece, instead of being ascribed to 1603, should have been placed ten years later. But I strongly suspect that the only novelty attending this play, in the year 1613, was its title, decorations, and perhaps the prologue and epilogue. The Elector Palatine was in London in that year; and it appears from the MS. register of Lord Harrington, treasurer of the chambers to King James I. that many of our author's plays were then

exhibited for the entertainment of him and the princess Elizabeth. By the same register we learn, that the titles of many of them were changed ⁷ in that year. Princes are fond of opportunities to display their magnificence before strangers of distinction; and James, who on his arrival here must have been dazzled by a splendour foreign to the poverty of his native kingdom, might have been peculiarly ambitious to exhibit before his son-in-law the mimic pomp of an English coronation ⁸. King Henry VIII. therefore, after having lain by for some years unacted, on account of the costliness of the exhibition, might have been revived in 1613, under the title of *All is True*, with new decorations, and a new prologue and epilogue. Mr. Tyrwhitt observes, that the prologue has two or three direct references to this title; a circumstance which authorizes us to conclude, almost with certainty, that it was an occasional production, written some years after the composition of the play. King Henry VIII. not being then printed, the fallacy of calling it a new play on its revival was not easily detected.

⁷ Thus, *Henry IV. Part I.* was called *Hotspur*; *Henry IV. Part II.* or *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, was exhibited under the name of *Sir John Falstaff*; *Much Ado about Nothing* was new-named *Benedick and Beatrice*; and *Julius Cæsar* seems to have been represented under the title of *Cæsar's Tragedy*.

⁸ The *Prince Palatine* was not present at the representation of *King Henry VIII.* on the 30th of June O. S. when the *Globe* playhouse was burnt down, having left England some time before. But the play might have been revived for his entertainment in the beginning of the year 1613; and might have been occasionally represented afterwards.

Dr. Johnson long since suspected, from the contemptuous manner in which “the noise of targets, and the fellow in a long motley coat,” or in other words, most of our author’s plays are spoken of, in this prologue, that it was not the composition of Shakspeare, but written after his departure from the stage, on some accidental revival of King Henry VIII. by Ben Jonson, whose style, it seemed to him to resemble⁹. Dr. Farmer is of the same opinion, and

⁹ In support of this conjecture it may be observed, that Ben Jonson has in many places endeavoured to ridicule our author for representing battles on the stage. So, in his prologue to Every Man in his Humour :

“ ——— Yet ours, for want, hath not so lov’d the stage,

“ As he dare serve the *ill customs* of the age ;

“ Or purchase your delight at such a rate,

“ As, for it, he himself must justly hate ;

“ To make, &c.

“ ————— or with three rusty swords,

“ And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words,

“ Fight over York and Lancaster’s long jars,

“ And in the tyring house bring wounds to scars.”

Again, in his Silent Woman, Act IV. Sc. IV. :

“ Nay, I would sit out a play, that were nothing but fights at sea, *drum, trumpet, and target*.”

We are told in the memoirs of Ben Jonson’s life, that he went to France in the year 1613. But at the time of the revival of King Henry VIII. he either had not left England, or was then returned ; for he was a spectator of the fire which happened at the Globe theatre during the representation of that piece. [See the next note.]

It may, perhaps, seem extraordinary, that he should have presumed to prefix this covert censure of Shakspeare to one of his own plays. But he appears to have eagerly embraced every opportunity of depreciating him. This occasional prologue (whoever was the writer of it) confirms the tradition handed down by

thinks he sees something of Jonson's hand here and there in the dialogue also. After our author's retirement to the country, Jonson was perhaps employed to give a novelty to the piece by a new title and prologue, and to furnish the managers of the Globe with

Rowe, that our author retired from the stage some years before his death. Had he been at that time joined with Heminge and Burbage in the management of the Globe theatre, he scarcely would have suffered the lines above alluded to, to have been spoken. In Lord Harrington's account of the money disbursed for the plays that were exhibited by his majesty's servants in the year 1613, before the Elector Palatine, all the payments are said to have been made to "*John Heminge*, for himself and the rest of his fellows;" from which we may conclude that he was principal manager. A correspondent, however, of Sir Thomas Puckering's (as I learn from Mr. Tyrwhitt) in a MS. letter, preserved in the Museum, and dated in the year 1613, calls the company at the Globe, "*Bourbage's company*." Shakspeare's name stands before either of these, in the licence granted by King James: and had he not left London before that time, the players at the Globe theatre, I imagine, would rather have been entitled, *his company*.—The burlesque parody on the account of Falstaff's death, which is contained in Fletcher's comedy of *The Captain*, acted in 1613, and the ridicule of Hamlet's celebrated soliloquy, and of Ophelia's death, in his *Scornful Lady*, which was represented about the same time, confirm the tradition that our author had then retired from the stage, careless of the fate of his writings, inattentive to the illiberal attacks of his contemporaries, and negligent alike of present and posthumous fame.

Since the above note was written, I have seen the mortgage which is printed in a subsequent page, and was executed by Shakspeare, in March, 1612-13. From this deed we find that he was in London in that year; he might, however, have parted with his property in the theatre before.

[In the notes to the Epilogue to *Henry VIII.* I have endeavoured to show that in those lines no satire was directed against Shakspeare. BOSWELL.]

a description of the coronation ceremony, and of those other decorations, with which, from his connection with Inigo Jones, and his attendance at court, he was peculiarly conversant.

The piece appears to have been revived with some degree of splendour; for Sir Henry Wotton gives a very pompous account of the representation. The unlucky accident that happened to the house during the exhibition, was occasioned by discharging some small pieces, called chambers, on King Henry's arrival at Cardinal Wolsey's gate at Whitehall, one of which, being injudiciously managed, set fire to the thatched roof of the theatre¹.

¹ The Globe theatre (as I learn from the MSS. of Mr. Oldys) was thatched with reeds, and had an open area in its center. This area we may suppose to have been filled by the lowest part of the audience, whom Shakspeare calls the *groundlings*.—*Chambers* are not, like other guns, pointed horizontally, but are discharged as they stand erect on their breeches. The accident may, therefore, be easily accounted for. If these pieces were let off behind the scenes, the paper or wadding with which their charges were confined, would reach the thatch on the inside: or if fixed without the walls, it might have been carried by the wind to the top of the roof.

This accident is alluded to, in the following lines of Ben Jonson's *Execration upon Vulcan*, from which it appears, that he was at the Globe playhouse when it was burnt; a circumstance which in some measure strengthens the conjecture that he was employed on the revival of *King Henry VIII.* for this was not the theatre at which his pieces were usually represented:

“ Well fare the wise men yet on the Bank-side,
 “ My friends, the watermen! they could provide
 “ Against thy fury, when, to serve their needs,
 “ They made a Vulcan of a sheaf of reeds;
 “ Whom they durst handle in their holy-day coats,
 “ And safely trust to dress, not burn, their boats.

The play, thus revived and new-named, was probably called in the bills of that time, a *new* play; which might have led Sir Henry Wotton to describe it as such. And thus his account may be reconciled with that of the other contemporary writers, as well as with those arguments which have been here urged in support of the early date of King Henry VIII. Every thing has been fully stated on each side of the question. The reader must judge.

Mr. Roderick, in his notes on our author (appended to Mr. Edwards's *Canons of Criticism*), takes notice of some peculiarities in the metre of the play before us, viz. "that there are many more verses in it than in any other, which end with a redundant syllable,"—"very near two to one,"—and that the "cæsurae or pauses of the verse are full as remarkable." The

" But O those reeds ! thy mere disdain of them
 " Made thee beget that cruel stratagem,
 " (Which some are pleas'd to style but thy mad prank),
 " Against *the Globe*, the glory of *the Bank* :
 " Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
 " Flank'd with a ditch, and forc'd out of a marish,
 " I saw, with two poor *chambers* taken in,
 " And raz'd; ere thought could urge this might have been.
 " See the world's ruins ! nothing but the piles
 " Left, and wit since to cover it with tiles.
 " The breth'ren, they straight nois'd it out for news,
 " 'Twas verily some relick of the stews,
 " And this a sparkle of that fire let loose,
 " That was lock'd up in the *Winchestrian* goose,
 " Bred on *the Bank* in time of popery,
 " When Venus there maintain'd her mystery.
 " But others fell, with that conceit, by the ears,
 " And cried it was a threat'ning to the bears,
 " And that accursed ground, *the Paris-garden*," &c.

redundancy, &c. observed by this critick, Mr. Steevens thinks “was rather the effect of chance, than of design in the author; and might have arisen either from the negligence of Shakspeare, who in this play has borrowed whole scenes and speeches from Holinshed, whose words he was probably in too much haste to compress into versification strictly regular and harmonious; or from the interpolations of Ben Jonson, whose hand Dr. Farmer thinks he occasionally perceives in the dialogue.”

Whether Mr. Roderick’s position be well founded, is hardly worth a contest; but the peculiarities which he has animadverted on (if such there be), add probability to the conjecture that this piece underwent some alterations, after it had passed out of the hands of Shakspeare¹.

23. *Othello*, 1604.

Dr. Warburton thinks that there is in this tragedy a satirical allusion to the institution of the order of Baronets, which dignity was created by King James I. in the year 1611:

“———— The hearts of old gave hands,
“ But our new heraldry is hands, not hearts.”

Othello, Act III. Sc. IV.

“Amongst their other prerogatives of honour,” (says that commentator,) they [the new-created baronets] had an addition to their paternal arms, of an hand *gules* in an escutcheon *argent*. And we are

¹ Mr. Malone formerly ascribed this play to the year 1601. I know not upon what grounds he altered his opinion. I have inadvertently preserved the old date in the Preliminary Remarks to Henry VII. which I request the reader will correct as an erratum. BOSWELL.

not to doubt that this was *the new heraldry* alluded to by our author; by which he insinuates, ‘that some then created had hands indeed, but not hearts; that is, money to pay for the creation, but no virtue to purchase the honour.’”

Such is the observation of this critick. But by what chymistry can the sense which he has affixed to this passage, be extracted from it? Or is it probable, that Shakspeare, who has more than once condescended to be the encomiast of the unworthy founder of the order of Baronets, who had been personally honoured by a letter from his majesty, and substantially benefitted by the royal licence granted to him and his fellow-comedians, should have been so impolitick, as to satirize the king, or to depreciate his new-created dignity?

These lines appear to me to afford an obvious meaning, without supposing them to contain such a multitude of allusions:

‘Of old,’ (says Othello,) ‘in matrimonial alliances, the heart dictated the union of hands; but our modern junctions are those of hands, not of hearts.’

On every marriage the arms of the wife are *united* to those of the husband. This circumstance, I believe, it was, that suggested *heraldry*, in this place, to our author. I know not whether a heart was ever used as an armorial ensign, nor is it, I conceive, necessary to inquire. It was the office of the herald to *join*, or, to speak technically, to *quarter* the arms of the new-married pair². Hence, with his usual

² “I may *quarter*, coz,” says Slender, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. “You may (replies Justice Shallow), by *marrying*.”

licence, Shakspeare uses *heraldry* for *junction*, or *union* in general. Thus, in his *Rape of Lucrece*, the same term is employed to denote the *union* of colours which constitutes a beautiful complexion :

“ This *heraldry* in Lucrece’ face was seen,

“ Argued by beauty’s red, and virtue’s white.”

This passage not affording us any assistance, we are next to consider one in *The Alchemist*, by Ben Jonson, which, if it alluded to an incident in *Othello* (as Mr. Steevens seems to think it does), would ascertain this play to have appeared before 1610, in which year *The Alchemist* was first acted :

“ *Loverwit*. Didst thou hear a cry, say’st thou?

“ *Neighb*. Yes, sir, like unto a man that had been strangled an hour, and could not speak.”

But I doubt whether *Othello* was here in Jonson’s contemplation. Old Ben generally spoke out ; and if he had intended to sneer at the manner of *Desdemona*’s death, I think, he would have taken care that his meaning should not be missed, and would have written—“ like unto a *woman*,” &c.

This tragedy was not entered on the books of the Stationers’ Company till Oct. 6, 1621, nor printed till the following year ; but it was acted at court early in the year 1613³.

Emilia and *Lodovico*, two of the characters in this play, are likewise two of the persons represented in *May-Day*, a comedy by Chapman, first printed in 1611.

A passage in the *Essays* of Sir Wm. Cornwallis

³ MS. Vertue.

the younger, 1601, may have suggested to Shakspeare the mention of the new heraldry, upon which Dr. Warburton has put what I think a most erroneous interpretation: "We of these later times full of a nice curiositie mislike all the performances of our *forefathers*; we say they were honest plaine men, but they want the capering wits of this ripe age. . . . *They had wont to give their hands and their hearts together, but we think it a finer grace to looke asquint, our hand looking one way and our heart another.*" If the simile of the Pontick Sea in Act III. Sc. III. is an allusion to Pliny, translated by Philemon Holland in 1601, this will assist us further in ascertaining the date of this play. We know⁴ it was acted in 1604, and I have therefore placed it in that year.

24. *King Lear*, 1605.

The tragedy of King Lear was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, Nov. 26, 1607, and is there mentioned to have been played the preceding Christmas before his majesty at Whitehall. But this, I conjecture, was not its first exhibition. It seems extremely probable that its first appearance was in March or April, 1605; in which year the old play of King Leir, that had been entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, was printed by Simon Stafford, for John Wright, who, we may presume, finding Shakspeare's play successful, hoped to palm the

⁴ Mr. Malone never expresses himself at random. I therefore lament deeply that I have not been able to discover upon what evidence he *knew* this important and decisive fact. BOSWELL.

spurious one on the publick for his^s. The old King Leir was entered on the Stationers' books, May 8, 1605, as it was *lately* acted.

Harsnett's Declaration of Popish Impostors, from which Shakspeare borrowed some fantastick names of spirits, mentioned in this play, was printed in 1603. Our author's King Lear was not published till 1608.

This play is ascertained to have been written after the month of October, 1604, by a minute change which Shakspeare made in a traditional line, put into the mouth of Edgar :

“ His words was still,—Fye, foh, fum,
“ I smell the blood of a *British* man.”

The old metrical saying, which is found in one of Nashe's pamphlets, printed in 1596, and in other books, was,

“ — Fy, fa, fum,
“ I smell the blood of an *Englishman*.”

Though a complete union of England and Scotland, which was projected in the first parliament that met after James's accession to the English throne,

^s Shakspeare has copied one of the passages in this old play. This he might have done, though we should suppose it not to have been published till after his King Lear was written and acted ; for the old play had been in possession of the stage for many years before 1605 ; and without doubt he had often seen it exhibited ; nor could he have found any difficulty in procuring a manuscript copy of it, when he sat down to write his own tragedy on the same subject. I suspect, however, the old play had been published in 1594.

was not carried into effect till a century afterwards, the two kingdoms were united in *name*, and he was proclaimed king of Great Britain, October 24, 1604.

25. *All's Well That Ends Well*, 1606.

The beautiful speech of the sick King in this play has much the air of that moral and judicious reflection that accompanies an advanced period of life, and bears no resemblance to Shakspeare's manner in his earlier plays :

- “ ——— Let me not live
 “ After my flame lacks oil, to be the snuff
 “ Of younger spirits, whose apprehensive senses
 “ All but new things disdain : whose judgments are
 “ Mere fathers of their garments ; whose constancies
 “ Expire before their fashions.”

Another circumstance which induces me to believe that this is a later play, than I had formerly supposed, is the satirical mention made of the puritans, who were the objects of King James's aversion. Sir John Harrington says, in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, he was by when his majesty disputed with Dr. Reynolds at Hampton; “but he rather used upbraidings than arguments, and told the petitioners, i. e. the puritans, that they wanted to strip Christe again, and bid them awaie with their snivellings : and moreover he wished those who would take awaie the surplice might want linen to their own breech.” In Act I. Sc. III. the Clown says, “ Though honesty be no puritan, yet it will do no hurt : it will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big heart.”

26. *Macbeth*, 1606.

Since this essay was originally written, I have observed some notes of time in the tragedy of *Macbeth*, that appear to me strongly to confirm the date which I have assigned to it. They occur in the Porter's speech after the murder of Duncan. The speaker, whom Shakspeare, for the sake of indulging a vein of humour and honest satire, has here represented as the Porter of Hell⁶, on hearing a violent knocking at the palace gate, exclaims, "Who's there, in the name of Belzebub?—Here's a *farmer*, that hang'd himself on the *expectation of plenty*. Come in time: have napkins enough about you: here you'll sweat."

The price of corn was then, as it is now, the great criterion of plenty or scarcity. That in the summer and autumn of the year 1606, there was a prospect of plenty of corn, appears from the audit-book of the college of Eton; for the price of wheat in the market of Windsor in that year, was lower than it was for thirteen years afterwards, being thirty-three shillings the quarter⁷. In the preceding year (1605) it was

⁶ In *Othello*, written a few years before this tragedy, the Moor, distracted with jealousy, assigns the same office to Emilia:

"—— you, mistress,

"That have the office opposite to St. Peter,

"And *keep the gate of hell*—."

⁷ The Audit-book of the College of Eton is a decisive authority with respect to the price of wheat in any year, compared with any other year, precedent or subsequent. But it must not be inferred, from the price above given, that this was the current or medium price of wheat in that year; for it is the rule, at Eton,

two shillings a quarter dearer: and in the subsequent year (1607), three shillings a quarter dearer. In the year 1608, wheat was sold at Windsor market for fifty-six shillings and eight pence a quarter;

to set down the *highest* price of the *best* wheat and malt, in the market at Windsor, at two periods of the year, which is ascertained in the most unexceptionable manner: and the rents, for the current year, are regulated by this means; the tenants of the College having it in their option either to pay their rents in wheat and malt in kind, or in money, at the said market prices. But as these are the prices of the best wheat and malt, and the bushel at Windsor contains nine gallons, in order to find out the true state of the middle price of wheat or malt throughout the kingdom, in any given year (as the author of the valuable tracts on the corn laws, 8vo. 1765, has observed), one ninth must be subducted for the difference of the Windsor bushel above the statute measure; and then one ninth more from the remainder, for the reasons which he assigns: and if this process be observed, it will be found that the middle price of wheat in England, in 1606, was one pound six shillings, and of malt, about fifteen shillings. In those counties where there was a great abundance of grain, as Hampshire, Suffolk, and Norfolk, it was probably still lower; for Sir Charles Cornwallis, who went to Spain as Ambassador, in May 1605, in or about September in that year, wrote a letter to Lord Southampton, proposing to that nobleman to send from England 2000 quarters of wheat, and 1500 quarters of barley, to Valadolid, where there was then a great dearth; and that the profit resulting from this speculation, which, he says, would be at least 500*l.* should be divided between them. This scheme, he adds, may be advantageously adopted, not only then, but for some years to come. By the statute, 1 James I. c. 25, corn was not allowed to be exported, except when the price of wheat did not exceed twenty-six shillings and eight pence the quarter, and that of barley and malt did not exceed that of *fourteen* shillings. By a letter in Winwood's Memorials, we find that a quantity of corn had been exported in the early part of the year 1616, from Lynn in Norfolk.

and in 1609, for fifty shillings. In 1606 barley and malt were cheaper than the preceding year, and considerably cheaper than in the two years subsequent.

The following words assigned to the Porter afford a still stronger confirmation of the date of this tragedy: "Knock, knock: Who's there, i' the other Devil's name? 'Faith, here's an *equivocator*, that *could swear in both the scales, against either scale*; who *committed treason enough for God's sake*; yet could not *equivocate* to heaven.—O come in, *equivocator*."

Dr. Warburton long since observed that by "an *equivocator*" was here meant "a Jesuit;" an order (he adds) "so troublesome to the state in Queen Elizabeth and King James the First's time; the inventors of the execrable doctrine of *equivocation*."

If the allusion were only thus general, this passage would avail us little in settling the time when *Macbeth* was written; but it was unquestionably much more particular and personal: and, without doubt, had a direct reference to the doctrine of *equivocation* avowed and maintained by Henry Garnet, superior of the order of the Jesuits in England, on his trial for the Gunpowder Treason, on the 28th of March, 1606, and to his detestable *perjury* on that occasion, or, as our author describes it, "to his swearing in both the scales against either scale," that is, flatly and directly contradicting himself on his oath.

This trial, at which King James himself was present incognito, from the flagitiousness of the crime, and the celebrity and ability of Garnet, doubtless attracted very general notice; and the allusion

to his gross equivocation and perjury thus recent, and probably the common topick of discourse, must have been instantly understood, and loudly applauded. "A true and perfect Relation of the whole Proceedings" against him and his confederates, which was published by authority in 1606, gave to the proceedings still greater notoriety.

In a letter written by Mr. John Chamberlain to Mr. Winwood, April 5, 1606, after mentioning that Garnet was arraigned at Guildhall the 28th of last month for high treason, and stating some of the evidence, he adds, "But how far these men are to be believed on their protestations and oaths, my Lord Salisbury [one of the commissioners on Garnet's trial] made known by two notable instances; having first shewed that by reason of their impudent slanders and reports we are driven to another course than they do [pursue] in other countrys by way of torture: for if they dye in prison, they give out that *we have starved or tortured them to death*; if they kill themselves, *we make them away*: so that we are feign to flatter and pamper them, and get out matters by fair means as we can. So that by the cunning of his keeper, Garnet being brought into a fool's paradise, had diverse conferences with Hall, his fellow priest, in the Tower, which were overheard by spialls set on purpose. With which being charged, he stiffly denied it; but being still urged, and some light given him that they had notice of it, he persisted still, *with protestation upon his soul and salvation, that there had passed no such interlocution*: till at last, being confronted with Hall, he was driven

to confess. And being now asked in this audience, how he could solve this lewd perjury, he answered, "that, so long as he thought they had no proof, he was not bound to accuse himself; but when he saw they had proof, he stood not long in it." And then fell into a large discourse *defending equivocation*, with many weak and frivolous distinctions.

"The other example was of Francis Tresham; who in his confession having accused Garnet, and now drawing to his end in the Tower, his wife was permitted to have access to him; by whose means, (as is thought), not four hours before his death, he wrote a letter to my lord of Salisbury, contradicting whatsoever he had said of Garnet; protesting before God, to whom he was now going, and upon his soul and salvation, that he had accused him falsely, and that he had not seen him these sixteen years last past. Whereas it was manifestly proved, both by Garnet himself, Mrs. Vaux, and others, that he had been with him in three several places this last year; and once not many days before the blow should have been given. And [Garnet] being now asked what he knew of this man, he smilingly answered, that he thought he meant to *equivocate* ^s."

A few extracts from Garnet's Trial, printed by authority, will still more clearly show, that the perjury and equivocation of the Jesuit were here particularly alluded to by Shakspeare.

In stating the case, Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney-General, observed, that "Catesby, fearing

that any of those whom he had or should take into confederacy, being touched in conscience with the horror of so damnable a fact, might give it over, and endanger the discovery of the plot, seeks to Garnet (as being the superior of the Jesuits, and therefore of high estimation and authority amongst all those of the Romish religion) to have his judgment and resolution in conscience concerning the lawfulness of the fact, that thereby he might be able to give satisfaction to any who should, in that behalf, make doubt or scruple to go forward in that treason. And therefore Catesby, coming to Garnet, propoundeth to him the case, and asketh, whether ‘for the good and promotion of the catholick cause against hereticks,’ [or, as the poet terms it, ‘for God’s sake,’] ‘the necessity of time and occasion so requiring, it be lawful or not, amongst many *nocents* to destroy and take away some *innocents* also;’ to this question Garnet advisedly and resolvedly answered, that if the advantage were greater to the Catholick part, by taking away some innocents, together with many nocents, then doubtless it should be lawful to kill and destroy them all.”

Again :

“Then were the two witnesses called for; both of them persons of good estimation, that over-heard the interlocution between Garnet and Hall the Jesuit; viz. Mr. Fauset, a man learned and a justice of peace, and Mr. Lockerson; but Mr. Fauset, being not present, was sent for to appear; and, in the mean while, Mr. Lockerson, who being deposed before Garnet, delivered, upon his oath, that they heard

Garnet say to Hall, ‘ They will charge me with my prayer for the good success of the great action, in the beginning of the Parliament, and with the verses which I added to the end of my prayer :

“ Gentem auferte perfidam

“ Credentium de finibus,

“ Ut Christi laudes debitas

“ Persolvamus alacriter.”

“ ‘ It is true, indeed (said Garnet), that I prayed for the good success of that great action ; but I will tell them that I meant it in respect of some sharper laws, which I feared they would then make against Catholics ; and that answer will serve well enough.’ ”

Again :

“ Garnet having protested, upon his trial, that ‘ When Father Greenwell made him acquainted with the whole plot, and all the particulars of it, he was very much distempered, and could never sleep quietly afterwards, but sometimes *prayed to God that it should not take effect* ; the Earl of Salisbury replied, that ‘ he should do well to speak clearly of his devotion in that point ; for otherwise he must put him to remember that *he had confessed* to the Lords that he had offered sacrifice to God for stay of that plot, *unless it were for the good of the Catholic cause* ; and in no other fashion (said his lordship) was this state beholding to you for your masses and oblations.’ ”

In stating one of the points alluded to by Chamberlain in his Letter to Secretary Winwood, Lord Salisbury reminded Garnet, “ after the interlocution between him and Hall, when he was called before all

the lords, and was asked, not what he said, but whether Hall and he had conference together (desiring him *not to equivocate*), how stiffly he denied it upon his soul, retracting it with so many detestable execrations as the Earl said, it wounded their hearts to hear him; and yet as soon as Hall had confessed it, he grew ashamed, cried the lords mercy, and said he had offended, *if equivocation did not help him.*"

Here certainly we have abundant proofs of "an *equivocator* that could *swear in both the scales against either scale*, who committed *treason enough for God's sake*, and yet could not *equivocate* to heaven."

If these observations should be acknowledged to be just, and yet it should be maintained that in strict reasoning they only prove that the tragedy of Macbeth was written subsequently to the trial of Garnet, it may be remarked, that allusions and references of this kind are generally made while the facts are yet recent in the minds of the writer and the audience, and before their impression has been weakened by subsequent events. When, therefore, we advert to the other circumstances which have induced me to refer this tragedy to the year 1606, this allusion, aided and supported as it is by their concurring circumstances, appears to me to furnish a strong confirmation of the date which has been assigned to it.

The third circumstance mentioned by the Porter is that of "an English tailor stealing out of a French hose;" the humour of which, as Dr Warburton has rightly remarked, consists in this, that the French hose

being [then] very short and strait, a tailor must be master of his trade who could steal any thing from them." From a passage in our author's Henry V. and from other proofs, we know, that about the year 1597 the French hose were very large and lusty; but, doubtless, between that year and 1600 they had adopted the fashion here alluded to; and we know, as I have elsewhere observed, that French fashions were very quickly adopted in England. Some are (says a writer in 1604) so inconstant in their attire, that the variety of their garments pregnantly proveth the fickleness of their heads. . . . And surely the Frenchmen and Englishmen, of all nations are (not without good cause) noted and condemned of this lightness; the one for *invention*, the other for *imitating*. In other things we thinke them our inferiours, and here we make them our maisters: and some I have heard very contemptuously say, that scarcely a new forme of *breeches* appeared in the French Kings kitchen, but presently they were translated into the Court of England⁹." From the following passage in The Black Year, by Anthony Nixon, 4to. 1606, it may be presumed that this new mode of dress had been then adopted in England:

"Gentlemen this year shall be much wronged by their taylors, for their consciences are now much larger then ever they were; for where [whereas]

⁹ The Passions of the Minde in Generall, by Thomas Wright, 4to. 1604.

they were wont to steale but half a yeard of brood cloth in making up a payre of breeches, now they do largely nicke their customers in the lace too; and take *more than enough*, for the *new fashions* sake, besides their old ones." The words printed in italics, I am aware, may relate only to the lace; but I rather think that the meaning is, that whereas, formerly, tailors used to steal half a yard of cloth in making a pair of breeches, but now they cheat in the lace also; and steal more than enough of the cloth for the sake of making the breeches close and tight, agreeably to the new fashion. In a preceding passage, the writer repeats Wright's words already quoted, without any acknowledgement, "This year many." &c.

Guthrie asserts in his History of Scotland, that King James, "to prove how thoroughly he was emancipated from the tutelage of his clergy, desired Queen Elizabeth in the year 1599 to send him a company of English comedians. She complied, and James gave them a licence to act in his capital and in his court. I have great reason to think (adds the historian), that the immortal Shakspeare was of the number². But his drama, which finds access at this day to the most insensible hearts, had no charms in the eyes of the presbyterian clergy. They threatened excommunication to all who attended the playhouse. Many forebore to attend the theatrical exhibitions.

² If the writer had any ground for this assertion, why was it not stated? It is extremely improbable that Shakspeare should have left London at this period. In 1599 his King Henry V. was produced, and without doubt acted with great applause.

James considered the insolent interposition of the clergy as a fresh attack upon his prerogative, and ordered those who had been most active, to retract their menaces, which they unwillingly did; and we are told that the playhouse was then greatly crowded."

A more correct statement of this anecdote of theatrical history will be found in the History of the Stage, vol. iii.; but it is certain, that James, after his accession to the English throne, was a great encourager of theatrical exhibitions. From 1604 to 1608 he devoted himself entirely to hunting, masques, plays, tiltings, &c. In 1605 he visited Oxford. From a book entitled *Rex Platonicus*, cited by Dr. Farmer, we learn, that on entering the city the king was addressed by three students of St. John's College, who alternately accosted his majesty, reciting some Latin verses, founded on the prediction of the weird sisters relative to Banquo and Macbeth⁴.

Dr. Farmer is of opinion, that this performance preceded Shakspeare's play; a supposition which is strengthened by the silence of the author of *Rex Platonicus*, who, if Macbeth had then appeared on the stage, would probably have mentioned something of it. It should be likewise remembered, that there subsisted at that time, a spirit of opposition and rivalry between the regular players and the academicks of the two universities; the latter of whom frequently acted plays both in Latin and English, and seem to have piqued themselves on the

⁴ See vol. xi. p. 281.

superiority of their exhibitions to those of the established theatres⁵. Wishing probably to manifest this superiority to the royal pedant, it is not likely that they would choose for a collegiate interlude (if this little performance deserves that name), a subject which had already appeared on the publick stage, with all the embellishments that the magick hand of Shakspeare could bestow.

In the following July (1606) the King of Denmark came to England on a visit to his sister, Queen Anne, and on the third of August was installed a knight of the garter. "There is nothing to be heard at court," (says Drummond of Hawthornden in a letter dated that day), "but sounding of trumpets, hautboys, musick, revellings, and comedies." Perhaps during this visit Macbeth was first exhibited.

This tragedy contains an allusion to the union of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under one sovereign, and also to the cure of the king's evil by the royal touch⁶. A ritual for the healing of that distemper was established early

⁵ Ab ejusdem collegii alumnis (qui et cothurno tragico et socco comico principes semper habebantur) *Vertumnus*, comœdia faceta, ad principes exhilarandos exhibetur. *Rex Platonius*, p. 78.

Arcadium restauratam Lalacorum Arcadum lectissimi cecinerunt, unoque opere, principum omniumque spectantium animos immensa et ultra fidem affecerunt voluptate; simulque patrios ludiones, etsi exercitatissimos, quantum intersit inter scenam mercenariam et eruditam docuerunt. *Ib.* p. 228. See also, *The Return from Parnassus* (Act IV. Sc. III.), which was acted publicly at St. John's College in Cambridge.

⁶ Macbeth, Act IV. Sc. I. II.

in this reign ; but in what year that pretended power was assumed by King James I. is uncertain.

Macbeth was not entered on the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623.

In the tragedy of Cæsar and Pompey, or Cæsar's Revenge, are these lines :

" Why, think you, lords, that 'tis *ambition's* spur

" 'That *pricketh* Cæsar to these high attempts ? "

If the author of that play, which was published in 1607, should be thought to have had Macbeth's soliloquy in view (which is not unlikely), this circumstance may add some degree of probability to the supposition that this tragedy had appeared before that year :

" ————— I have no *spur*,

" To *prick* the sides of my intent, but only

" Vaulting *ambition*, which o'erleaps itself,

" And falls at the other——."

At the time when Macbeth is supposed to have been written, the subject, it is probable, was considered as a topick the most likely to conciliate the favour of the court. In the additions to Warner's Albion's England, which were first printed in 1606, the story of " The Three Fairies or Weir Elves," as he calls them, is shortly told, and King James's descent from Banquo carefully deduced.

Ben Jonson, a few years afterwards, paid his court to his majesty by his Masque of Queens⁷, presented at Whitehall, Feb. 12, 1609 ; in which he has given

⁷ Mr. Upton was of opinion that this masque preceded Macbeth. But the only ground which he states for this conjecture, is, " that Jonson's pride would not suffer him to borrow from Shakspeare, though he stole from the ancients."

a minute detail of all the magick rites that are recorded by King James in his book of *Dæmonologie*, or by any other author ancient or modern.

In the former editions of this Essay, the play entitled *The Witch*, and written by Thomas Middleton, has been represented as preceding *Macbeth*. That piece had long been unnoticed in manuscript, till it was discovered, in the year 1779, by the late Mr. Steevens, in the collection of the late Thomas Pearson, Esq. On the first discovery, both he and I were exceedingly struck by the songs introduced in this piece; of which it was obvious, at the first view, that D'Avenant had availed himself in the alterations and additions made to this play after the Restoration. Mr. Steevens, having perused the manuscript before it fell into my hands, wrote the note inserted below^a, to which I gave the place that

^a In a former note on this tragedy, I have said that the original edition contains only the two first words of the song in the fourth Act, beginning—"Black spirits," &c.; but have lately discovered the entire stanza in an *unpublished* dramatick piece, viz. "A Tragi-Coomodie called *THE WITCH: long since acted by his Ma.^{ty} Servants at the Black Friars; written by Tho. Middleton.*" The song is there called—"A charme-song, about a vessell." The other song, omitted in the fifth Scene of the third Act of *Macbeth*, together with the imperfect couplet there, may likewise be found, as follows, in Middleton's performance.—The Hecate of Shakspeare says:

"I am for the air," &c.

The Hecate of Middleton (who like the former is summoned away by aerial spirits) has the same declaration in almost the same words:

"I am for aloft," &c.

"Song.] Come away, come away: }
 "Heccat, Heccat, come away" } *in the air.*

it here holds in this Essay, and which, from respect to him, I yet suffer it to retain; but I am now

“ *Hec.* I come, I come, I come,

“ With all the speed I may,

“ With all the speed I may.

“ Wher's Stadlin?

“ *Heere.] in the aire.*

“ Wher's Puckle?

“ *Heere.] in the aire.*

“ And Hoppo too, and Hellwaine too.

“ We lack but you, we lack but you: } *in the aire.*

“ Come away, make up the count.

“ *Hec.* I will but 'noynt, and then I mount.

“ A spirit like a cat descends.	{ There's one comes downe to fetch his dues, A kisse, a coll, a sip of blood : And why thou staist so long	} <i>above.</i>
	“ I muse, I muse, “ Since the air's so sweet and good.	

“ *Hec.* Oh, art thou come?

“ What newes, what newes?

“ All goes still to our delight,

“ Either come, or els } *above.*

“ Refuse, refuse.

“ *Hec.* Now I am furnish'd for the flight.

“ *Fire.]* Hark, hark, the catt sings a brave treble in her owne
[language.

“ *Hec. going up.]* Now I goe, now I flic,

“ Malkin, my sweete spirit, and I.

“ Oh what a daintie pleasure 'tis,

“ To ride in the aire,

“ When the moone shines faire,

“ And sing, and daunce, and toy and kiss!

“ Over woods, high rocks and mountains,

“ Over seas, our mistris' fountains,

“ Over steepe towres and turrets,

“ We fly by night 'mongst troopes of spiritts.

“ No ring of bells to our eares sounds,

“ No howles of woolves, no yelpes of hounds;

clearly of opinion that I too hastily acquiesced in his notion concerning the priority of that play to

“ No, not the noyse of waters'-breache,

“ Or cannons' throat, our height can reache.

“ No ring of bells, &c.] *above.*

“ *Fire.*] Well, mother, I thank your kindness : you must be gombolling i' th' aire, and leave me to walk here, like a foole and a mortall. *Exit.* *Finis Actus Tercii.*”

This Fire-stone, who occasionally interposes in the course of the dialogue, is called, in the List of Persons Represented,—
“ The Clowne and Heccat's son.”

Again, the Heccate of Shakspeare says to her sisters :

“ I'll charm the *air* to give a sound,

“ While you perform your antique round, &c.

“ [*Musick. The Witches dance and vanish.*”

The Hecate of Middleton says on a similar occasion :

“ Come, my sweete sisters, let the *aire* strike our tune,

“ Whilst we shew reverence to yond peeping moone.

“ [*Here they dance, and exeunt.*”

In this play, the motives which incline the Witches to mischief, their manners, the contents of their cauldron, &c. seem to have more than accidental resemblance to the same particulars in Macbeth. The hags of Middleton, like the weird sisters of Shakspeare, destroy cattle because they have been refused provisions at farm-houses. The owl and the cat (Gray Malkin) give them notice when it is time to proceed on their several expeditions. Thus Shakspeare's Witch :

“ Harper cries ;—'tis time, 'tis time.”

Thus too the Hecate of Middleton :

“ *Hec.*] Heard you the owle yet ?

“ *Stad.*] Briefely in the coppes.

“ *Hec.*] 'Tis high time for us then.”

The Hecate of Shakspeare, addressing her sisters, observes, that Macbeth is but “ a wayward son, who loves for his own ends, not for them.” The Hecate of Middleton has the same observation, when the youth who has been consulting her, retires :

“ I know he loves me not, nor there's no hope on't.”

Instead of the “ grease that's sweaten from the murderer's gibbet,” and the “ finger of birth-strangled babe,” the Witches

Macbeth, and that the Witch was not written till some years afterwards, probably not till about the year

of Middleton employ "the gristle of a man that *hangs after sunset*," (i. e. of a murderer, for all other criminals were anciently cut down before evening), and the "fat of an unbaptized child." They likewise boast of the power to raise tempests that shall blow down trees, overthrow buildings, and occasion shipwreck; and, more particularly, that they can "make miles of woods walk." Here too the Grecian Hecate is degraded into a presiding witch, and exercised in superstitions peculiar to our own country. So much for the scenes of enchantment; but even other parts of Middleton's play coincide more than once with that of Shakspeare. Lady Macbeth says, in Art II.:

"—— the surfeited grooms

"Do mock their charge with *snores*. I have *drugg'd* their *possets*."

So too, Francisca, in the piece of Middleton:

"—— they're now all at rest,

"And Gaspar there and all:—List!—fast asleepe;

"He *cryes* it hither.—I must disease you strait, sir:

"For the maide-servants, and the girles o' th' house,

"I *spic'd* them lately with a *drowsie posset*,

"They will not hear in haste."

And Francisca, like Lady Macbeth, is watching late at night to encourage the perpetration of a murder.

The expression which Shakspeare has put into the mouth of Macbeth, when he is sufficiently recollected to perceive that the dagger and the blood on it, were the creation of his own fancy,—
"There's no such thing,"—is likewise appropriated to Francisca, when she undeceives her brother, whose imagination had been equally abused.

From the instances already produced, perhaps the reader would allow, that if Middleton's piece preceded Shakspeare's, the originality of the magick introduced by the latter, might be fairly questioned; for our author (who as actor, and manager, had access to unpublished dramatick performances) has so often condescended to receive hints from his contemporaries, that our suspicion of his having been a copyist in the present instance, might not be without foundation. Nay, perhaps, a time may arrive, in

1613. The grounds of this opinion I shall now lay before the reader.

which it will become evident from books and manuscripts yet undiscovered and unexamined, that Shakspeare never attempted a play on any argument, till the effect of the same story, or at least the ruling incidents in it, had been already tried on the stage, and familiarized to his audience. Let it be remembered, in support of this conjecture, that dramatick pieces on the following subjects,—viz. King John, King Richard II. and III. King Henry IV. and V. King Henry VIII. King Lear, Antony and Cleopatra, Measure for Measure, The Merchant of Venice, The Taming of a Shrew, and The Comedy of Errors,—had appeared before those of Shakspeare, and that he has taken somewhat from all of them that we have hitherto seen. I must observe at the same time, that Middleton, in his other dramas, is found to have borrowed little from the sentiments, and nothing from the fables of his predecessors. He is known to have written in concert with Jonson, Fletcher, Massinger, and Rowley; but appears to have been unacquainted, or at least unconnected, with Shakspeare.

It is true that the date of *The Witch* cannot be ascertained. The author, however, in his dedication ("to the true-lie-worthie and generously-affected Thomas Holmes, Esquire,") observes, that he "recovered this ignorant ill-fated labour of his (from the playhouse, I suppose), not without much difficultie. Witches (continues he) are, ipso facto, by the law condemn'd, and that onely, I thincke, hath made her lie so long in an imprison'd obscuritie." It is probable, therefore, from these words, as well as from the title-page, that the play was written *long* * before the dedication, which seems to have been added soon after the year

* That dramatick pieces were sometimes written *long* before they were printed, may be proved from the example of Marlowe's *Rich Jew of Malta*, which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in the year 1594, but was not published till 1633, as we learn from the preface to it written by Heywood. It appears likewise from the same registers, that several plays were written, that were never published at all. STEVENA.

Thinking it proper, on the present occasion, to read this piece over a second time with the greatest

1603, when the act of King James against witches passed into a law. If it be objected, that *The Witch* appears from this title-page to have been acted only by *his* majesty's servants, let it be remembered that these were the very players who had been before in the service of the Queen; but Middleton, dedicating his work in the time of James, speaks of them only as dependants on the reigning prince.

Here too it may be remarked, that the first dramattick piece in which Middleton is known to have had a hand, viz. *The Old Law*, was acted in 1599; so that *The Witch* might have been composed, if not performed at an earlier period * than the accession of James to the crown; for the belief of witchcraft was sufficiently popular in the preceding reigns. The piece in question might likewise have been neglected through the caprice of players, or retarded till it could be known that James would permit such representations; (for on his arrival here, both authors and actors who should have ventured to bring the midnight mirth and jollity of witches on the stage, would probably have been indicted as favourers of magick and enchantment :) or, it might have shrunk into obscurity after the appearance of *Macbeth*; or perhaps was forbidden by the command of the king. The witches of Shakspeare (exclusive of the flattering circumstance to which their prophecy alludes) are solemn in their operations, and therefore behaved in conformity to his majesty's own opinions. On the contrary, the hags of Middleton are ludicrous in their conduct, and lessen, by ridiculous combinations of images, the solemnity of that magick in which our scepter'd persecutor of old women most reverently and potently believed.

The conclusion to Middleton's dedication, has likewise a degree of singularity that deserves notice,—“For your sake alone, she

* The spelling in the MS. is sometimes more antiquated than any to be met with in the printed copies of Shakspeare, as the following instances may prove :—*Byn* for *been*—*sollempnely* for *solemnly*—*dampnation* for *damnation*—*quight* for *quite*—*grizzle* for *gristle*—*dou* for *doe*—*olyff* for *olive*, &c. STEEVENS.

attention, I discovered that it contained the following notes of time, which, though perhaps no one of them furnishes a *decisive* proof of what I have stated, yet, when combined together, afford, in my opinion, a sufficient ground for attributing this play to the period I have mentioned.

hath thus conjur'd herself abroad; and bears no other charmes about her, but what may tend to your recreation; nor no other spell, but to possess you with a beleif, that as she, so he, that *first* taught her to enchant, will alwaies be," &c.—“He that taught her to enchant,” would have sufficiently expressed the obvious meaning of the writer, without aid from the word *first*, which seems to imply a covert censure on some person who had engaged his *Ilcate* in a *secondary* course of witchcraft.

The reader must have inferred from the specimen of incantation already given, that this MS. play (which was purchased by Major Pearson out of the collection of Benjamin Griffin, the player, and is in all probability the presentation copy) had indubitably passed through the hands of Sir William D'Avenant; for almost all the additions which he pretends to have made to the scenes of witchcraft in *Macbeth* (together with the names of the supplemental agents) are adopted from Middleton. It was not the interest, therefore, of Sir William, that this piece should ever appear in print: but time that makes more important discoveries, has likewise brought his petty plagiarism to light*.

I should remark, that Sir W. D. has corrupted several words as well as proper names in the songs, &c. but it were needless to particularize his mistakes, as this entire tragi-comedy will hereafter be published for the satisfaction of the curious and intelligent readers of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

* Sir William D'Avenant might likewise have formed his play of *Albovine King of Lombardy* on some of the tragick scenes in this unpublished piece by Middleton. Yet the chief circumstances on which they are both founded, occur in the fourth volume of the *Histoires Tragiques*, &c. par Francois de Belle-forest, 1580, p. 297, and at the beginning of Machiavel's *Florentine History*.

STEEVENS.

The first passage that deserves our notice is the following, in the first scene. The speaker is Florida, a courtesan :

“ *Flo.* I find thee still so comfortable,
 “ Beshrew my hart, if I knew how to misse thee :
 “ They talk of gentlemen, *perfumers*, and such things :
 “ Give me the kindness of the Master’s man,
 “ In my distresse, say I.”

I am aware that perfumed gloves and jerkins were much in fashion, even in the time of Queen Elizabeth ; and continued to be so in the time of James the First ; but I very much doubt whether there was any established trade of this kind, so as to give a specifick and distinct denomination to the vender of perfumery, early in the reign of James, though about the middle of his reign, such perfumers may have been common enough. In 1603, Don Juan de Taxis, the Spanish Ambassador, brought in his train to London a *perfumer*⁹, which he scarcely would have done, had such a trade been established in London.

The second passage that I shall take notice of is also in the same scene :

“ *Al.* Amsterdam swallow thee for a *puritan*,
 “ And Geneva cast thee up again, like she,
 “ That sunk at Charing-cross, and rose again
 “ At Queenhith.”

After the conference at Hampton Court, in 1604, the dramatick writers much more frequently introduced strokes at the Puritans than they did before ; and particularly about 1607 and 1608, and for some years afterwards. This speech, therefore, seems rather to point to the period to which I attribute the *Witch*,

⁹ Illustrations of British Hist. iii. 176.

than to the reign of Elizabeth, or the first year of King James.

In the same scene, the same speaker says—

“ ————— I will not to the witches ;
 “ They say they have charmes and tricks to make a wench
 “ [To] lead a man herself
 “ To a country house, some mile out of the town,
 “ Like a fierdrake.”

The country house here alluded to was at Brentford ; and in the plays written in 1607, and for some years afterwards, there are frequent allusions to the practice of carrying women of the town thither. I have not observed such allusions in the plays of an earlier period.

In the second scene of the same act, Hecate speaking of Stradling says,

“ She ——
 “ Flyes over houses and takes *Anno Domini*
 “ Out of a rich mans chimney, a sweet place for't,
 “ He w^d be hangd ere he w^d set his own years there
 “ (His rotten discas'd yeares) ; they must be chamberd
 “ In a five pound picture, a green silk curtaine
 “ Drawne before the eyes of't.—(Or dost thou envy,” &c.

In the time of Elizabeth doubtless instances enough may be found of the dates of houses being placed on some part of the building : but as it is well known that a great accession of wealth was poured into England after the peace with Spain, it may be presumed that this circumstance gave rise to many new buildings in every county of England, as we

have decisive proofs it did to an immense addition to London between the King's accession and the middle of his reign. The numerous buildings that were erected in various parts of the country towards the middle of his reign, with their *anno domini* duly affixed, were then more likely to attract the poet's observation; and consequently this circumstance also leads to a later date than has been assigned to this piece. With respect to the *five pound picture* I have reason to believe that this was the ordinary price of a portrait about the year 1612 or 1613; but whether it was not also the price about the accession of James, I have no means of determining. If it was, it supplies no aid to my hypothesis. In October, 1612, Robert Peake, *picture maker*, who was afterwards knighted, received on the Council's warrant *twenty pounds* for painting *three* several pictures, at the command and for the use of the Duke of York, afterwards Charles I. We may presume that this was a liberal payment, and that five pounds was then the price paid by persons in a less elevated station than the king's son.¹ Cornelius Jansen's price at that time for a head, or, as the painters call it, a three quarters cloth, was five broad pieces. Mr. Walpole has stated that Jansen came into England about the year 1618; but this is a mistake; for I have a portrait painted by him, dated 1611, which had belonged for more than a century to a family that lived at Chelsea.

¹ MS. Stanhope in Bib. Bodl.

In the last scene of the fourth act we find these lines :

“ Run ; knock up Aberzanes suddenly ;

“ Say, I desire his company this morning

“ To yonder *horse race*.”

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the precise period when horse-races were generally and publickly established, with known and fixed prizes for the victor. It has already been observed, that probably from a very early period private horse-races, or matches for wagers, were common ; and we know from Camden, that in 1594, or before, publick annual races were established in Yorkshire, in which a small gold bell was allotted to the winning horse. But I doubt much whether this practice prevailed in any other county, or at least in any county in the neighbourhood of London, before the middle of King James's time. Markham, who in 1606 republished his treatise on horsemanship, which had appeared in 1599, has in each edition a chapter on the *running horse* ; but he speaks only of private matches ; and I cannot find any allusion in either edition to a publick or established horse-race, or to what was afterwards called a *bell course*, from the small bell which has been already mentioned as the usual prize of the victor in the infancy of this amusement. That no such publick establishment existed any where but in the North, may be inferred also (as has been already observed) from the silence of a writer in 1609. But in 1612 certainly there appears to have been publick horse-races at Croydon, in Surrey, near enough to London to attract the

notice of the writers of the day; and accordingly Dekker, in 1613, gave to one of his numerous pamphlets the title of *A Wonderful Strange Horse Race*.

Having found no notice of any publick horse-race that was likely to attract the notice of a London dramattick poet before that at Croydon in 1612, I incline therefore to think that the allusion in Middleton's play to this amusement was made about that time; being more likely to have been suggested by a well known and established practice, the theme of general conversation, than by either the private matches of individuals, or the more publick exhibitions in the remote county of York, which, however celebrated or well attended in that district, probably were wholly unknown to the greater part of the inhabitants of London. If it shall hereafter be discovered that public races were established at Croydon soon after the accession of King James to the English throne, or on Enfield Chase (both which places have been already mentioned as being early celebrated for this kind of sport), the passage which we have here considered, can have no weight in the decision of this question.

The next passage which demands our notice is one that appears to me to point to a later period than has hitherto been assigned to this play.

In Act II. Sc. I. Francisca, alluding to her being with child, says,

“ My brother sure would kill me if he knew't,
“ And powder up my friend and all his kindred
“ For an East Indian voyage.”

It is certain that some voyages of discovery had been made to the East Indies, and that some little trade was carried on from England thither, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and accordingly, Shakspeare, in or about the year 1601, makes Falstaff say, while he is exulting in the prospects of his success with the merry wives of Windsor, "I will be 'cheater to them both, and they shall be an Exchequer to me; they shall be my *East* and *West Indies*, and I will trade to them both."

It has already been mentioned that Queen Elizabeth's charter was granted to the East India Company on the last day of December, 1601. Between that time and the year 1605 there were but three adventures to the East Indies; one consisting of four ships, which sailed in 1602; in 1604 three ships were fitted out, and in 1605 three more: in 1607 two ships sailed; and in 1609, one: but all these were foreign built, and purchased abroad, by the company. At length, in 1610, having previously received from King James an enlargement of their charter, they built a large ship of 1200 tons, which was named the *Trade's Increase*, by King James, who dined on board the new-built vessel when she was named. The commander of this ship was Sir Henry Middleton, perhaps a relation of the poet; and he sailed in spring 1611; but he never returned. Now in the infant state of that trade between the years 1601 and 1605, during which period so very few ships went from England to the East Indies, it appears to me extremely unlikely that the writer of the *Witch* should have been attentive to

the circumstance of these vessels being furnished with the due store of powdered or salted provisions for their voyage; though afterwards the notorious fact of a great ship being for the first time built at home for this trade, and of its being honoured by the king's dining on board her the day she was named, would naturally attract his attention, more especially as the person who had the command of this vessel, was his namesake, if not his relation. This observation, therefore, stands nearly on the same ground with that just now made. It is not asserted that the poet could not possibly have had any experience of an East India ship being furnished with salted provisions for her voyage, between the year 1601 and 1605; but that at a more advanced period, and particularly in 1612 or 1613, after the publick notice had recently been attracted by the ceremonial which has been mentioned, such a circumstance was more likely to present itself to his mind. But there are other arguments, drawn from a re-perusal of this play, which have added to my conviction that this play was not produced till several years after our author's tragedy, probably not before 1613.

The paragraph most material for our consideration is that which Middleton himself has prefixed to his play: "The tragi-comodie called the Witch, long since acted by his Ma^{ties}. Servants at the Blackfriars."

On the words *long since*, Mr. Steevens much relied; but if we turn to the preface to the second edition of this author's comedy, called *A Mad World my Masters*, by the bookseller who published it, we shall see how short a portion of time was understood

in those days by the term *long since*; for in this preface, published in 1640, he tells us that the author was *long since* dead: now he was certainly living in 1627; and therefore supposing even that he died in that year, it appears that a period of thirteen years was considered sufficient to justify such an expression as Middleton has used concerning his tragi-comedy. If his play was performed in 1613 or 1614, and this recovered copy addressed to Mr. Holmes in 1626 or 1627, this interval, we see, would warrant such a description as he has given of this piece, which is very material in our present inquiry; for Middleton wrote the *Widow with Fletcher* and Massinger doubtless after 1613; hence, and from the vogue of Fletcher, he might catch his manner. The metre of the *Witch* strongly resembles that of Fletcher. He adds, that it was played by his Majesty's servants at the Blackfriars. There is good reason to believe that the house in Blackfriars did not become the established theatre of the king's servants till the year 1613; when the *Globe* being burnt down, they were obliged to find another playhouse.

From that period to the suppression of the theatres in 1641, this theatre was their great place of scenical representation; for though about the year 1620, or soon afterwards, the *Globe* appears to have been repaired, very few plays only were occasionally acted; and it at length became devoted to prize fighting, and other low exhibitions. On the contrary, before the fire (from 1608 to 1613), we have not a single play extant which is said to have been performed by the king's servants at Blackfriars. In the patent in

1603, and the paper signed by Mr. Tylney in 1604, no mention is made of this theatre : and King Lear is expressly mentioned as being acted by the King's Company at the Globe, their *usual* theatre. Possibly it may be said that this very word imports that sometimes they exhibited elsewhere even during the period I have mentioned. Perhaps they might, but I believe very rarely : and if ever in this period they acted at the Blackfriars, they must have hired the house for the night ; for during this while this house appears to have been possessed by the Children of the Revels and the Children of the Chapel ; for in this period we find no less than twenty-five new plays represented there by these children ; so that during this period it appears to have been the established theatre of the Children of the Revels and of the King's Chapel, and not of his Majesty's own servants.

Some obscurity has been thrown on this subject by the title pages of different editions of our old plays. Thus, for example, Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and No King*, which was one of their early plays, was originally represented at the Globe, and is so described in the first edition in 1619. But in a subsequent edition at a later period, the editor in 1625, knowing how often it had been acted at Blackfriars, (where probably it was revived in 1619, when the play was first published), substitutes these words : " Acted at the B. F. by his Maj. Servants ; " and the Dramatic Dictionaries tell us, in consequence, that this play was acted at these two theatres, and so undoubtedly it was, but not at the same period. This

observation I shall presently apply to some of Middleton's plays.

Middleton has left us eighteen plays of his own composition. He appears to have begun to write for the stage soon after the year 1600; and between that year and 1608, he produced seven plays, *Blurt Master Constable*, *The Phoenix*, *Michaelmas Term*, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, *A Mad World my Masters*, *The Family of Love*, and *Your Five Gallants*.—Now every one of these, his early plays, were performed by children; the first four by the Children of Pauls, at their own usual place of exhibition; the other two by the Children of the Revels at Blackfriars; where, as I have already mentioned, they usually performed from the accession of King James to the year 1613. After that year, two of those plays, *A Mad World my Masters*, and *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, were revived by the King's Servants at Blackfriars; and in consequence, in the editions of these plays, the one in 1616, the other in 1640, they are truly said to have been performed at Blackfriars, and no other theatre is mentioned, that being then the favourite and fashionable house; and the others quite passed away and forgotten. The same things as I have mentioned above, happened with respect to King and No King and several other plays.

To pursue Middleton further, on examining the title-pages and history of his other plays produced after 1608 (though we have less concern with them, because if the *Witch* preceded *Macbeth*, it must have been produced before 1606), we shall find that he

had very little connection with the Blackfriars Company. His Chaste Maid of Cheapside was performed at the Swan in Southwark, by Prince Charles's Servants between 1613 and 1620; his Roaring Girl (written in conjunction with Dekker), at the Fortune, by Alleyn's Company in or before 1611; his Changing, at Salisbury Court, in or before 1623; his Fair Quarrel, in or before 1622, at the Fortune; his Spanish Gipsy, between 1617 and 1623, at the Phoenix, in Drury Lane. I have now accounted for thirteen of his plays out of eighteen, none of which were produced originally by the King's Servants. Of the other five, the Mayor of Queenborough should seem to have been originally acted in 1602, by Alleyn's Company. The Game at Chess was acted at the Globe by the King's Servants in 1625; and the other four, Any Thing for a Quiet Life, No Wit Like a Woman's, More Dissemblers beside Women, and Women beware Women, being published long after his death, it is reasonable to suppose were acted at a late period, I mean between 1613 and 1625, rather at some other theatre than the Blackfriars; though, if it should turn out that they were every one performed there, it would not at all affect the present argument².

From all these premises, I think it reasonable to conclude, as Middleton's early plays were performed by the Children of the Chapel or the Children of Pauls,

² N. Field's Amends for Ladies is said to have been acted by the Prince's servants, and Lady Elizabeth at Blackfriars. It appears before 1682. (See Preface to two other plays.) So it appears that these companies hired that house. Thus this shows it could not be *then* in possession of the King's Servants.

and, as we are told by the author himself, that his piece was performed by the King's Servants at the Blackfriars, that play must have been produced after 1613, when they first became possessed of that theatre; and if so, it can have no claim to contest precedence with *Macbeth*, which unquestionably was acted in 1606.

Other pieces of equal curiosity with this play, may, perhaps, be hereafter discovered; for the names of several ancient plays are preserved, which are not known to have been ever printed. Thus we hear of *Valentine and Orson*, plaied by her Majesties players,—*The tragedy of Ninus and Semiramis*,—*Titirus and Galathea*,—*Godfrey of Bulloigne*,—*The Cradle of Securitie*,—*Hit the Naile o' the Head*,—*Sir Thomas More*, (Harl. MS. 7,368,)—*The Isle of Dogs*, by *Thomas Nashe*,—*The comedy of Fidele and Fortunatus*,—*The famous tragedy of The Destruction of Jerusalem*, by *Dr. Legge*,—*The Freeman's Honour*, by *William Smith*,—*Mahomet and Irene*, the *Faire Greek*,—*The Play of the Cards*,—*Cardenio*,—*The Knaves*,—*The Knot of Fools*,—*Raymond Duke of Lyons*,—*The Nobleman*, by *Cyrl Tournour*,—[the last five, acted in the year 1613,] *The Honoured Loves*,—*The Parliament of Love*,—and *Non-such*, a comedy; all by *William Rowley*:—*The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, by the author of *The Return from Parnassus*:—*Believe as you List*, by *Massinger*:—*The Pirate*, by *Davenport*:—*Rosania or Love's Victory*, a comedy by *Shirley* (some of whose plays were extant in MS. in *Langbaine's* time):—*The Twins*, a tragedy, acted in 1613:—*Tancredo*,

a tragedy, by Sir Henry Wotton :—Demetrius and Marsina, or the imperial Impostor and unhappy Heroine, a tragedy,—The Tyrant, a tragedy,—The Queen of Corsica,—The Bugbears,—The Second Maid's Tragedy,—Timon, a comedy :—Catiline's Conspiracy, a tragedy,—and Captain Mario, a comedy, both by Stephen Gosson :—The True Historie of George Scanderbeg, as played by the right hon. the Earl of Oxenforde's servants,—Jane Shore,—The Bold Beauchamps,—The Second Part of Sir John Oldcastle,—The General,—The Toy,—The Tell-Tale³, a comedy,—The Woman's Plot,—The Woman's too hard for Him, [both acted at court in 1621,]—The Love-sick Maid, [acted at court in 1629,]—Fulgius and Lucrelle,—The Fool Transformed, a comedy,—The History of Lewis the Eleventh, King of France, a tragi-comedy,—The Chaste Woman against her Will, a comedy,—The Tooth-Drawer, a comedy,—Honour in the End, a comedy,—The History of Don Quixote, or the Knight of the ill-favoured Countenance, a comedy,—The Fair Spanish Captive, a tragi-comedy,—The Tragedy of Heildebrand,—Love yields to Honour,—The Noble Friend, &c. &c. Soon after the Restoration, one Kirkman, a bookseller, printed many dramatick pieces that had remained unpublished for more than sixty years : and in an advertisement

³ The persons represented in this play (which is in my possession) are—Duke ; Fidelio, Aspero ; Hortensio ; Borgias ; Piccentio ; Count Gismond ; Fernese ; Bentivoglio ; Cosmo ; Julio ; Captain ; Lieutenant ; Ancient ; two Doctors ; an Ambassador ; Victoria ; Eleanor ; Isabel ; Lesbia.—Scene, Florence.

subjoined to "A true, perfect, and exact catalogue of all the comedies, tragedies, &c. that were ever yet printed and published, till this present year, 1671," he says, that although there were, at that time, but eight hundred and six plays in print, yet many more had been written and acted, and that "he himself had *some quantity in manuscript*."—The resemblance between Macbeth and this newly discovered piece by Middleton, naturally suggests a wish, that if any of the unpublished plays, above enumerated, be yet in being, (beside The Second Maid's Tragedy, The Tell-Tale, Timon, and Sir Thomas More, which are well known to be extant), their possessors would condescend to examine them with attention; as hence, perhaps, new lights might be thrown on others of our author's plays.

It has been already suggested, that it is probable our author, about the time of his composing Cymbeline and Macbeth, devoted some part of his leisure to the reading of the lives of Cæsar and Antony in North's translation of Plutarch. In the play before us there are two passages which countenance that conjecture. "Under him," says Macbeth,

"My genius is rebuk'd, as, it is said,
"Mark Antony's was by Cæsar."

The allusion here is to a passage in the Life of Antony; where Shakspeare also found an account of "the insane root that takes the reason prisoner," which he has introduced in Macbeth.

A passage in the 8th book of Daniel's Civil Wars seems to have been formed on one in this tragedy⁴.

⁴ See vol. xi. p. 68, n. 9.

The seventh and eighth books of Daniel's poem were first printed in 1609.

27. *Twelfth Night*, 1607.

It has been generally believed, that Shakspeare retired from the theatre, and ceased to write, about three years before he died. Mr. Tyrwhitt was disposed to call in question the latter supposition, and conjectured that *Twelfth-Night* was written in 1614 : grounding his opinion on an allusion⁵, which he thought it contained, to those parliamentary *undertakers* of whom frequent mention is made in the Journals of the House of Commons for that year⁶; who were stigmatized with the invidious name, on account of their having *undertaken* to manage the elections of knights and burgesses in such a manner as to secure a majority in parliament for the court. If this allusion was intended, *Twelfth-Night* must have been our author's last production; and, we may presume, was written after he had retired to Stratford. It is observable that Mr. Ashley, a member of the House of Commons, in one of the debates on this subject, says, "that the rumour concerning these *undertakers* had spread into the country."

I formerly acquiesced in this opinion, and attributed *Twelfth-Night* to the year 1614; but I am now inclined to believe that it was produced at an earlier period, probably in 1607, and that the word *under-*

⁵ "Nay, if you be an *undertaker*, I am for you." See *Twelfth-Night*, Act IV. Sc. III. and the note there.

⁶ Comm. Journ. vol. i. p. 456, 457, 470.

taker was used in a more general sense, without the particular allusion which Mr. Tyrwhitt thought was intended. [I should not ascribe this admirable comedy to an earlier date; for it bears evident marks of having been a late production, as most of the characters that it contains are finished to a higher degree of dramattick perfection, than is discoverable in some of our author's earlier comick performances⁷.

In the third Act of this comedy, Decker's Westward Hoe seems to be alluded to. Westward Hoe was printed in 1607, and from the prologue to Eastward Hoe appears to have been acted in 1604, or before.

Maria, in Twelfth-Night, speaking of Malvolio, says, "he does smile his face into more lines than the *new* map with the augmentation of the Indies." I have not been able to learn the date of the map here alluded to; but, as it is spoken of as a *recent* publication, it may, when discovered, serve to ascertain the date of this play more exactly.

The comedy of What You Will (the second title of the play now before us), which was entered at Stationers' Hall, Aug. 9, 1607, was certainly Marston's play, as it was *printed* in that year for T. Thorpe, by whom the above mentioned entry was made; and it appears to have been the *general* practice of the booksellers at that time, *recently before publication*, to enter those plays of which they had procured copies.

Twelfth-Night was not registered on the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623.

⁷ The comedies particularly alluded to, are, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Comedy of Errors, Love's Labour's Lost and The Two Gentlemen of Verona.

It has been thought, that Ben Jonson intended to ridicule the conduct of this play, in his *Every Man out of his Humour*, at the end of Act III. Sc. VI. where he makes Mitis say,—“ That the argument of his comedy might have been of some other nature, as of a duke to be in love with a countess, and that countess to be in love with the duke’s son, and the son in love with the lady’s waiting-maid : *some such cross wooing, with a clown to their serving-man*, better than be thus near and familiarly allied to the time ⁸.” .

I do not, however, believe, that Jonson had here *Twelfth-Night* in contemplation. If an allusion to this comedy were intended, it would ascertain it to have been written before 1599, when *Every Man out of his Humour* was first acted. But Meres does not mention *Twelfth-Night* in 1598, nor is there any reason to believe that it then existed.

“ Mrs. Mall’s picture,” which is mentioned in this play, probably means the picture of Moll Cutpurse, who was born in 1585.

In a pleasant conceited comedie *How to Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*, 1602, this passage occurs :

“ *Ful.* Wheres youi husband ?

“ *Mrs. Ar.* Not within.

“ *Anselm.* Who ? M. Arthur ? him I saw even now
At Mistress Maries, the brave curtezans.”

Though this is a description, not of Moll Cut-purse, but of a courtesan, afterwards introduced in the play, yet doubtless the name of *Mrs. Mary* was here adopted from the celebrity of her namesake.

⁸ See the first note on *Twelfth-Night*, Act I. Sc. I.

The Sophy of Persia is twice mentioned in Twelfth Night. 1. "I will not give my part of this sport for a pension of thousands to be paid by *the Sophy*." 2. "He pays you as sure as your feet hit the ground you step on. They say he has been fencer to *the Sophy*."

When Shakspeare wrote the first of these passages, he was perhaps thinking of Sir Robert Shirley, "who," says Stowe's Continuator, "after having served the Sophy of Persia for ten years as general of artillerie, and married the Lady Teresa, whose sister was one of the queens of Persia, arrived in England as ambassador from the Sophy in 1612. After staying one year he and his wife returned to Persia (Jan. 1612-13), leaving a son, to whom the queen was godmother, and Prince Henry godfather."

Camden's account agrees with this, for according to him Sir Robert Shirley came to England on his embassy, June 26, 1612: but both the accounts are erroneous; for Sir Robert Shirley certainly arrived in London as ambassador from the Sophy in 1611, as appears from a letter written by him to Henry Prince of Wales, dated Nov. 4, 1611, requesting the prince to be god-father to his son¹. Sir Robert, and his Persian lady, at this time made much noise; and Shakspeare, as I formerly thought, here alluded to the magnificence which he displayed during his stay in England, out of the funds allotted to him by the emperor of Persia. He remained in England about eighteen months. But nothing is proved by these circumstances; for the history of Shirley was well

¹ MSS. Harl. 7008.

known in England in 1607, and a play expressly written on the subject, called 'The Travells of 'Three English Brothers, appeared in that year.

27. *Julius Cæsar*, 1607.

A tragedy on the subject, and with the title, of *Julius Cæsar*, written by Mr. William Alexander, who was afterwards Earl of Sterline, was printed in the year 1607. This, I imagine, was prior to our author's performance, which was not entered at Stationers' Hall, nor printed, till 1623. Shakspeare, we know, formed at least twelve plays on fables that had been unsuccessfully managed by other poets²; but no contemporary writer was daring enough to enter the lists with him, in his life-time, or to model into a drama a subject which had already employed his pen: and it is not likely that Lord Sterline, who was then a very young man, and had scarcely unlearned the Scottish idiom, should have been more hardy than any other poet of that age.

I am aware, it may be objected, that this writer might have formed a drama on this story, not knowing that Shakspeare had previously composed the tragedy of *Julius Cæsar*; and that, therefore, the publication of Mr. Alexander's play in 1607, is no proof that our author's performance did not then exist.—In answer to this objection, it may, perhaps, be sufficient to observe, that Mr. Alexander had, before that year, very wisely left the bleak fields of

² See a note on *Julius Cæsar*, Act I. Sc. I. in which they are enumerated.

Menstrie in Clackmananshire, for a warmer and more courtly residence in London, having been appointed gentleman of the privy chamber to Prince Henry: in which situation his literary curiosity must have been gratified by the earliest notice of the productions of his brother dramatists.

Lord Sterline's Julius Cæsar, though not printed till 1607, might have been written a year or two before; and perhaps its publication in that year was in consequence of our author's play on the same subject being then first exhibited. The same observation may be made with respect to an anonymous performance, called *The Tragedy of Cæsar and Pompey, or Cæsar's Revenge*³, of which an edition (I believe the second) was likewise printed in 1607. The subject of that piece is the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, the death of Julius, and the final overthrow of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. The attention of the town being, perhaps, drawn to the history of the *hook-nosed fellow of Rome*, by the exhibition of Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, the booksellers, who printed these two plays, might have flattered themselves with the hope of an expeditious sale for them at that time, especially, as Shakspeare's play was not then published.

It does not appear that Lord Sterline's Julius Cæsar was ever acted: neither it nor his other plays

³ There is an edition without date, which probably was the first. This play, as appears by the title-page, was privately acted by the students of Trinity College in Oxford. In the running title it is called *The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar*; perhaps the better to impose it on the publick for the performance of Shakspeare.

being at all calculated for dramatick exhibition. On the other hand, Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar was a very popular piece ; as we learn from Digges, a contemporary writer, who, in his commendatory verses prefixed to our author's works, has alluded to it as one of his most celebrated performances ⁴.

We have certain proof that Antony and Cleopatra was composed before the middle of the year 1608. An attentive review of that play and Julius Cæsar, will, I think, lead us to conclude that this latter was first written ⁵. Not to insist on the chronology

- ⁴ “ Nor fire nor cank’ring age, as Naso said
 “ Of his, thy wit-fraught book shall once invade :
 “ Nor shall I e’er believe or think thee dead,
 “ (Though miss’d) untill our bankrout stage be sped
 “ (Impossible !) with some new strain t’outdo,
 “ Passions of Juliet and her Romeo ;
 “ Or till I hear a scene *more nobly take*
 “ *Than when thy half-sword parlying Romans spake.*”

*Verses by L. Digges, prefixed to the first edition
 of our author’s plays, in 1623.*

⁵ The following passages in Antony and Cleopatra, (and others of the same kind may perhaps be found,) seem to me to discover such a knowledge of the appropriated characters of the persons exhibited in Julius Cæsar, and of the events there dilated and enlarged upon, as Shakspeare would necessarily have acquired from having previously written a play on that subject :

- “ *Pompey.*—I do not know
 “ Wherefore my father should revengers want,
 “ Having a son and friends, since *Julius Cæsar*,
 “ *Who at Philippi the good Brutus ghosted*,
 “ There saw you labouring for him. What was’t,
 “ That mov’d *pale* Cassius to conspire ? And what
 “ Made thee, *all-honour’d, honest, Roman Brutus*,
 “ With the arm’d rest, courtiers o’ beauteous freedom,

of the story, which would naturally suggest this subject to our author before the other, in *Julius Cæsar* Shakspeare does not seem to have been thoroughly possessed of Antony's character. He has indeed marked one or two of the striking features of it, but Antony is not fully delineated till he appears in that play which takes its name from him and *Cleopatra*. The rough sketch would naturally precede the finished picture.

Shakspeare's making the *Capitol* the scene of Cæsar's murder, contrary to the truth of history, is easily accounted for, in *Hamlet*, where it afforded an opportunity for introducing a quibble; but it is not easy to conjecture why in *Julius Cæsar* he should have departed from Plutarch, where it is expressly said that Julius was killed in *Pompey's portico*, whose statue was placed in the centre. I suspect he was led into this deviation from history by some former play on the subject, the frequent repetition of which before his own play was written, probably induced him to insert these lines in his tragedy:

“ To drench the capitol, but that they would

“ Have one man but a man ?”

So, in another place :

“ When Antony found Julius Cæsar dead,

“ He cry'd almost to roaring ; and he wept,

“ When at Philippi he found Brutus slain.”

Again :

“ *Ant.* He at Philippi kept

“ His sword ev'n like a dancer, while I struck

“ The *lean* and *wrinkled* Cassius ; and 'twas I

“ That the *mad* Brutus ended.”

" — How many ages hence

" Shall this our lofty scene be *acted* o'er,

" In states unborn, and accents yet unknown !

" How many times," &c.

" The accents yet unknown " could not allude to Dr. Ecdes's *Latin* play exhibited in 1582, and therefore may be fairly urged as a presumptive proof that there had been some English play on this subject previous to that of Shakspeare. Hence I suppose it was, that in his earlier performance he makes Polonius say that in his youth he had *enacted* the part of the Roman Dictator, and had been killed by Brutus in Cthe apitol; a scenick exhibition which was then probably familiar to the greater part of the audience.

From a passage in the comedy of Every Woman in her Humour, which was printed in 1609, we learn, that there was an ancient droll or puppet-shew on the subject of Julius Cæsar. " I have seen (says one of the personages in that comedy), the City of Nineveh and Julius Cæsar acted by mammets." I formerly supposed that this droll was formed on the play before us: but have lately observed that it is mentioned with other " motions," (Jonas, Ninevie, and the Destruction of Jerusalem), in Marston's Dutch Courtesan, printed in 1605, and was probably of a much older date.

In the prologue to The False One, by Beaumont and Fletcher, this play is alluded to⁶; but in what year that tragedy was written, is unknown.

⁶ " New titles warrant not a play for new,

" The subject being old; and 'tis as true,

If the date of *The Maid's Tragedy* by the same authors, were ascertained, it might throw some light on the present inquiry; the quarrelling scene between Melantius and his friend, being manifestly copied from a similar scene in *Julius Cæsar*. It has also been observed that *Philaster* was the first play which brought Beaumont and Fletcher into reputation, that it probably was represented in 1608 or 1609. We may therefore presume that the *Maid's Tragedy* did not appear before that year; for we cannot suppose it to have been one of the unsuccessful plays which preceded *Philaster*. That the *Maid's Tragedy* was written before 1611, is ascertained by a MS. now extant, entitled *The Second Maid's Tragedy*, which was licensed by Sir George Buck, on the 10th of October, 1611. I believe it never was printed.

If, therefore, we fix the date of the original *Maid's Tragedy* in 1610, it agrees sufficiently well with the date here assigned to *Julius Cæsar*.

It appears by the papers of the late Mr. G.

" Fresh and neat matter may with ease be fram'd

" Out of their stories that have oft been nam'd

" With glory on the stage. What borrows he

" From him that wrought old Priam's tragedy,

" That writes his love for Hecuba? Sure to tell

" Of Cæsar's amorous heats, and how he fell

" In the Capitol, can never be the same

" To the judicious." *Prologue to The False One.*

* This tragedy (as I learn from a MS. of Mr. Oldys) was formerly in the possession of John Warburton, Esq. Somerset, and since in the library of the Marquis of Lansdown. It had no author's name to it, when it was licensed, but was afterwards ascribed to George Chapman, whose name is on another hand, and that of *Shakspeare* inserted.

Vertue, that a play called Cæsar's Tragedy was acted at court before the 10th of April, in the year 1613. This was probably Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, it being much the fashion at that time to alter the titles of his plays.

29. *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1608.

Antony and Cleopatra was entered on the Stationers' books, May 2, 1608; but was not printed till 1623.

In Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, Act IV. Sc. IV. 1609, this play seems to be alluded to :

“ *Morose*. Nay, I would sit out a play that were nothing but *fights at sea*, drum, trumpet, and target.”

30. *Cymbeline*, 1609.

Cymbeline was not entered in the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623. It stands the last play in the earliest folio edition; but nothing can be collected from thence, for the folio editors manifestly paid no attention to chronological arrangement. Nor was this negligence peculiar to them: for in the folio collection of D'Avenant's works printed after his death, *Albovine King of the Lombards*, one of his earliest plays, which had been published in quarto, in 1629, is placed at the end of the volume.

I have found in *Cymbeline* little internal evidence by which its date may be ascertained. Such evidence, however, as it furnishes, induces me to ascribe it to 1609, after Shakspeare had composed *King Lear*, and *Macbeth*. The character of Edgar in *King Lear* is undoubtedly formed on that of Leonatus, the legitimate son of the blind King of Paphlagonia,

in Sydney's *Arcadia*. Shakspeare having occasion to turn to that book while he was writing *King Lear*, the name of Leonatus adhered to his memory, and he has made it the name of one of the characters in *Cymbeline*. The story of Lear lies near to that of *Cymbeline* in Holinshed's *Chronicle*; and some account of Duncan and Macbeth is given incidentally in a subsequent page, not very distant from that part of the volume which is allotted to the history of those British kings. In Holinshed's *Scottish Chronicle* we find a story of one Hay, a husbandman, who, with his two sons, placed himself athwart a lane, and by this means stayed his flying countrymen; which turned the battle against the Danes. This circumstance (which our poet has availed himself of in the fifth Act of the play before us), connected with what has been already mentioned relative to Sydney's *Arcadia*, renders it probable that the three plays of *King Lear*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*, were written about the same period of time, and in the order in which I have placed them. The history of King Duff, Duncan, and Macbeth, which Shakspeare appears to have diligently read, extends from p. 150 of Holinshed's *Scottish Chronicle*, to p. 176; and the story of Hay occurs in p. 154 of the same *Chronicle*.

Mr. Steevens has observed, that there is a passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, which bears a strong resemblance to a speech of Iachimo in *Cymbeline*:

"I hear the tread of people: I am hurt;

"*The gods take part against me; could this boor*

"*Have held me thus, else?*" *Philaster*, Act IV. Sc. I.

“ — I have bely'd a lady,
 “ The princess of this country ; *and the air of't*
 “ *Revengingly enfeebles me ; or could this carle,*
 “ *A very drudge of nature's, have subdued me*
 “ *In my profession ?*” *Cymbeline*, Act IV. Sc. H.

Philaster had appeared on the stage before 1611, being mentioned by John Davies of Hereford, in his Epigrams, which have no date, but were published according to Oldys in or about that year⁷. Dryden mentions a tradition (which he might have received from Sir William D'Avenant), that Philaster was the first play by which Beaumont and Fletcher acquired reputation, and that they had written two or three less successful pieces, before Philaster appeared. From a prologue of D'Avenant's their first production should seem to have been exhibited about the year 1605. Philaster, therefore, it may be presumed, was represented in 1608 or 1609.

One edition of the tract called *Westward for Smelts*, from which part of the fable of *Cymbeline* is borrowed, was published in 1603.

In this play mention is made of Cæsar's immeasurable ambition, and Cleopatra's sailing on the Cydnus to meet Antony: from which, and other circumstances, I think it probable that about this time Shakspeare perused the lives of Cæsar, Brutus, and Mark Antony.

The versification of this play bears, I think, a much greater resemblance to that of the *Winter's Tale* and the *Tempest*, than to any of our author's earlier plays.

⁷ Additions to Langbaine's Account of Dramatick Poets, MS.

31. *Coriolanus*, 1610.32. *Timon of Athens*, 1610.

These two plays were neither entered in the books of the Stationers' Company, nor printed, till 1623. Shakspeare, in the course of somewhat more than twenty years, having produced thirty-four or thirty-five dramas, we may presume that he was not idle any one year of that time. Most of his *other* plays have been attributed, on plausible grounds at least, to *former years*. As we have no proof to ascertain when the two plays under our consideration were written, it seems reasonable to ascribe them to that period. to which we are not led by any particular circumstance to attribute any other of his works; at which, it is supposed, he had not ceased to write; which yet, unless these pieces were then composed, must, for aught that now appears, have been unemployed. When once he had availed himself of North's Plutarch, and had thrown any one of the lives into a dramatick form, he probably found it so easy as to induce him to proceed, till he had exhausted all the subjects which he imagined that book would afford. Hence the four plays of Julius Cæsar, Antony and Cleopatra, Timon, and Coriolanus, are supposed to have been written in succession. At the time he was writing Cymbeline and Macbeth there is reason to believe he began to study Plutarch with a particular view to the use he might make of it on the stage^s. The Lives of Cæsar and Antony are nearly connected with each other, and furnished

^s See p. 434, and p. 447.

him with the fables of two plays: and in the latter of these lives he found the subject of a third, *Timon of Athens*.

There is a MS. comedy now extant, on the subject of *Timon*, which, from the hand-writing and the style, appears to be of the age of Shakspeare. In this piece a steward is introduced, under the name of *Laches*, who, like *Flavius* in that of our author, endeavours to restrain his master's profusion, and faithfully attends him when he is forsaken by all his other followers.—Here too a mock-banquet is given by *Timon* to his false friends; but, instead of warm water, stones painted like artichokes are served up, which he throws at his guests. From a line in Shakspeare's play, one might be tempted to think that something of this sort was introduced by him; though, through the omission of a marginal direction in the only ancient copy of this piece, it has not been customary to exhibit it:

"2d Senator. Lord *Timon's* mad.

"3d Sen. I feel it on my bones.

"4th Sen. One day he gives us diamonds, next day stones."

This comedy (which is evidently the production of a scholar, many lines of Greek being introduced into it,) appears to have been written after Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), to which it contains a reference; but I have not discovered the precise time when it was composed. If it were ascertained, it might be some guide to us in fixing the date of our author's *Timon of Athens*.

which, on the grounds that have been already stated, I suppose to have been posterior to this anonymous play.

The great plagues of 1593 and 1603 must have made such an impression upon Shakspeare, that no inference can be safely drawn from that dreadful malady, being more than once alluded to in *Timon of Athens*. However it is *possible* that the following passages were suggested by the more immediate recollection of the plague which raged in 1609.

“ I thank them,” says *Timon*, “ and would send them back the plague, could I but catch it for them.”

Again :

“ Be as a planetary *plague*, when Jove

“ Will o’er some *high-vic’d city* hang his poison

“ I’ the sick air.”



Cominius, in the panegyrick which he pronounces on *Coriolanus*, says,

“ — In the brunt of seventeen battles since

“ He *lurch’d* all swords of the *garland*.”

In Ben Jonson’s *Silent Woman*, Act V. Sc. last, we find (as Mr. Steevens has observed) the same phraseology : “ You have *lurch’d* your friends of the better half of the *garland*.”

I formerly thought this a sneer at Shakspeare ; but have lately met with nearly the same phrase in a pamphlet written by Thomas Nashe, and suppose it to have been a common phrase of that time.

This play is ascertained to have been written after the publication of Camden's Remaines, in 1605, by a speech of Menenius in the first Act, in which he endeavours to convince the seditious populace of their unreasonableness by the well-known apologue of the members of the body rebelling against the belly. This tale Shakspeare certainly found in the Life of Coriolanus as translated by North, and in general he has followed it as it is there given: but the same tale is also told of Adrian the Fourth by Camden in his Remaines, p. 199, under the head of Wise Speeches, with more particularity; and one or two of the expressions, as well as the enumeration of the functions performed by each of the members of the body, appear to have been taken from that book.

“On a time,” says Menenius in Plutarch, “all the members of a man’s body dyd rebel against the bellic, complaining of it that it only remained in the midst of the bodie without doing any thing, neither dyd bear any labour to the maintenaunce of the rest; whereas all other partes and members dyd labour paynefully, and was veri careful to satisfy the appetites and desiers of the bodie. And so the bellic, all this notwithstanding, laughed at their follie, and sayde it is true, I first receyve all meates that norishe mans bodie; but afterwardes I send it againe to the norishment of other partes of the same. Even so (q^d he) o you, my masters and citizens of Rome,” &c.

In Camden the tale runs thus: “All the members of the body conspired against the stomach, as against the swallowing gulfe of all their labours; for whereas the cics beheld, the cares heard, the handes laboured,

the feete travelled, the tongue spake, and all partes performed their functions; onely the stomache lay ydle and consumed all. Hereuppon they joyntly agreed al to forbear their labours, and to pine away their lazie and publike enemy. One day passed over, the second followed very tedious, but the third day was so grievous to them all, that they called a common counsel. The eyes waxed dimme, the feete could not support the body; the armes waxed lazie, the tongue faltered, and could not lay open the matter. Therefore they all with one accord desired the *advice of the heart*. There *Reason* layd open before them," &c.

So, Shakspeare :

" There was a time when all the body's members
 " Rebell'd against the belly; thus accus'd it :—
 " That only *like a gulph* it did remain
 " In the midst of the body, idle and unactive,
 " Still cupboarding the viand, never bearing
 " Like labour with the rest; where the other instruments
 " Did *see* and *hear*, *devise*, *instruct*, *walk*, *feel*,
 " And mutually participate did minister
 " Unto the appetite and affection common
 " Of the whole body. The belly answered—
 " True it is, my incorporate friends, quoth he,
 " That I receive the general food at first :—
 " ————— But, if you do remember,
 " I send it through the rivers of the blood,
 " Even to the court, *the heart*, *to the seat o' the brain*."

The heart is called by one of the citizens, " the *counsellor-heart*;" and in making the *counsellor-heart* the seat of the brain or understanding, where *Reason* sits enthroned, Shakspeare has certainly followed Camden.

The late date which I have assigned to Coriolanus derives likewise some support from Volumnia's exhortation to her son, whom she advises to address the Roman people—

“ — now humble as the *ripest mulberry*,

“ Which cannot bear the handling.”

In a preceding page I have observed that mulberries were not much known in England before the year 1609. Some *few* mulberry-trees however had been brought from France and planted before that period, and Shakspeare, we find, had seen some of the fruit in a state of maturity before he wrote Coriolanus¹.

33. *The Winter's Tale*, 1611.

In the first edition of this essay, I supposed *The Winter's Tale* to have been an early production of our author, and written in 1594, an error into which I was led by an entry in the Stationers' registers dated May 22, in that year, of a piece entitled *A Winter-Night's Pastime*, which I imagined might have been this play under another name, the titles of our author's plays having been sometimes changed².

¹ I have some doubts concerning the concluding remark on the date of this play. The tree which is fit for breeding silk-worms, is the *white* mulberry, of which great numbers were imported into England in the year 1609: but *perhaps* we had the other species, which produces the best fruit, before that time. If that was the case, my hypothesis concerning the time when our poet planted the celebrated mulberry tree, may be controverted. *Valeat quantum valere possit.*

² Thus, *Hamlet* was sometimes called *Hamlet's Revenge*,

The opinion, however, which I gave on this subject, was by no means a decided one. I then mentioned that "Mr. Walpole thought, that this play was intended by Shakspeare as an indirect apology for Anne Bullen, in which light it might be considered as a Second Part to King Henry VIII.; and that my respect for that very judicious and ingenious writer, the silence of Meres, in whose catalogue of our author's dramas published in 1598 the play before us is not found, and the circumstance of there not being a single rhyming couplet throughout this piece, except in the chorus, made me doubt whether it ought not rather to be ascribed to the year 1601 or 1602, than that in which I then placed it."

The doubts which I then entertained, a more attentive examination of this play has confirmed; and I am now persuaded that it was not near so early a composition as the entry above mentioned led me to suppose.

Mr. Walpole has observed³, that "The Winter's Tale may be ranked among the historick plays of Shakspeare, though not one of his numerous criticks and commentators have discovered the drift of it. It was certainly intended (in compliment to Queen Elizabeth) as an indirect apology for her mother, Anne Boleyn. The address of the poet appears nowhere to more advantage. The subject was too delicate to be exhibited on the stage without a veil; and it was too recent, and touched the queen too nearly,

sometimes The History of Hamlet; the Merchant of Venice was sometimes called The Jew of Venice, &c.

³ Historick Doubts.

for the bard to have ventured so near an allusion on any other ground than compliment. The unreasonable jealousy of Leontes, and his violent conduct in consequence, form a true portrait of Henry the Eighth, who generally made the law the engine of his boisterous passions. Not only the general plan of the story is most applicable, but several passages are so marked, that they touch the real history nearer than the fable. Hermione on her trial says,

‘ ————— for honour,
 ‘ ’Tis a derivative from me to mine,
 ‘ And only that I stand for.’

“ This seems to be taken from the very letter of Anne Boleyn to the king before her execution, when she pleads for the infant princess, his daughter. Mamillius, a young prince, an unnecessary character, dies in his infancy; but it confirms the allusion, as Queen Anne, before Elizabeth, had a still-born son. But the most striking passage, and which had nothing to do in the tragedy, but as it pictured Elizabeth, is, where Paulina, describing the new-born princess, and her likeness to her father, says, ‘ she has the very trick of his frown.’ There is another sentence indeed so applicable, both to Elizabeth and her father, that I should suspect the poet inserted it after her death. Paulina, speaking of the child, tells the king:

‘ ————— ’Tis yours;
 ‘ And, might we lay the old proverb to your charge,
 ‘ So like you, ’tis the worse ‘.’ ”

This conjecture must, I think, be acknowledged

‘ See this hypothesis of Mr. Walpole controverted in the Preliminary Remarks to *The Winter’s Tale*, vol. xiv. BOSWELL.

to be extremely plausible. With respect, however, to the death of the young prince Mamillius, which is supposed to allude to Queen Anne's having had a still-born son, it is but fair to observe, that this circumstance was not an invention of our poet, being founded on a similar incident in Greene's *Dorastus and Fawnia*, in which Garinter, the Mamillius of the *Winter's Tale*, likewise dies in his infancy.

Sir William Blackstone has pointed out a passage in the first Act of this play, which had escaped my observation, and which, as he justly observes, furnishes a proof that it was not written till after the death of Queen Elizabeth :

“ ——— If I could find example
 “ Of thousands, that had struck anointed kings,
 “ And flourish'd after, I'd not do it ; but since
 “ Nor brass, nor stone, nor parchment, bears not one,
 “ Let villainy itself forswear it.”

These lines could never have been intended for the ear of her who had deprived the Queen of Scots of her life. To the son of Mary they could not but have been agreeable.

Upon these grounds I attributed the appearance of *The Winter's Tale* to the year 1604, in my former edition of *Shakspeare*, in 1790. But having, before that work had passed through the press, obtained a perusal of the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, from which large extracts are given in the third volume ; I was satisfied, from an entry in that register, that this play was of a still later date, and stated my change of opinion among the additions and emendations in the second volume. The entry to which I allude is as follows, see vol. iii. p. 229 : “ For the kings players.

An olde playe called Winters Tale, formerly allowed of by Sir George Bucke and likewyse by mee on Mr. Hemminges his worde that there was nothing prophane added or reformed, thogh the allowed booke was missing : and therefore I returned it without a fee, this 19th of August, 1623." Though Sir George Buck obtained a reversionary grant of the office of Master of the Revels, in 1603, which title Camden has given him in the edition of his *Britannia*, printed in 1607, it appears, from various documents in the Pell's-office, that he did not get complete possession of his place till August, 1610. I, therefore, suppose The Winter's Tale to have been originally licensed by him in the latter part of that year or the beginning of the next. The allowed manuscript was probably destroyed by the fire which consumed the Globe theatre, June 30, 1613.

There is, says one of the characters in this piece, "but one *Puritan* among them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes." The precise manners of the puritans were during King James's reign much ridiculed by protestants; and the principal matters in dispute between them (whether the surplice should be used in the celebration of divine service, the cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage), were gravely discussed at Hampton Court before the king, who acted as moderator, in the beginning of the year 1604. The points discussed on that occasion were, without doubt, very popular topicks at that time; and every stroke at the puritans, for whom King James had a hearty detestation, must have been very agreeable to him as well as to the frequenters of the theatre, against which that sect inveighed in the

bitterest terms. Shakspeare, from various passages in his plays, seems entirely to have coincided in opinion with his majesty, on this subject.

The *Winter's Tale* was not entered on the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623. It was acted at Court in 1613 ⁴.

34. *The Tempest*, 1612.

The entry at Stationers' Hall does not contribute to ascertain the time when this play was composed; for it appears not on the Stationers' books, nor was it printed, till 1623, when it was published with the rest of our author's plays in folio: in which edition, having, I suppose by mere accident, obtained the first place, it has ever since preserved a station to which indubitably it is not entitled ⁵.

As the circumstance from which this piece receives its name, is at an end in the very first scene, and as many other titles, equally proper, might have occurred to Shakspeare, (such as *The Inchaned Island*,—*The Banished Duke*,—*Ferdinand and Miranda*, &c.) I formerly observed, that some particuar and recent event had determined him to call it *The Tempest*.

There is reason to believe that some of our author's dramas obtained their names from the seasons at which they were produced. It is not very easy to account for the title of *Twelfth Night*, but by supposing it to have been first exhibited in the Christmas holydays ⁶. Neither the title of *A Midsummer*

⁴ MS. of the late Mr. Malone.

⁵ See p. 451, article, *Cymbeline*.

⁶ It was formerly an established custom to have plays repre-

Night's Dream, nor that of The Winter's Tale, denotes the season of the action ; the events which are the subject of the latter, occurring at the time of sheep-shearing, and the dream, from which the former receives its name, happening on the night preceding May-day.—These titles, therefore, were probably suggested by the season at which the plays were exhibited, to which they belong ; A Midsummer Night's Dream having, we may presume, been first represented in June, and The Winter's Tale in December. Since this Essay was first published, I have collected information on this subject, which places it in my opinion beyond a doubt that this play was founded on a recent event, and was produced in 1611⁷.

Mr. Steevens, in his observations on this play, has quoted from the tragedy of Darius by the Earl of Sterline, first printed in 1603, some lines⁸ so strongly

sented at court in the Christmas holydays, and particularly on Twelfth Night. Two of Lyly's comedies (Alexander and Campaspe, 1584, and Mydas, 1592), are said in their title-pages, to have been "played befoore the queenes majestie on Twelfe-day at night ;" and several of Ben Jonson's masques were presented at Whitehall, on the same festival. Our author's Love's Labour's Lost was exhibited before Queen Elizabeth in the Christmas holydays ; and his King Lear was acted before King James on St. Stephen's night : the night after Christmas-day.

⁷ See this topick fully discussed in the Dissertation at the end of vol. xv.

⁸ " Let greatness of her glassy scepters vaunt,

" Not scepters, no but reeds, soon bruis'd, soon broken,

" And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant,

" *All fades, and scarcely leaves behind a token.*

" Those golden *palaces*, those *gorgeous* halls,

" With furniture superfluously fair,

resembling a celebrated passage in *The Tempest*, that one author must, I apprehend, have been indebted to the other; if so, Shakspeare must have borrowed from Lord Sterline⁹.

Mr. Holt conjectured¹, that the masque in the fifth Act of this comedy was intended by the poet as a compliment to the Earl of Essex, on his being united in wedlock, in 1611, to Lady Frances Howard, to whom he had been contracted some years before². Even if this had been the case, the date which that commentator has assigned to this play (1614,) is certainly too late: for it appears from the MSS. of Mr. Vertue, that the *Tempest* was acted by John Heminge and the rest of the King's Company, before prince Charles, the lady Elizabeth, and the prince Palatine elector, in the beginning of the year 1613.

“Those stately courts, those *sky* encountering walls,
“*Evanish all like vapours in the air.*”

Darius, Act III. edit. 1603.

“—— These our actors,
“As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
“*Are melted into air, into thin air*;
“And, like the baseless fabrick of this vision,
“The *cloud-capt* tow'rs, the *gorgeous* palaces,
“The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
“Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
“And, like this unsubstantial pageant, *faded*,
“*Leave not a rack behind.*” *Tempest*, Act IV. Sc. I.

⁹ See note on *Julius Cæsar*, Act I. Sc. I.

¹ Observations on *The Tempest*, p. 67. Mr. Holt imagined, that Lord Essex was united to Lady Frances Howard in 1610; but he was mistaken: for their union did not take place till the next year.

² Jan. 5, 1606-7. The Earl continued abroad four years from that time; so that he did not cohabit with his wife till 1611.

The names of Trinculo and Antonio, two of the characters in this comedy, are likewise found in that of Albumazar; which was printed in 1614, but is supposed by Dryden to have appeared some years before.

Ben Jonson, in the Induction to his Bartholomew Fair, has endeavoured to depreciate this beautiful comedy by calling it a *foolery* [drollery]. Dryden, however, informs us that it was a very popular play at Blackfriars, but unluckily has not said a word relative to the time of its first representation there, though he might certainly have received information on that subject from Sir William D'Avenant.

If the dates here assigned to our author's plays should not, in every instance, bring with them conviction of their propriety, let it be remembered, that this is a subject on which conviction cannot at this day be obtained; and that the observations now submitted to the publick, do not pretend to any higher title than that of "An Attempt to ascertain the Chronology of the Dramas of Shakspeare."

Should the errors and deficiencies of this essay invite others to deeper and more successful researches, the end proposed by it will be attained: and he who offers the present arrangement of Shakspeare's dramas, will be happy to transfer the slender portion of credit that may result from the novelty of his undertaking, to some future claimant, who may be supplied with ampler materials and endued with a superior degree of antiquarian sagacity.

To some, he is not unapprized, this inquiry will appear a tedious and barren speculation. But there are many, it is hoped, who think nothing which relates to the brightest ornament of the English nation, wholly uninteresting; who will be gratified by observing, how the genius of our great poet gradually expanded itself, till, like his own Ariel, *it flamed amazement* in every quarter, blazing forth with a lustre that has not hitherto been equalled, and probably will never be surpassed³.

³ In the list of plays enumerated (p. 438), by Mr. Malone as unpublished, he might have excepted two more of them which still remain in manuscript, viz. The Queen of Corsica and the Bugbears, both also in the collection of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The following is the list of plays formerly in the possession of Mr. Warburton, copied from his MS. in the collection of the same nobleman :

- “ The Honourable Loves, by Will. Rowley.
- “ Henry the First, by Will. Shakespear and Robert Davenport.
- “ The Fair Favourite.
- “ Minerva’s Sacrifice. Phill. Massinger.
- “ Duke Humphrey. Will. Shakespear.
- “ Citty Shuffler.
- “ Sir John Suckling’s Workes.
- “ Nothing impossible to Love. T. P. Sir Rob le Greece.
- “ The Forc’d Lady. T. Phill. Massinger.
- “ The Governor. T. Sir Corn. Formido.
- “ The Lovers of Loodgate.
- “ The Flying Voice, by R. Wood.
- “ The Mayden’s Holaday, by Christ. Marlowe.
- “ The Puritan Maid, the Modest Wife, and the Wanton Widow, by Tho. Middlleton.
- “ The London Merchant, a Comedy, by Jo. Ford.
- “ The King of Swedland*.

* Query, if not Dekker’s King of Swethland, entered on the Stationers’ books, June 29, 1660.

SECTION. XVI.

[It is with deep regret, in which the reader, I have no doubt, will participate, that here that portion of

- " Love hath found out his Eyes, by Tho. Jorden.
- " Antonio and Vallia, by Phill. Massinger.
- " The Duchess of Fernandina. T. Henry Glapthorne.
- " Jocondo and Astolso, by Tho. Decker.
- " St. George for England, by Will. Smithe.
- " The Parliament of Love, by Wm. Rowley.
- " The Widow's Prise. C. Will. Sampson.
- " The Inconstant Lady. Wm. Wilson.
- " The Woman's Plott. Phill. Massinger.
- " The Crafty Marshall. C. Shack. Marmion.
- " An Interlude, by Ra. Wood. (worth nothing.)
- " The Tyrant, a Tragedy, by Phill. Massinger.
- " The Nonesuch, a C. Wm. Rowley.
- " The Royal Combate. C. By Jo. Forde.
- " Philenzo and Hippolito. C. Phill. Massinger.
- " Beauty in a Trance, Mr. Jo. Forde.
- " The Judge. C. By Phill. Massinger.
- " A good Beginning may have a good End, by Jo. Forde.
- " Fast and welcome, by Phill. Massinger.
- " Believe as you list. C. By Phill. Massinger.
- " Hist. of Jobe, by Robt. Green.
- " The Vestall, a Tragedy, by H. Glapthorne.
- " Yorkshire Gentlewoman and her Sons.
- " The Honour of Women. C. by P. Massinger.
- " The Noble Choice. T. C. P. Massinger.
- " A Mask. R. Govell.
- " Second Maiden's Tragedy. George Chapman.
- " The Great Man.
- " The Spanish Puechas. C.
- " The Queen of Corsica. T. By F. Jaques.
- " The Tragedy of Jobe. (Good.)
- " The Nobleman. T. C. Cyrill Tourneur.
- " A Play by Will. Shakspeare.
- " Bugbears. C. Jo. Geffrey.

the Life of Shakspeare which Mr. Malone had prepared for the press is brought to a close; and conse-

“ Orpheus. C.

“ ‘Tis good sleeping in a whole Skin. W. Wager.

“ Faery Queen.

“ After I had been many years collecting these MS. plays, through my own carelessness and the ignorance of my servant in whose hands I had lodged them, they were unluckily burn’d, or put under pye-bottoms, excepting the three which follow :

“ Second Maiden’s Tragedy.

“ Bugbears.

“ Queen of Corsica. J. Warburton.”

Since the foregoing elaborate, and, for the most part, satisfactory result of a laborious enquiry was last published [in 1790], the order of the plays of Shakspeare, as settled by Mr. Malone, has been controverted by Mr. Chalmers, who has formed a new arrangement; and in support of it has produced his evidence and assigned his reasons. To these (being too long to be here inserted) the reader is referred for farther satisfaction. On a subject which both parties admit does not pretend to the certainties of demonstration, a difference of opinion may be expected. Time, research, and accident, may yet bring to light evidence to confirm or confute either party’s statement. The arrangement of Mr. Malone being already before the reader it will be necessary to add that of Mr. Chalmers; and that a judgment may be formed which claims the preference, both lists are subjoined. The first is by Mr. Chalmers, the second by Mr. Malone.

1. The Comedy of Errors.....	1591	—	1598
2. Love’s Labour’s Lost.....	1592	—	1594
3. Romeo and Juliet.....	1592	—	1595
4. Henry VI. the First Part.....	1593	—	1589
5. Henry VI. the Second Part.....	1595	—	1591
6. Henry VI. the Third Part.....	1595	—	1591
7. The Two Gentlemen of Verona.....	1595	—	1595
8. Richard III.....	1595	—	1597
9. Richard II.....	1596	—	1597
10. The Merry Wives of Windsor.....	1596	—	1601
11. Henry IV. the First Part.....	1596	—	1597
12. Henry IV. the Second Part.....	1597	—	1598

quently it has devolved upon me to arrange, as well as I am able, those particulars which I have been able to collect from his papers, and to incorporate them with those facts and statements which have hitherto been appended to the life of the poet by Mr. Rowe. Wherever it is possible, I shall give Mr. Malone's

13. Henry V.....	1597	—	1599
14. The Merchant of Venice.....	1597	—	1598
15. Hamlet.....	1597	—	1596
16. King John.....	1598	—	1596
17. A Midsummer-Night's Dream.....	1598	—	1592
18. The Taming of the Shrew.....	1598	—	1594
19. All's Well That Ends Well.....	1599	—	1598
20. Much Ado About Nothing.....	1599	—	1600
21. As You Like It.....	1599	—	1600
22. Troilus and Cressida.....	1600	—	1602
23. Timon of Athens.....	1601	—	1609
24. The Winter's Tale.....	1601	—	1604
25. Measure for Measure.....	1604	—	1603
26. Lear.....	1605	—	1605
27. Cymbeline.....	1606	—	1605
28. Macbeth.....	1606	—	1606
29. Julius Cæsar.....	1607	—	1607
30. Antony and Cleopatra.....	1608	—	1608
31. Coriolanus.....	1609	—	1610
32. The Tempest.....	1613	—	1612
33. The Twelfth-Night.....	1613	—	1614
34. Henry VIII.....	1613	—	1601
35. Othello.....	1614	—	1611

See Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers. By George Chalmers, F.R.S. A.S. p. 266. Read.

Dr. Drake, in his work entitled Shakspeare and the Times, has proposed an arrangement in some instances different from both Mr. Chalmers and Mr. Malone. The list taken from Mr. Malone is that which appeared in 1790. I have allowed it to remain, that the reader may have it in his power to compare it with his subsequent opinions. BOSWELL.

memoranda in his own words. That they are not more numerous, is much to be lamented; but, from the scattered state in which his papers were kept, a number of curious matters of research, are, I fear, irrecoverably lost. Among these is the account he seems to have promised of Shakspeare's brother Edmund, of whom I find no mention but the register of his burial, which Mr. Chalmers has already laid before the publick in his *Additions to the History of the Stage*. It is, at the same time, a subject of congratulation, that he had proceeded thus far; and has shown, by an examination of the legendary tales which have so long been current respecting Shakspeare's early years, that they are wholly groundless; and that the greatest genius which his country has produced, maintained, from his youth upwards, that respectability of character which unquestionably belonged to him in after life.]

After the discussion which has already been gone through respecting the probable order in which those dramas which were entirely written by Shakspeare were produced, it becomes necessary to mention two others, which have been admitted into the collection of his works, from a notion that they received some improvements from his pen—*Pericles*, and *Titus Andronicus*. Respecting the first, there appears to have been no doubt entertained by the numerous criticks who have delivered their opinions on this drama, that the hand of our great poet is clearly discernible in many parts of it, while the remainder is altogether unworthy of his genius. Mr. Malone was, at one period, indeed, inclined to attribute the

whole to him, but was subsequently convinced of his error, and acknowledged it with that candour and love of truth by which he was invariably influenced. Titus Andronicus is also still suffered to retain its place, from the same notion, that Shakspeare had mingled a few brilliant passages of his own with the baser matter of which it is generally formed. Of this, which I cannot but think a very questionable theory, the reader is left to form his own judgment. Five other plays have been printed under his name, in the folio 1664, which have not the slightest claim to such a distinction—*Lochrine*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *Lord Cromwell*, *The London Prodigal*, *The Puritan*. A sixth, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, was pronounced by Mr. Steevens, when it was republished by Mr. Malone, in his Supplement, to have been a hasty performance by Shakspeare. This opinion he seems, however, to have silently abandoned; and it has since been deservedly consigned to the same neglect with the rest. If internal evidence were not sufficient to prove that dramas so utterly worthless had been absurdly ascribed to so great a name, we are furnished by the Henslowe MSS., which the reader will find in the third volume, with satisfactory information respecting one of them, namely, *Sir John Oldcastle*, from which it appears that it was the production of four writers—Munday, Drayton, Wilson, and Hathway. See vol. iii. p. 329. Some other plays, with about equal pretensions, have also been given to our author—*The Arraignment of Paris*, *The Birth of Merlin*, *Edward III.*, *Fair Emma*, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, and *Mucedorus*. Of these, *The Arraignment of Paris* is known to have been written

by George Peele : *The Birth of Merlin*, by Rowley ; although it is said in the title-page, 1662, probably by a fraud of the bookseller, to be the joint production of that dramatist and Shakspeare. *Edward the Third* was said to be Shakspeare's, by Mr. Capell, confessedly upon no ground but his opinion that no one else, at that period, could have written it. It is found in that gentleman's *Prolusions*, 1760. *Fair Emma* rests upon no authority whatever. *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* was entered on the Stationers' books, by H. Mosely, about the time of the Restoration, as Shakspeare's ; but there is a former entry, in 1608, in which it is said to be written by T. B. whom Mr. Malone conjectures to have been Tony or Antony Brewer. *Mucedorus*, he thinks, was the production of Robert Greene. Shakspeare has also been supposed to have had a share in two other dramas, in which, if we should adopt that notion, he was associated with two highly distinguished contemporaries. He is said to have assisted Jonson in *Sejanus* ; and Fletcher, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. His connection with Jonson rests only on tradition ; for, although that poet has mentioned a coadjutor, he has not recorded his name ; and Mr. Gifford is disposed to question whether Shakspeare was the person to whom he has alluded ; and as the passages supplied by this nameless friend were omitted when this piece was published, we have no opportunity of judging from internal evidence. A very considerable difference of opinion has prevailed with regard to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Mr. Steevens's sentiments on this subject are given at large in a note at the conclusion of *Pericles*, where it is incidentally introduced ; and

if the reader wishes for a further discussion of the question, it will be found in Mr. Weber's edition of Beaumont and Fletcher. If I might venture to mingle in a contest which has called forth some very distinguished names, on either side, I should have no hesitation in expressing my disbelief of Shakspeare's co-operation. I can see no such similarity of style, as some criticks have thought they discovered; and the madness of the Jailor's daughter, which has been compared with that of Ophelia, would alone be sufficient to convince me that two such different representations of frenzy could not have proceeded from the same pen. Shakspeare's madness could no more be equalled than his magick. Fletcher seems to have had little notion of a deranged mind, except that of making a female talk obscenely. Mr. Weber thinks the description of the death of Arcite decidedly in Shakspeare's manner. I should be sorry to admit this observation to be just. The opening of this speech appears to me to be deplorably frigid :

- “ ——— List then, your cousin,
 “ Mounted, upon a steed that Emily
 “ Did first bestow on him, a black one, owing
 “ Not a hair worth of white, which some will say
 “ Weakens his price, and many will not buy
 “ His goodness with this note : which superstition
 “ Here finds allowance ; on this horse is Arcite,
 “ Trotting the stones of Athens, which the calkins
 “ Did rather tell than trample ; for the horse
 “ Would make his length a mile if't pleased his rider
 “ To put pride in him. As he thus went courting
 “ The fifty pavement, dancing as 'twere to the musick
 “ His own hoofs made (*for, as they say, from iron*
 “ *Came musick's origin*), what envious flint,

“ Cold as old Saturn, and, like him, possess’d
“ With fire malevolent, darted a spark,
“ Or what fierce sulphur else, to this end made,
“ I comment not,” &c.

Surely in this there is nothing Shakspearian. If Dr. Donne had undertaken to write a tragedy, he could not have introduced into it any thing more thoroughly unsuited to a description of this nature than the whimsical parenthesis about the origin of musick.

But the poetry of Shakspeare was by no means confined to the drama. There are other productions of his muse, which, notwithstanding the contemptuous manner in which they are spoken of by Mr. Steevens, were the subjects of high admiration among his contemporaries. A collection of his sonnets was published at so late a period as 1609 ; but they are mentioned by Meres, in 1598, and bear evident marks of being early compositions. The time at which they were written cannot be accurately ascertained ; and the question as to their date must materially depend upon the judgment which the reader may form as to the topicks which they were meant to embrace, and the circumstances by which they were suggested. Of these, a discussion will be found in the twentieth volume of this work, where they are carefully reprinted, with all the illustrations which his commentators could supply. The Lover’s Complaint was appended to our author’s sonnets in 1609 ; and The Passionate Pilgrim was printed with his name, by William Jaggard, in 1599. Two other poems remain to be mentioned, which were un-

questionably of an early date : his *Venus and Adonis* which was first committed to the press in 1593, and his *Rape of Lucrece*, which was published in the following year. The intrinsick merit of these poems, of which the first long retained its popularity among youthful readers ; and the second, which, as we are informed by Gabriel Harvey, was estimated so highly by persons of a graver description, that it was placed in the same rank with *Hamlet* ; would be sufficient to recommend them to our attention : but they derive an additional interest from being dedicated to our poet's amiable patron, Lord Southampton, in the only prose compositions of Shakspeare not in a dramatick form, which have come down to us. Of this accomplished nobleman, a short memoir is given in the twentieth volume of this edition ; but those particulars which more immediately relate to his connection with the poet, are reserved for this place. Lord Southampton's attachment to theatrical entertainments is strongly pointed out by a letter from Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, dated in the latter part of the year 1599, which is preserved in the Sidney Papers, vol. ii. p. 132 : " My Lord Southampton, and Lord Rutland, came not to the court [at Nonsuch]. The one doth but very seldom. They pass away the time in London *merely in going to plaies every day.*" A circumstance in his personal history may have given him this bias, and may also have been the means of introducing Shakspeare to his acquaintance. His mother, the Countess Dowager Southampton, was married, probably before 1580, to a second husband, Sir Thomas Heneage, who had long been Treasurer of the

Chambers to the Queen, an office by which he was, in some sort, connected with the stage; all the payments made to the several companies of comedians then in being, for plays exhibited at court, belonging to his department. It is not an improbable supposition that Shakspeare, even then being distinguished for the decorum and propriety of his conduct and manners, may have been deputed by his company to wait upon the treasurer, and receive his commands. Lord Southampton would, of course, be a frequent visiter at his mother's, and would thus have an opportunity of being thrown in the way of the young ingenious, but modest and unassuming poet. This circumstance, combined with the high character which the Earl had acquired, even at that early age, might have induced Shakspeare to solicit his patronage for the first heir of his invention, the poem of *Venus and Adonis*, which was published in the year 1598, when he himself was only twenty-nine, and his patron had not yet attained his twentieth year.

Even at so early an age, the Earl of Southampton was distinguished for his love of literature and his patronage of literary men. His liberality to the votaries of the muses is celebrated by Barnaby Barnes¹ in a sonnet addressed to him in the very year when Shakspeare's first poem appeared, in which he

¹ Barnaby Barnes, whose birth was more respectable than his poetry, was a younger son of Dr. Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham. He was bred at Brazen-nose College in Oxford, of which he became a member in 1586. He published a Collection of Poems, entitled *Parthenophil and Parthenope*, among which is the sonnet above-mentioned, which is a very poor thing. He

expresses a hope that his verses "if graced by that heavenly countenance which *gives light to the muses*," may be able to resist the malignant shafts of envy. About the same time, the ingenious Thomas Nash, then rising into reputation as a novellist and a satirical writer, has dedicated to him one of his tracts²; and not long afterwards he is mentioned with respect by Camden and Jervais Markham, the latter of whom, in a sonnet prefixed to his poem on the death of Sir Richard Grenville, alludes to the high character he had already acquired as a patron of poets; and if I mistake not, to the countenance he had shown to the productions of Shakspeare³. But the most honourable testimony to his merit, is given by Shakspeare himself in the two Dedications which I have already mentioned; in both of which we find evident marks of that ingenuous modesty, for which our great poet throughout his life was eminently distinguished. That Shakspeare partook of this nobleman's bounty, there can be no reason to doubt; and if we could give credit to a story which comes down to us, resting, as it is said, upon the authority of Sir William D'Avenant, he was at one time the object of unex-

afterwards (1607) produced a tragedy called *The Devil's Charter*.

² *The Unfortunate Traveller, or the Life of Jacke Wilton*, 4to. 1594. But, at the conclusion of the piece, we find "June 27, 1598."

³ Markham's sonnet to Lord Southampton, prefixed to *The Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grenvile, Knight*, 16mo. 1595, begins thus:

"O thou, the laurel of the Muses hill,

"Whose eyes doth crown the most victorious pen."

amplified munificence, having received from him in one sum no less than a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a purchase he was desirous of making. This anecdote, like many others, which I have had occasion to examine, had probably some foundation in truth, though it has since been extravagantly exaggerated. That he gave him a thousand pounds, which is at least equivalent to five thousand at this day, in order that he might complete a purchase, is totally unworthy of credit, since no such extensive purchase ever appears to have been made by him, as will be seen when we come to make an estimate of the property which he possessed. It is much more likely that he might have presented the poet with an hundred pounds in return for his Dedications; a gift, which, although not calculated to excite so much astonishment, was worthy of that generous nobleman's liberality. But it was not in Lord Southampton alone that Shakspeare found a patron; he appears to have enjoyed the approbation and favour of two successive monarchs. Queen Elizabeth, who was at all times attached to theatrical entertainments, had the good taste to appreciate the talents of that great poet whose genius has shed so much lustre on her reign; and, if tradition may be believed, was so much delighted with the character of Falstaff as it had been already depicted in the two parts of Henry IV. that she wished to see him represented as a lover, and it is to the royal commands that we are indebted for one of his most perfect comedies, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Her successor was not less friendly to the stage, nor less blind to the merits of its greatest

ornament. We have been told, upon authority which there is no reason to doubt, that he wrote a letter to Shakspeare with his own hand; the story is told in the advertisement to Lintot's edition of Shakspeare's poems, no date, but printed in 1710. The letter is there said to have been lost, but formerly to have been in the possession of Sir William Davenant, "as a credible person now living can testify." The person thus described, we learn from Mr. Oldys's MS. Additions to Fuller's Worthies, was Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, who was told it by Davenant himself. This letter is with great probability supposed by Dr. Farmer to have been written in return for the compliment paid to him in Macbeth⁴.

⁴ In a manuscript volume of poems, which I lately purchased out of a bookseller's catalogue, written apparently about the time of the Restoration, I find the following article; *valeat quantum valere potest*:

"Shakspeare upon the King.

- "Crownes have their compasse, length of dayes their date,
- "Triumphes their tombs, felicity her fate:
- "Of more then earth cann earth make none partaker
- "But knowledge makes the king most like his Maker."

The same miscellany contains a copy of verses by his Majesty himself, which, perhaps, the reader may think contains more internal evidence of being the genuine production of the royal poet than can be found for attributing those lines, which I have quoted, to Shakspeare.

"King James upon the Death of Queen Anne.

- "Thee to invite the greate God sent his starre
- "Whose friends and nearest kin good princes are
- "For though they run the race of men and dye
- "Death seems but to refine their Majestie

Fostered by such honourable and distinguished patronage, and acting at the same time under the

“ So did my Queene from hence her court remoove
 “ And leave the earth to bee enthroned above
 “ Then she is changed not dead. No good prince dyes
 “ But only lyke the sun doth set to rise.”

Whatever may have been the foibles of this monarch, we cannot but contemplate him with respect, as the patron of Shakespeare; and, therefore, I shall make no apology for adding another specimen of his poetry, which appears to me to possess considerable merit. It was transcribed, by Mr. Malone, from a MS. in the Rawlinson collection, Bodleian Library:

“ *A Poem made by King James upon the Voyage of his sonne Charles and the Marquisse Buckingham into Spayne March 1622.*”

[In order to understand the names made use of in these verses, it should be recollected that the Prince and Buckingham travelled in disguise, under the borrowed names of *Thomas* and *John Smith*. *Sir H. Wotton's Life and Death of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*]

“ What sudden change hath dark't of late
 “ The glory of th' Arcadian state?
 “ The fleecy flockes refuse to feede,
 “ The lambes to play, the ewes to breede:
 “ The altars smoke, the offringes burne
 “ Till Jack and Tom doe safe return.
 “ The spring neglects her course to keepe
 “ The ayre with mightie stormes doth weep *
 “ The pretty birdes disdain to singe
 “ The meades to smell the woods to springe
 “ The mountaines droppe, the fountaynes mourne
 “ Till Jack and Tom doe safe returne.

* This is not a poetical fiction. There was a violent storm at this time, by which the Prince was shipwrecked, and forced to land at St. Andrews. See Waller's Poems. MALONE.

guidance of his own good sense, he appears at an

“ What may it bee that moves this woe ?

“ Whose want affectes Arcadia soe ?

“ The hope of Greece, the proppe of arts

“ Was princely Jack, the joy of haits

“ And Tom was to our royal Pan

“ The chiefest swayne, and truest man.

“ The lofty trees of Menalus

“ Did shake with winde from Hesperus ;

“ Whose sweete delicious ayre did fly

“ Through all the boundes of Arcadie

“ Which moved a vayne in Jack and Tom

“ To see the coast it issued from.

“ The winde was *love*, which princes stout

“ To pages turnes ; but who can doubt

“ Where equall fortune love procures

“ And equall love successe assures

“ But venturous Jack will bring to Greece

“ The best of prize, the golden fleece.

“ Love is a world of many Spaynes

“ Where coldest hilles and hottest playnes

“ With barren rockes and fertile fields

“ By turnes despayre and comfort yelds

“ But who can doubt of prosperous luck

“ Where love and fortune doth conduct,

“ Thy grandsire, godsire, father too,

“ Were thine examples so to doe ;

“ Their brave attempts in heate of love,

“ France, Scotland, Denmarke did approve

“ So Jack, and Tom, doe nothing new,

“ When love, and fortune, they pursue.

“ Kind shepheards that have loved them long,

“ Bee not too rash in censuring wrong :

“ Correct your feares leave of [off] to mourne

“ The heavens shall favour their returne

“ Commit the care to Royall Pan

“ Of Jacke his sonne and Tom his man.” BOSWELL.

early period to have placed himself in circumstances of ease and comfort. It must be gratifying to every reader to reflect upon this, and to feel satisfied that one to whom mankind has been so largely indebted for the pleasure and instruction which his writings have afforded, was not, while he was administering to the delight of others, himself labouring under the pressure of poverty. It will at the same time supply a satisfactory confutation of that maxim which the idle and profligate are so eager to inculcate, that economy and prudence are neither to be expected nor required in a person of exalted genius. If any man was ever entitled to such an exemption, it was Shakespeare. What poet's eye, in a fine phrenzy rolling, might with a better plea have overlooked the petty details of life; but while it was glancing from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, he was not unmindful that he had duties as a husband and a father to perform. We have seen him quitting Stratford, certainly not under the degrading circumstances which unauthorized tradition has handed down, but, as we have every reason to suppose, from what has been related of his father, involved in some degree in pecuniary difficulties; and we shall find him at the close of life leaving his family in a state of comparative affluence. As early as the year 1598, an application was made to him for a loan of thirty pounds, no inconsiderable sum in those days, by his countryman Richard Quayney of Stratford, who was beyond a doubt the father of Thomas Quayney, who afterwards married our poet's youngest daughter. Such a request could not have been made to a person who was not

possessed of means which enabled him readily to comply with it; and it is expressed in terms which clearly show that the writer was satisfied that he was addressing one from whom he had no apprehension of receiving a churlish denial. As the letter is a curiosity in itself, and derives an interest from its relation to Shakspeare, I shall here insert it.

“ Loving Contryman, I am bolde of yo^w. as of a frende, cravcing yo^{wr} helpe wth xxx^{lb} uppon M^r Bushell & my securitytee, or M^r Myttens with me. M^r Rosswell is not come to London, as yeate, & I have especiall cawse. Yo^w. shall frende me mucche in helping me out of all the debets I owe in London I thanck god, and mucche quiet to my mynde w^{ch}. wolde not be indebted. I am now towards the Cowrte in hope y^r answer for the dispatche of my Buysenes. Yo^w shall nether loose creddytt nor monney by me, the Lorde wyllinge; & nowe butt pswade yo^{wr} selfe soc as I hope & yo^w shall nott need to feare but with all hartie thanckfullnes I wyll holde my tyme & content yo^{wr} frend, & yf we Bargaine farther, yo^w shall be the paie m^r yo^{wr} selfe. My tyme bidds me to hasten to an ende, & soc I comitt thys [to] yo^{wr} care & hope of yo^{wr} helpe. I feare I shall nott be backe this night from the Cowrte. haste. the Lorde be wth yo^w & wth us all. amen. ffrom the Bell in Carter Lane the 25 october 1598.

“ Yo^{wrs} in all kyndenes,

“ RYC. QUYNEY.

“ To my Loveing good frend
& contryman M^r W^m
Shackespe^e thecs.”

In looking at this document, which, when folded up, is hardly two inches square, it is impossible not to express an unavailing regret that while this minute memorial of an obscure bailiff of Stratford has come down to us after the lapse of two centuries uninjured by the accidents of time, we are not in possession of a single manuscript from the pen of his illustrious correspondnet, although they must have been unquestionably voluminous. Independently of his plays, a man of his kindness of heart and friendly disposition, must have been perpetually engaged in amicable intercourse with his family, from whom he appears to have been separated a great part of the year; and those many individuals attached to him in his native town, for which he always seems to have retained his fondness, and which at the close of his publick labours he gladly selected as the spot where he might close his days in the society of those who were dear to him. In the following year, we have another and gratifying instance of his prosperity, in a grant of arms made to his family, which I have already expressed my belief was obtained by his father in consequence of the poet's celebrity. What share he held in the theatre at an early period, we have no means of ascertaining with accuracy; but in 1603, on King James's accession to the throne, a licence was granted to the Globe company, in which Shakspeare

⁵ Shackespe.] Mr. Malone has here furnished an authority against his own hypothesis, with regard to the ancient mode of spelling the poet's name; but I think erroneously. What he has made an *e*, in his transcript, appears to my eye, in the original, to be only a slight flourish to the *k*. BOSWELL.

is particularly mentioned as one of the partners. The pecuniary benefit which he derived from this situation, as well as a more particular mention of the purchases which he made at various times, will be subsequently noticed when an estimate is made of the property which he left behind him at his death. From the lamentable neglect of those whose proximity to the time in which he lived might have supplied them with ample contemporary information, little is known, either of his habits or associates, during the time that he resided in London; but from all which we can generally collect, there can be no reason to question that the gentle Shakspeare enjoyed the society of all the most accomplished men that adorned the period in which he lived. The patronage of Lord Southampton, the favour of the court, his own splendid genius and amiable manners, must have made his company sought after by all who were distinguished for their rank or their literature.

[I have prefixed a bracket to the observations which follow, because I am by no means satisfied that what I am going to add would have met with the concurrence of Mr. Malone, and I am anxious not to mislead the publick by seeming to impute to him sentiments which it may be doubtful if he ever could have been persuaded to entertain; but I think we have every reason to suppose that one of those with whom he lived upon a footing of particular intimacy, was his great contemporary, Ben Jonson. Whether at any time there was even a temporary interruption of their cordiality is a question to which I have adverted elsewhere. One anecdote has been handed

down by tradition, which, although certainly not true in all its parts, I should be unwilling to think altogether destitute of foundation. It has been stated that the acquaintance of these two great poets began with an act of kindness on the part of Shakspeare, on the perusal of a play by Jonson, who was then unknown, which had been superciliously rejected by the players; but that Shakspeare having accidentally seen it, not only pointed out its merit, but took every opportunity of recommending Jonson's writings to the publick. The play has been said to have been *Every Man in his Humour*, which, till the publication of Henslowe's MSS. by Mr. Malone, was supposed to have been Jonson's earliest production. That he was not then unknown, and that the drama alluded to was not performed at Shakspeare's theatre, is placed beyond a doubt by the MSS. above-mentioned. Mr. Malone and Mr. Gifford concur in disbelieving this story; yet it has more than once been observed by my late friend, that traditionary anecdotes, however erroneous, in many respects, have not unfrequently some foundation in truth; and one would surely be gratified in believing that an incident which does honour to both those illustrious men was of this description. Jonson was certainly at an early period employed on the drama; but how unworthily was he often called upon to exert his talents! It is impossible to contemplate, without commiseration, this profound and judicious scholar with all his classical attainments fresh about him, ambitious of teaching laws to the stage, which was then, generally speaking, in the lowest state of

degradation, not only compelled to unite himself with other writers altogether unworthy of such an association ; but driven to the necessity of earning thirty shillings by writing additions to the Spanish Tragedy, a performance which he never speaks of but with the utmost contempt. His Comedy of Humours, as it is called in the MS. was indeed performed, and, as it should seem, with success, having been acted eleven times ; but is it too much to suppose that it may afterwards have been purchased by Shakspeare's company at his instigation, and that the praises which he bestowed upon it, may have advanced the author's reputation ?

It is true that at the time when this admirable comedy was written, Jonson, as he terms it in his Dedication to the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, had friendship with divers in those societies who were great names in learning, and of such men it will be readily believed that Every Man in his Humour was not despised. But although he was very far from being unknown by men of learned and cultivated minds ; yet his play might have been "caviare to the general," before whom Loocrine and old Jeronymo were exhibited with applause. Shakspeare, from his theatrical influence, might be more capable of promoting its success than the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, nor is it any deduction from Jonson's genius that the master spirit of the age was among the first who appreciated and pointed it out. I confess I do not feel confident on this subject ; but after Mr. Gifford has successfully overthrown the long prevalent stories of the hostility which sub-

sisted between these two great men, I cannot but regret if at the same time we are compelled to relinquish an anecdote which exhibits them in friendly intercourse.]

The exact period at which Shakspeare quitted the metropolis, and settled at his native place, has not been ascertained. Mr. Malone was at one time of opinion that this alteration in his mode of life took place soon after his dramattick labours closed, in 1611 or 1612; but a doubt was thrown upon this conjecture by the discovery of a mortgage which was executed by Shakspeare in March, 1612-13; and which will be found in the Appendix. He may, however, as has already been observed in a former page, have parted with his property in the theatre before; and it may be added, that this transaction may have taken place after he had ceased to be a settled resident in London. All the accounts which have been handed down to us, concur in stating that he spent some years in Stratford before his death; and as that event took place in April, 1616, we cannot with propriety fix upon a later date than what has been already mentioned for the period of his retirement. But as his family lived at Stratford, as it should seem, during the whole or the greater part of the time when his connection with the theatre required his attendance in the metropolis; we might readily infer from his character, that he would not totally absent himself from those who were dear to him; and accordingly we are told by Aubrey, that he used to visit his native country once a year. That accurate observation of nature and endless variety of character

which appears throughout his works, could not have been obtained but by a man who did not suffer a single circumstance of "many-coloured life" to escape him; and it is probable that not a journey took place which did not supply him with fresh materials; and of this an instance has been recorded by Mr. Aubrey: "The humour of the constable in *A Midsommer-Night-Dreame* (he tells us) he happened to take at Crendon in Bucks (I think it was Midsomer-night that he happened to be there); which is the road from London to Stratford; and there was living that constable about 1642, when I came first to Oxon. Mr. Josias Howe⁶ is of the parish, and knew him."

It must be acknowledged that there is here a slight mistake, there being no such character as a constable in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. The person in contemplation probably was Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing*. But this mistake of a name does not, in my apprehension, detract in the smallest degree from the credit of the fact itself; namely, that our poet in his admirable character of a foolish constable had in view an individual who lived in Crendon or Grendon (for it is written both ways), a town in Buckinghamshire, about thirteen miles from Oxford. Leonard Digges, who was Shakspeare's contemporary, has fallen into a similar error; for in his eulogy on our poet, he has supposed the character

⁶ "Josias Howe, the son of Thomas Howe, priest, of Grendon in Bucks, was matriculated as a student of Trinity College, Oxford, April 13, 1632, aged nineteen. About the same time, scholar." *A. W. in MS.* This shews he was born not in 1611, as Mr. Warton supposed, but in 1613.

of Malvolio, which is found in Twelfth Night, to be in Much Ado About Nothing.

As some account of the person from whom Mr. Aubrey derived this anecdote, who was of the same college with him at Oxford, may tend to establish its credit, I shall transcribe from Mr. Warton's preface to his Life of Sir Thomas Pope, such notices of Mr. Josias Howe, as he has been able to recover.

“ He was born at Crendon in Bucks [about the year 1611], and elected a scholar of Trinity College June 12, 1632; admitted a fellow, being then bachelor of arts, May 26, 1637. By Hearne he is called a great cavalier and loyalist, and a most ingenious man⁷. He appears to have been a general and accomplished scholar, and in polite literature one of the ornaments of the university.—In 1644, he preached before king Charles the First, at Christ Church cathedral, Oxford. The sermon was printed, and in red letters, by his Majesty's special command.—Soon after 1646, he was ejected from his fellowship by the presbyterians; and restored in 1660. He lived forty-two years, greatly respected, after his restitution, and arriving at the age of ninety, died fellow of the college where he constantly resided, August 28, 1701.” Mr. Thomas Howe, the father of this Mr. Josias Howe (as I learn from Wood), was minister of Grendon, and contemporary with Shakspeare; and from him his son perhaps derived some information concerning our poet, which he might have communicated to his fellow-collegian, Aubrey. The anecdote relative to the constable of

⁷ Rob. Glouc. Gloss. p. 669.

Grendon, however, does not stand on this ground; for we find that Mr. Josias Howe personally knew him, and that he was living in 1642.

When our poet returned to his native place, we might have been led to hope that his townsmen, who doubtless participated in no common degree in the high admiration which his writings had excited, would have preserved some memorials of the domestic life and habits of one who had conferred so much honour on the spot of his birth. But although in this we are disappointed, his contemporaries have borne witness in general terms to the brilliancy of his conversation and the suavity of his manners.

“He was,” says Aubrey, “a handsome well-shaped man, verie good company, and of a very ready, and pleasant, and smooth witt.”

I suppose none of my readers will find any difficulty in giving full credit to this part of the account. Mr. Aubrey, I believe, is the only writer who has particularly mentioned the beauty of our poet's person; and there being no contradictory testimony on the subject, he may here be safely relied on. All his contemporaries who have spoken of him, concur in celebrating the gentleness of his manners, and the readiness of his wit. “As he was a happy imitator of nature (say his fellow comedians), so was he a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.” “My *gentle* Shakspeare,” is the compellation used to him by Ben Jonson. “He was indeed (says his old antagonist) *honest, and of*

an open and free nature ; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions ; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Harterius." So also in his verses on our poet :

" ——— Look how the father's face
 " Lives in his issue, even so the race
 " Of Shakspeare's *mind and manners* brightly shines
 " In his *well-torned and true-filed* lines."

And conformable to all these ancient testimonies is that of Mr. Rowe, who informs us, from the traditional accounts received from his native town, that our poet's " pleasurable wit and good-nature engaged him in the acquaintance and entitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of his neighbourhood at Stratford."

A man, whose manners were thus engaging, whose wit was thus ready, and whose mind was stored with such a plenitude of ideas and such a copious assemblage of images as his writings exhibit, could not but have been what he is represented by Mr. Aubrey, a delightful companion.

But none of those sallies which probably set the table in a roar have come down to us, and scarcely any thing is recorded of him, either grave or gay, except one anecdote ; the truth of which, to say the least of it, is very questionable. " Among the gentlemen with whom he associated," Mr. Rowe informs us, " there is a story almost still remembered in that country, that he had a particular intimacy with Mr. Combe, an old gentleman noted thereabouts for his wealth and usury ;

it happened that in a pleasant conversation amongst their common friends, Mr. Combe told Shakspeare, in a laughing manner, that he fancied he intended to write his epitaph if he happened to outlive him; and since he could not know what might be said of him when he was dead, he desired it might be done immediately; upon which Shakspeare gave him these four verses:

“ ‘Ten in the hundred lies here ingrav’d¹;
 “ ‘ ’Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not sav’d:
 “ ‘ If any man ask, Who lies in the tomb?
 “ ‘ Oh! ho! quoth the devil, ’tis my John-a-Combe².’

¹ Ten in the hundred lies here ingrav’d;] In “The More the Merrier, containing three-score and odd heedless epigrams, shot (like the fooles bolts), among you, light where they will:” By H. P. Gent. &c. 1608. I find the following couplet, which is almost the same as the two beginning lines of this Epitaph on John-a-Combe:

FENERATORIS EPITAPHIUM.

“ Ten in the hundred lies under this stone,
 “ And a hundred to ten to the devil he’s gone.”

STEEVENS.

So, in Camden’s Remains, 1614:

“ Here lyes ten in the hundred,
 “ In the ground fast ramm’d;
 “ ’Tis an hundred to ten
 “ But his soule is damn’d.” MALONE.

² Oh! oh! quoth the devil, ’tis my John-a-Combe.] The Rev. Francis Peck, in his Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton, 4to. 1740, p. 223, has introduced another epitaph imputed (on what authority is unknown) to Shakspeare. It is on Tom-a-Combe, alias Thin-beard, brother to this John, who is mentioned by Mr. Rowe:

“ Thin in beard, and thick in purse;
 “ Never man beloved worse;
 “ He went to the grave with many a curse:
 “ The devil and he had both one nurse.” STEEVENS.

“But the sharpness of the satire is said to have stung the man so severely, that he never forgave it.” Many years ago Mr. Steevens expressed an opinion that this story was altogether unfounded³. In

I suspect these lines were sent to Mr. Peck by some person that meant to impose upon him. It appears from Mr. John Combe's will, that his brother Thomas was dead in 1614. John devised the greater part of his real and personal estate to his *nephew* Thomas Combe, with whom Shakspeare was certainly on good terms, having bequeathed him his sword.

Since I wrote the above, I find from the register of Stratford, that Mr. Thomas Combe (the brother of John) was buried there, Jan. 22, 1608-9. MALONE.

³ I take this opportunity to avow my disbelief that Shakspeare was the author of Mr. Combe's epitaph, or that it was written by any other person at the request of that gentleman. If Betterton the player did really visit Warwickshire for the sake of collecting anecdotes relative to our author, perhaps he was too easily satisfied with such as fell in his way, without making any rigid search into their authenticity. It appears also from a following copy of this inscription, that it was not ascribed to Shakspeare so early as two years after his death. Mr. Reed of Staple-Inn obligingly pointed it out to me in the Remains, &c. of Richard Brathwaite, 1618; and as his edition of our epitaph varies in some measure from the latter one published by Mr. Rowe, I shall not hesitate to transcribe it :

“Upon one John Combe of Stratford upon Avon, a notable Usurer, fastened upon a Tombe that he had caused to be built in his Life-Time.

“Ten in the hundred must lie in his grave,

“But a hundred to ten whether God will him have;

“Who then must be interr'd in this tombe?

“Oh (quoth the divill) my John a Combe.”

Here it may be observed that, strictly speaking, this is no jocular epitaph, but a malevolent prediction; and Brathwaite's copy is surely more to be depended on (being procured in or before the year 1618) than that delivered to Betterton or Rowe,

Aubrey's anecdotes so often quoted, the story is told in a different manner.

almost a century afterwards. It has been already remarked, that two of the lines said to have been produced on this occasion, were printed as an epigram in 1608, by H P. Gent. and are likewise found in Camden's Remains, 1614. I may add, that a usurer's solicitude to know what would be reported of him when he was dead, is not a very probable circumstance; neither was Shakspeare of a disposition to compose an invective, at once so bitter and uncharitable, during *a pleasant conversation among the common friends* of himself and a gentleman, with whose family he lived in such friendship, that at his death he bequeathed his sword to Mr. Thomas Combe as a legacy. A miser's monument indeed, constructed during his life-time, might be regarded as a challenge to satire; and we cannot wonder that anonymous lampoons should have been affixed to the marble designed to convey the character of such a being to posterity.—I hope I may be excused for this attempt to vindicate Shakspeare from the imputation of having poisoned the hour of confidence and festivity, by producing the severest of all censures on one of his company. I am unwilling, in short, to think he could so wantonly and so publickly have expressed his doubts concerning the salvation of one of his fellow-creatures. STEEVENS.

Since the above observations first appeared (in a note to the edition of our author's Poems which I published in 1780), I have obtained an additional proof of what has been advanced, in vindication of Shakspeare on this subject. It occurred to me that the will of John Combe might possibly throw some light on this matter, and an examination of it some years ago furnished me with such evidence as renders the story recorded in Brathwaite's Remains very doubtful; and still more strongly proves that, whoever was the author of this epitaph, it is highly improbable that it should have been written by Shakspeare.

The very first direction given by Mr. Combe in his will is, concerning a tomb to be erected to him *after his death*. "My will is, that a convenient tomb of the value of threescore pounds shall by my executors hereafter named, out of my goods and chattels first rayzed, within one year after my decease, be set over me."

“ Ben Jonson and he did gather humours of men

So much for Brathwaite's account of his having erected his own tomb in his life-time. That he had any quarrel with our author, or that Shakspeare had by any act *stung him so severely that Mr. Combe never forgave him*, appears equally void of foundation; for by his will he bequeaths “to Mr. William Shakspeare Five Pounds.” It is probable that they lived in intimacy, and that Mr. Combe had made some purchase from our poet; for he devises to his brother George, “the close or grounds known by the name of Parson's Close, alias, *Shakspeare's Close*.” It must be owned that Mr. Combe's will is dated Jan. 28, 1612-13, about eighteen months before his death; and therefore the evidence now produced is not absolutely decisive, as he might have erected a tomb, and a rupture might have happened between him and Shakspeare, after the making of this will: but it is very improbable that any such rupture should have taken place; for if the supposed cause of offence had happened subsequently to the execution of the instrument, it is to be presumed that he would have revoked the legacy to Shakspeare: and the same argument may be urged with respect to the direction concerning his tomb.

Mr. Combe by his will bequeathed to Mr. Francis Collins the elder, of the borough of Warwick (who appears as a legatee and subscribing witness to Shakspeare's will, and therefore may be presumed a common friend), ten pounds; to his godson John Collins (the son of Francis), ten pounds; to Mrs. Susanna Collins (probably godmother to our poet's eldest daughter), six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence; to Mr. Henry Walker (father to Shakspeare's godson), twenty shillings; to the poor of Stratford, twenty pounds; and to his servants, in various legacies, one hundred and ten pounds. He was buried at Stratford, July 12, 1614, and his will was proved, Nov. 10, 1615.

Our author, at the time of making *his* will, had it not in his power to show any testimony of his regard for Mr. Combe, that gentleman being then dead; but that he continued a friendly correspondence with his family to the last, appears evidently (as Mr. Steevens has observed) from his leaving his sword to Mr. Thomas Combe, the nephew, residuary legatee, and one of the executors of John.

wherever they came. One time as he was at the

On the whole we may conclude, that the lines preserved by Rowe, and inserted with some variation in Brathwaite's Remains, which the latter has mentioned to have been affixed to Mr. Combe's tomb in his life-time, were not written till after Shakspeare's death ; for the executors, who did not prove the will till Nov. 1615, could not well have erected "a fair monument" of considerable expence for those times, till the middle or perhaps the end of the year 1616, in the April of which year our poet died. Between that time and the year 1618, when Brathwaite's book appeared, some one of those persons (we may presume) who had suffered by Mr. Combe's severity, gave vent to his feelings in the satirical composition preserved by Rowe ; part of which, we have seen, was borrowed from epitaphs that had already been printed.—That Mr. Combe was a money-lender, may be inferred from a clause in his will, in which he mentions his "good and just debtors ;" to every one of whom he remits "twenty shillings for every twenty pounds, and so after this rate for a greater or lesser debt," on their paying in to his executors what they owe.

Mr. Combe married Mrs. Rose Clopton, the youngest daughter of William Clopton, of Clopton, Esq. [it was old John who married Rose Clopton], August 27, 1561 ; and therefore was probably, when he died, eighty years old. His property, from the description of it, appears to have been considerable.

In justice to this gentleman it should be remembered, that in the language of Shakspeare's age an *usurer* did not mean one who took exorbitant, but any, interest or usance for money ; which many then considered as criminal. The opprobrious term by which such a person was distinguished, "Ten in the hundred," proves this ; for *ten* per cent. was the ordinary interest of money. See Shakspeare's will.—Sir Philip Sidney directs by his will, made in 1586, that Sir Francis Walsingham shall put four thousand pounds which the testator bequeathed to his daughter, "to the best behoofe either by purchase of land or lease, or some other *good and godly* use, but in no case to let it out for any *usury* at all." MALONE.

In whatever form it may have been transmitted to us, I cannot

taverne at Stratford, Mr. Combes⁴, an old usurer, was

allow myself to entertain a doubt that this legendary story was an idle traditionary fabrication from beginning to end. Mr. Rowe's expressions are worthy of notice; he tells us it is *almost still* remembered at Stratford,—a very slender foundation to rest upon. These verses occur in a variety of different shapes in our old miscellanies, and some of the variations are pointed out in a preceding page. I could easily add to the number if it were worth while, but it is to be remarked, that in none of them are the lines attributed to Shakspeare. His property in them rests entirely upon the authority of Aubrey, and Rowe's tradition. This epitaph occurs, as Mr. Steevens has already observed, in Brathwaite's Remains, and I have myself very little doubt that Brathwaite was the author, and that the circumstance of building his tomb in his life-time was a mere fiction, to add poignancy to the satire. My friend, Mr. Haslewood, in his very curious republication of Barnabæ Itinerarium, has given us an ample account of this voluminous writer's productions; of these, there is one entitled Spiritual Spicerie, containing sundry sweet Tractates of Devotion and Pietie. In one of these tractates, the author penitentially reviews the errors of his past life, and probably alludes to this very lampoon: "*I could jeere him to his face whom I needed most; Ten at hundred I meane*, and he would not stick to pay mee in mine own coyne; I might beg a courtesie at his hands, but to starve for't never prevaile, wherein I found this instrument of usurie and the Devil to be of one societie," &c. As we find from this that he was in the habit of jeering a money-lender, and as these lines are printed in his name, it is, I think, much more probable, that they proceeded from an angry spend-thrift, than that Shakspeare should have composed them under any circumstances, upon one with whom he lived in habits of friendship. Another legendary story which does perhaps still less honour to our poet, I will give in the words of a native of Stratford, John Jordan, as he communicated it to Mr. Malone:

"Amongst the many juvenile levities of Shakspeare, I cannot omit delineating some other traits of his character; tradition says that he loved hearty draughts of English beer or ale, and that there were then two companies of people who usually met at

to be buried⁵; he makes then this extemporary epitaph upon him :

a village called Bidford, about seven miles below Stratford, upon the Banks of the Avon, who distinguished themselves by the appellations of the topers and sippers, the former of whom were accounted the most eminent in the science of drinking the largest quantity of liquor without being intoxicated; yet the latter were also very powerful, and looked on themselves superior to most other companies of drinkers in this country.

“ These sons of Bacchus challenged all the men in England to drink with them, to try the strength of their heads; the Stratford bard and his companions accepted it, and repaired to Bidford on a Whitsun Monday, to make a trial with the topers, but to their disappointment, they discovered that they were gone to Evesham Fair upon a like excursion; so the Stratfordians with Shakspeare were obliged to take up with the sippers, who they scoffed at as unworthy the contest; but upon trial they found themselves very inferior to their opponents, and were at last obliged to own their superiority; for the poet and his companions got so intoxicated, that they were obliged to decline any further trial; and leaving Bidford, they proceeded homeward; but poor William when he came about half a mile from the village, unable to go on, laid himself down upon the verdant turf, beneath the umbrageous boughs of a wide spreading crab tree, where he took his night's repose, the lark's early matins awaked him, and he was invited to return to Bidford by some of his convivial companions to renew the contest, but he refused; says he, I have drank with

“ ‘ Piping Pebworth, Dancing Marston,

“ ‘ Haunted Hillborough, and Hungry Grafton,

“ ‘ With Dadging Exhall, Papist Wixford,

“ ‘ Beggarly Broom, and Drunken Bidford.” ’

“ These lines seem to intimate that the opponents consisted of a motley group selected from the above villages; Pebworth is still celebrated for the skill of its inhabitants, in music and rural festivity; and Long Marston or Marston Sicca (as it is commonly wrote), the inhabitants of which are noted for their activity in country dances; and Hillborough is a lonely hamlet said by

“ Ten in the hundred the devil allowes,
 “ But Combes will have twelve, he swears and he vowes:
 “ If any one aske, who lies in this tomb,
 “ Hoh ! quoth the devill, 'tis my John o'Combe.”

In a former page I have proved, if I mistake not, from an examination of Mr. Combe's will, and other

the tradition of the vicinage to have been haunted by spirits and fairies : Hungry Grafton, I suppose, received that appellation from the barrenness of its soil ; but however that may be, the produce of its excellent stone quarries make sufficient amends for the sterility of the land. Dadging Exhall,—I must confess I am at a loss how to account for the appellation of Dadging ; but Papist Wixford, is a village belonging to the Throckmorton family, and the tenants are most of them of the Roman Catholick Religion. Beggarly Broom must have been so called from the badness of the soil ; and Drunken Bidford still deserves the name ; for though it is but a small village, there are five public houses in it, and the people love ale as well as they did in the days of Shakspeare. Of this I am certain, from my own observations, having resided amongst them above half a year.”

I cannot help thinking that this is a second instance in which poor Brathwaite may have been robbed of his property. This doggerel nonsense is very unlikely to have proceeded from Shakspeare, but would cut a very respectable figure in Drunken Barnabie's Journal. It may at first create surprise that such anecdotes should have been at any time current in Stratford of one who is their greatest boast ; but this mode of doing honour to a distinguished character may be paralleled elsewhere. Those pranks which, under different names, such as Marcolphus and Bertoldo, &c. have afforded amusement to the lower orders in almost every nation, are attributed in a popular Scotch chap-book to Buchanan. Many of his countrymen, who never heard of him as an historian, or a poet, are familiarly acquainted with *George Buchanan, the king's jester*. BOSWELL.

* This custom of adding an S to many names, both in speaking and writing, was very common in the last age. Shakspeare's fel-

circumstances, that no credit is due to Mr. Rowe's account of our poet's having so incensed him by an epitaph which he made on him in his presence, at a tavern at Stratford, that the old gentleman never forgave him. And Mr. Aubrey's account of this matter, which I had not then seen, fully confirms what I suggested on the subject: for here we find, that the epitaph was made after Combe's death. Nor is this sprightly effusion inconsistent with Shakspeare's having lived in a certain degree of familiarity with that gentleman; whom he might have respected for some qualities, though he indulged himself in a sudden and playful censure of his inordinate attention to the acquirement of wealth, at a time when that ridicule could not affect him who was the object of it.

Mr. Steevens has justly observed, that the verses exhibited by Mr. Rowe, contain not a jocular epitaph but a malevolent prediction; and every reader will, I am sure, readily agree with him, that it is extremely improbable that Shakspeare should have poisoned the hour of confidence and friendship by producing one of the severest censures on one of his company, and so wantonly and publicly express his

low comedian, *John Heminge*, was always called Mr. *Hemings* by his contemporaries, and Lord Clarendon constantly writes Bishop *Earles*, instead of Bishop *Earle*.

"S (says Camden in his *Remaines*, 4to. 1605,) also is joyned to most [names] now, as Manors, Knoles, Crofts, Hilles, *Combes*," &c.

⁵ Mr. Combe was buried at Stratford, July 12, 1614. The entry in the Register of that parish confirms the observation made above; for though written by a clergyman, it stands thus: "July 12, 1614. Mr. John *Combes*, Gener."

doubts concerning the salvation of one of his fellow creatures. The foregoing more accurate statement entirely vindicates our poet from this imputation.

These extemporary verses having, I suppose, not been set down in writing by their author, and being inaccurately transmitted to London, appear in an entirely different shape in Braithwaite's Remaines, and there we find them affixed to a tomb erected by Mr. Combe in his life-time. I have already shown that no such tomb was erected by Mr. Combe, and therefore Braithwaite's story is as little to be credited as Mr. Rowe's. That such various representations should be made of verses of which the author probably never gave a written copy, and perhaps never thought of after he had uttered them, is not at all extraordinary. Who has not, in his own experience, met with similar variations in the accounts of a transaction which passed but a few months before he had occasion to examine minutely and accurately into the real state of the fact?

In further support of Mr. Aubrey's exhibition of these verses, it may be observed, that in his copy the first couplet is original; in Mr. Rowe's exhibition of them it is borrowed from preceding epitaphs. In the fourth line, *Ho* (not *Oh ho*, as Mr. Rowe has it,) was in Shakspeare's age the appropriate exclamation of Robin Goodfellow, alias Pucke, alias Hobgoblin⁶.

It has been already mentioned p. 118, that Shakspeare's wife brought him three children: Susanna,

⁶ See Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, vol. iii. p. 202.

who was born in May, 1583; and that about eighteen months afterwards, she was delivered of twins, a son and a daughter, who were baptized on February 2, 1584-5, by the names of Hamnet and Judith. In the year 1596, he had the irreparable misfortune to lose his only son, who died at the early age of twelve. Susanna, the eldest daughter, was married June 5, 1607, to Dr. John Hall, a respectable physician; the youngest to Mr. Thomas Quiney, February 10, 1615-16. A more particular account of our poet's family, will be found in the Stratford Registers, which are given in the Appendix. We have now the melancholy task of recording the close of Shakspeare's virtuous and brilliant career. He died on his birth-day, April 23, 1616, and had exactly completed his fifty-second year. From Du Cange's Perpetual Almanack, Gloss. in v. *Annus* (making allowance for the different style which then prevailed in England from that on which Du Cange's calculation was formed), it appears that the 23d of April in that year was a Tuesday. There is an interesting coincidence between the death of our great poet on his birthday, and that of one almost equally illustrious in a sister art. Raffaele also died on his birth-day, at the still earlier age of thirty-seven. It was not only in this circumstance that they bore a resemblance to each other; but as we learn from Vasari's character of that great painter, in mildness of manners and benevolence of disposition.

No account has been transmitted to us of the malady which at so early a period of life deprived England of its brightest ornament. The private

note-book of his son-in-law Dr. Hall⁷, containing a short state of the cases of his patients, was a few years ago put into my hands by my friend, the late Dr. Wright; and as Dr. Hall married our poet's daughter in the year 1607, and undoubtedly attended Shakspeare in his last illness, being then forty years old, I had hopes this book might have enabled me to gratify the publick curiosity on this subject. But unluckily the earliest case recorded by Hall, is dated in 1617. He had probably filled some other book with memorandums of his practice in preceding years; which by some contingency may hereafter be found, and inform posterity of the particular circumstances that attended the death of our great poet. Shakspeare was buried April 25, 1616, on the north side of the chancel of the great church at Stratford. On his grave-stone underneath is the following inscription, expressed, as Mr. Steevens observes, in an uncouth mixture of small and capital letters:

“ Good Frend for Iesus SAKE forbear
 “ To digg T-E Dust Encloused HERe
 “ Blesse be T-E Man ¶ spares T-Es Stones
 “ And curst be He ¶ moves my Bones*.” STEEVENS.

⁷ Dr. Hall's pocket-book after his death fell into the hands of a surgeon of Warwick, who published a translation of it, (with some additions of his own) under the title of *Select Observations on the English Bodies of eminent Persons, in desperate Diseases, &c.* The third edition was printed in 1683.

⁸ And curst be he that moves my bones.] It is uncertain whether this epitaph was written by Shakspeare himself, or by one of his friends after his death. The imprecation contained in this last line, was perhaps suggested by an apprehension that our author's

A monument was afterwards erected to his memory, at what time is not known, but certainly

remains might share the same fate with those of the rest of his countrymen, and be added to the immense pile of human bones deposited in the chanel house at Stratford. This, however, is mere conjecture; for similar execrations are found in many ancient Latin epitaphs.

Mr. Steevens has justly mentioned it as a singular circumstance, that Shakspeare does not appear to have written any verses on his contemporaries, either in praise of the living, or in honour of the dead. I once imagined that he had mentioned Spenser with kindness in one of his Sonnets; but have since discovered that the Sonnet to which I allude, was written by Richard Barnefield. If, however, the following epitaphs be genuine, (and indeed the latter is much in Shakspeare's manner), he in two instances overcame that modest diffidence, which seems to have supposed the eulogium of his humble muse of no value.

In a Manuscript volume of poems by William Herrick and others, in the hand-writing of the time of Charles I. which is among Rawlinson's Collections in the Bodleian Library, is the following epitaph, ascribed to our poet :

“ AN EPITAPH.

“ When God was pleas'd, the world unwilling yet,
 “ Elias James to nature payd his debt,
 “ And here reposeth: as he liv'd, he dyde;
 “ The saying in him strongly vereside,—
 “ Such life, such death: then, the known truth to tell,
 “ He liv'd a godly life, and dyde as well.

“ WM. SHAKSPEARE.”

There was formerly a family of the surname of James at Stratford. Anne, the wife of Richard James, was buried there on the same day with our poet's widow; and Margaret, the daughter of John James, died there in April, 1616.

A monumental inscription “ of a better leer,” and said to be written by our author, is preserved in a collection of Epitaphs, at the end of the Visitation of Salop, taken by Sir William Dug-

before 1623, as it is mentioned in the commendatory verses of Leonard Digges. He is represented under an arch, in a sitting posture, a cushion spread before him, with a pen in his right hand, and his left rested on a scroll of paper. The following Latin distich is engraved under the cushion :

Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mæret, Olympus habet.

In addition to this Latin inscription, the following lines are found on a tablet immediately underneath the cushion on his monument :

dale in the year 1664, now remaining in the College of Arms C 35, fol. 20; a transcript of which Sir Isaac Heard, Garter Principal King at Arms, has obligingly transmitted to me.

Among the monuments in Tongue church, in the county of Salop, is one erected in remembrance of Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight, who died, as I imagine, about the year 1600. In the Visitation-book it is thus described by Sir William Dugdale :

“ On the north side of the chancell stands a very statelie tombe, supported with Corinthian columnes. It hath two figures of men in armour, thereon lying, the one below the arches and columnes, and the other above them, and this epitaph upon it.

“ Thomas Stanley, Knight, second son of Edward Earle of Derby, Lord Stanley and Strange, descended from the famielie of the Stanleys, married Margaret Vernon, one of the daughters and co-heires of Sir George Vernon of Nether-Haddon, in the county of Derby, Knight, by whom he had issue two sons, Henry and Edward. Henry died an infant; Edward survived, to whom those lordships descended: and married the lady Lucie Percie, second daughter of the Earle of Northumberland: by her he had issue seaven daughters. She and her foure daughters, Arabella, Marie, Alice, and Priscilla, are interred under a monument in the church of Waltham in the county of Essex. Thomas, her son, died in his infancy, and is buried in the parish



1795. 10. 11

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

From his Monument at Stratford.

London: Published by J. & W. T. 1795. 10. 11.

" Stay, passenger, why dost thou go so fast,
 " Read, if thou canst, whom envious death hath plac'd
 " Within this monument ; Shakspeare, with whom
 " Quick nature dy'd ; whose name doth deck the tomb
 " Far more than cost ; since all that he hath writ
 " Leaves living art but page to serve his wit.
 " Obit An°. Dni. 1619, æt. 53, die 23 Apri."

Mr. Granger observes, (Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 259,) that "*it has been said* there never was an original portrait of Shakspeare, but that Sir Thomas Clarges after his death caused a portrait to be drawn for him from a person who nearly resembled him." This entertaining writer was a great collector of anec-

church of Winwich in the county of Lancaster. The other three, Petronilla, Frances, and Venesia, are yet living.

" These following verses were made by WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, the late famous tragedian :

" *Written upon the east end of this tombe.*
 " Aske who lyes here, but do not weepe ;
 " He is not dead, he doth but sleepe.
 " This stony register is for his bones,
 " His fame is more perpetual than these stones :
 " And his own goodness, with himself being gone,
 " Shall live, when earthly monument is none."

" *Written upon the west end thereof.*
 " Not monumental stone preserves our fame,
 " Nor skye-aspiring pyramids our name.
 " The memory of him for whom this stands,
 " Shall out-live marble, and defacers' hands.
 " When all to time's consumption shall be given,
 " Stanley, for whom this stands, shall stand in heaven."

The last line of this epitaph, though the worst, bears very strong marks of the hand of Shakspeare. The beginning of the first line, " Aske who lyes here," reminds us of that which we

dotes, but not always very scrupulous in enquiring into the authenticity of the information which he procured; for this improbable tale, I find on examination, stands only on the insertion of an anonymous writer in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for August, 1750, who boldly "affirmed it as an absolute fact;" but being afterwards publickly called upon to produce his authority, by the Rev. Mr. Green, Rector of Welford, near Stratford, never produced any. There is the strongest reason therefore to presume it a forgery.

"Mr. Walpole (adds Mr. Granger) informs me, that the only original picture of Shakspeare is that which belonged to Mr. Keck, from whom it passed to Mr. Nicoll, whose only daughter married the Marquis of Caernarvon" [now Duke of Chandos.]

have been just examining: "If any man ask who lies in this tomb," &c.—And in the fifth line we find a thought which our poet has also introduced in *King Henry VIII.*:

"Ever below'd and loving may his rule be!

"And, when old time shall lead him to his grave,

"*Goodness and he fill up one monument!*"

This epitaph must have been written after the year 1600, for Venetia Stanley, who afterwards was the wife of Sir Kenelm Digby, was born in that year. With a view to ascertain its date more precisely, the churches of Great and Little Waltham have been examined for the monument said to have been erected to Lady Lucy Stanley and her four daughters, but in vain; for no trace of it remains: nor could the time of their respective deaths be ascertained, the registers of those parishes being lost.—Sir William Dugdale was born in Warwickshire, was bred at the free-school of Coventry, and in the year 1625, purchased the manor of Blythe in that county, where he then settled and afterwards spent a great part of his life: so that his testimony respecting this epitaph is sufficient to ascertain its authenticity.

From this picture, his Grace, at my request, very obligingly permitted a drawing to be made by that excellent artist Mr. Ozias Humphry; and from that drawing the print prefixed to the present edition has been engraved.

In the manuscript notes of the late Mr. Oldys, this portrait is said to have been "painted by old Cornelius Jansen." "Others," he adds, "say, that it was done by Richard Burbage, the player;" and in another place he ascribes it to "John Taylor, the player." This Taylor, it is said in *The Critical Review* for 1770, left it by *will* to Sir William D'Avenant. But unluckily there was no player of the christian and surname of John Taylor contemporary with Shakspeare. The player who performed in Shakspeare's company was Joseph Taylor. There was, however, a *painter* of the name of *John Taylor*, to whom in his early youth it is barely possible that we may have been indebted for the only original portrait of our author; for in the Picture-Gallery at Oxford are two portraits of Taylor the Water-Poet, and on each of them, "*John Taylor* pinx. 1655." There appears some resemblance of *manner* between these portraits and the picture of Shakspeare in the Duke of Chandos's collection. That picture (I express the opinion of Sir Joshua Reynolds) has not the least air of Cornelius Jansen's performances.

That this picture was once in the possession of Sir William D'Avenant, can admit of little doubt; but it is much more likely to have been *purchased* by him from some of the players after the theatres were shut up by authority, and the veterans of the stage

were reduced to great distress, than to have been bequeathed to him by the person who painted it; in whose custody it is improbable that it should have remained. Sir William D'Avenant appears to have died insolvent. There is no Will of his in the Prerogative-Office; but administration of his effects was granted to John Otway, his *principal creditor*, in May 1668. After his death, Betterton the actor bought it, probably at a publick sale of his effects. While it was in Betterton's possession, it was engraved by Vandergucht, for Mr. Rowe's edition of Shakspeare, in 1709. Betterton made no will, and died very indigent. He had a large collection of portraits of actors in crayons, which were bought at the sale of his goods, by Bullfinch the Printseller, who sold them to one Mr. Sykes. The portrait of Shakspeare was purchased by Mrs. Barry the actress, who sold it afterwards for forty guineas to Mr. Robert Keck. In 1719, while it was in Mr. Keck's possession, an engraving was made from it by Vertue: a large half-sheet. Mr. Nicoll of Colney-Hatch, Middlesex, marrying the heiress of the Keck family, this picture devolved to him; and while in his possession, it was, in 1747, engraved by Houbraken for Birch's *Illustrious Heads*. By the marriage of the Duke of Chandos with the daughter of Mr. Nicoll, it became his Grace's property; and by the marriage of the present Marquis of Buckingham with his Grace's daughter, Lady Anne Elizabeth Brydges, it now adorns the Marquis's collection at Stowe.

Sir Godfrey Kneller painted a picture of our author, which he presented to Dryden, but from what picture he copied, I am unable to ascertain, as I have

never seen Kneller's picture. The poet repaid him by an elegant copy of Verses.—See his Poems, vol. ii. p. 231, edit. 1743 :

“ Shakspeare, thy gift, I place before my sight,
“ With awe I ask his blessing as I write ;
“ With reverence look on his majestick face,
“ Proud to be less, but of his godlike race.
“ His soul inspires me, while thy praise I write,
“ And I like Teucer under Ajax fight :
“ Bids thee, through me, be bold ; with dauntless breast
“ Contemn the bad, and emulate the best :
“ Like his, thy criticks in the attempt are lost,
“ When most they rail, know then, they envy most.”

It appears from a circumstance mentioned by Dryden, that these verses were written after the year 1683 : probably after Rymer's book had appeared in 1693. Dryden having made no will, and his wife Lady Elizabeth renouncing, administration was granted on the 10th of June, 1700, to his son Charles, who was drowned in the Thames near Windsor in 1704. His younger brother, Erasmus, succeeded to the title of Baronet, and died without issue in 1711. This picture is now in the possession of Earl Fitzwilliam.

About the year 1725 a mezzotinto of Shakspeare was scraped by Simon, said to be done from an original picture painted by Zoust or Socst, then in the possession of T. Wright, painter, in Covent Garden. The earliest known picture painted by Zoust in England, was done in 1657 ; so that if he ever painted a picture of Shakspeare, it must have been a copy. It could not, however, have been made from D'Avenant's picture (unless the painter took very

great liberties), for the whole air, dress, disposition of the hair, &c. are different. I have seen a picture in the possession of — Douglas, Esq. at Teddington near Twickenham, which is, I believe, the very picture from which Simon's mezzotinto was made. It is on canvas (about 24 inches by 20), and somewhat smaller than the life.

The earliest print of our poet that appeared, is that in the title-page of the first folio edition of his works, 1623, engraved by Martin Droeshout. On this print the following lines, addressed to the reader, were written by Ben Jonson :

“ This figure that thou here seest put,
 “ It was for gentle Shakspeare cut ;
 “ Wherein the graver had a stife
 “ With nature, to out-do the life.
 “ O, could he but have drawn his wit
 “ As well in brass, as he hath hit
 “ His face, the print would then surpass
 “ All that was ever writ in brass ;
 “ But since he cannot, reader, look
 “ Not on his picture, but his book.”

Droeshout engraved also the heads of John Fox the martyrologist, Montjoy Blount, son of Charles Blount Earl of Devonshire, William Fairfax, who fell at the siege of Frankendale in 1621, and John Howson, Bishop of Durham. The portrait of Bishop Howson is at Christ Church, Oxford. By comparing any of these prints (the two latter of which are well executed) with the original pictures from whence the engravings were made, a better judgment might be formed of the fidelity of our author's portrait, as ex-

hibited by this engraver, than from Jonson's assertion, that "in this figure

" — the graver had a strife

" With nature, to out-do the life ; "

a compliment which in the books of that age was paid to so many engravers that nothing decisive can be inferred from it.—It does not appear from what picture this engraving was made; but from the dress, and the singular disposition of the hair, &c. it undoubtedly was engraved from a picture, and probably a very ordinary one. There is no other way of accounting for the great difference between this print of Droeshout's, and his spirited portraits of Fairfax and Bishop Howson, but by supposing that the picture of Shakspeare from which he copied was a very coarse performance.

The next print in point of time is, according to Mr. Walpole and Mr. Granger, that executed by J. Payne, a scholar of Simon Pass, in 1634; with a laurel-branch in the poet's left-hand. A print of Shakspeare by so excellent an engraver as Payne, would probably exhibit a more perfect representation of him than any other of those times; but I much doubt whether any such ever existed. Mr. Granger, I apprehend, has erroneously attributed to Payne the head done by Marshall in 1640 (apparently from Droeshout's larger print), which is prefixed to a spurious edition of Shakspeare's Poems published in that year. In Marshall's print the poet *has a laurel branch in his left hand*. Neither Mr. Walpole, nor any of the other great collectors of prints, were pos-

sessed of, or ever saw, any print of Shakspeare by Payne, as far as I can learn.

Two other prints only remain to be mentioned; one engraved by Vertue in 1721, for Mr. Pope's edition of our author's plays in quarto; said to be engraved from an original picture in the possession of the Earl of Oxford¹; and another, a mezzotinto, by Earlom, prefixed to an edition of King Lear, in 1770; said to be done from an original by Cornelius Jansen, in the collection of Charles Jennens, Esq.

Most of the other prints of Shakspeare that have appeared, were copied from some or other of those which I have mentioned.

By his will, which appears to have been originally drawn up about two months before his death, Shakspeare left the bulk of his property to his eldest daughter, Susanna Hall. It is given at length in the Appendix, where whatever observations to which its provisions may give rise, will be found appended in the notes: one topick, however, it may be fit to advert to here. It commences with a pious declaration of his religious principles, but affords not the slightest countenance to a notion which has been started, of Shakspeare being a Roman Catholick. To this supposition, I myself may have given some support by

¹ "The portrait palmed upon Mr. Pope," (I use the words of the late Mr. Oldys, in a MS. note to his copy of Langbaine,) "for an original of Shakspeare, from which he had his fine plate engraven, is evidently a juvenile portrait of King James I." I am no judge in these matters, but only deliver an opinion, which if ill-grounded may be easily overthrown. The portrait, to me at least, has no traits of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

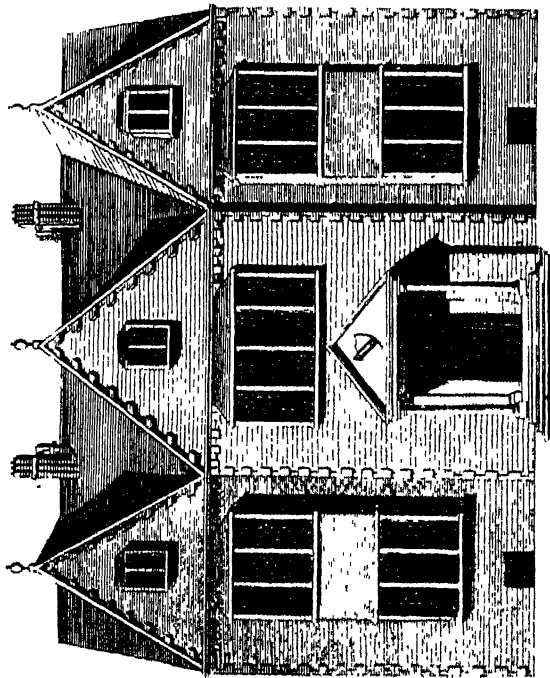
the publication some years ago, of a singular manuscript, purporting to be the confession of faith of John Shakspeare, whom I conjectured to have been either the father or brother of the poet ; but I am now convinced that I was altogether mistaken. I have already, I trust, satisfactorily proved, p. 53, that he had no brother of the name of John, and I have as little doubt that the person by whom this paper was drawn up, was not his father². That these opinions were not entertained by the poet himself, must be evident at once from a perusal of his works. The sentiments which we find him expressing in Henry VIII. and King John, could not have fallen from one who was friendly to the pretensions of the Papal See ; and in Romeo and Juliet, we find him speaking of evening mass, a mistake which could not have occurred to a Roman Catholick.

Gildon, without authority, I believe, says, that our author left behind him an estate of 300*l.* per ann. This was equal to at least 1000*l.* per ann. at this day ; the relative value of money, the mode of living in that age, the luxury and taxes of the present time,

² Mr. Malone has already expressed this opinion, in his Detection of the Ireland forgery ; and has there mentioned, that he had obtained documents which clearly proved that this confession of faith could not have been the composition of any one of our poet's family. I have not been able to discover this documentary evidence, but I suppose it may have been connected with his discovery of John Shakspeare the shoemaker, whom he mentions in the commencement of this Life, and who has been hitherto confounded with the poet's father. It is highly improbable, indeed, that the latter, who held the situation of Bailiff of Stratford, should have been a Roman Catholick. BOSWELL.

and various other circumstances, being considered. But I doubt whether all his property amounted to much more than 200*l.* per ann. which yet was a considerable fortune in those times. He appears from his grand-daughter's will to have possessed, in Bishopton, and Stratford Welcome, four yard land and a half. *A yard land* is a denomination well known in Warwickshire, and contains from thirty to sixty acres. The average therefore being forty-five, four yard land and a half may be estimated at about two hundred acres. As sixteen years purchase was the common rate at which the land was sold at that time, that is, one half less than at this day, we may suppose that these lands were let at seven shillings per acre, and produced 70*l.* per annum. If we rate the New-Place with the appurtenances, and our poet's other houses in Stratford, at 60*l.* a year, and his house, &c. in the Blackfriars (for which he paid 140*l.*³ at 20*l.* a year), we have a rent-roll of 150*l.* per annum. Of his personal property it is not now possible to form any accurate estimate; but if we rate it at five hundred pounds, money then bearing an interest of ten per cent. Shakspeare's total income was 200*l.* per ann. To Shakspeare's income from his real and personal property must be added 200*l.* per ann. which he probably derived from the theatre, while he continued on the stage. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which was written soon after the year 1600, *three hundred pounds a year* is described as an estate of such magnitude as to cover all the defects of its possessor :

³ See Appendix.



NEW PLOT.

*From a Drawing in the Margin of an ancient Survey made by Order of SIR GEORGE CAREW
 afterwards Baron Carew of Clifton, and Earl of Totness, and found at Clifton near Stapledon upon Devon, in 1786*

Published by the Author, at the Sign of the Three Crowns, in Pall Mall, 1790

“ O, what a world of vile ill-favour'd faults

“ Look handsome in three hundred pounds a year.”

The residence in which Shakspeare spent the latter part of his life, must from that circumstance be ever regarded with veneration. The following account of it is given by Mr. Theobald :

“ In 1614 the greater part of the town of Stratford was consumed by fire ; but our Shakspeare's house, among some others, escaped the flames. This house was first built by Sir Hugh Clopton, a younger brother of an ancient family in that neighbourhood. Sir Hugh was Sheriff of London in the reign of Richard III. and Lord Mayor in the reign of King Henry VII. By his will he bequeathed to his elder brother's son his manor of Clopton, &c. and his house, by the name of the Great House in Stratford. Good part of the estate is yet [in 1733] in the possession of Edward Clopton, Esq. and Sir Hugh Clopton, Knt. lineally descended from the elder brother of the first Sir Hugh.

“ The estate had now been sold out of the Clopton family for above a century, at the time when Shakspeare became the purchaser : who having repaired and modelled it to his own mind, changed the name to New-Place, which the mansion-house, since erected upon the same spot, at this day retains. The house, and lands which attended it, continued in Shakspeare's descendants to the time of the Restoration ; when they were re-purchased by the Clopton family, and the mansion now belongs to Sir Hugh Clopton, Knt. To the favour of this worthy gentleman I owe the knowledge of one particular in honour of our

poet's once dwelling house, of which I presume Mr. Rowe never was apprized. When the Civil War raged in England, and King Charles the First's Queen was driven by the necessity of her affairs to make a recess in Warwickshire, she kept her court for three weeks in New-Place. We may reasonably suppose it then the best private house in the town; and her Majesty preferred it to the College, which was in the possession of the Combe family, who did not so strongly favour the King's party."

Mr. Theobald is mistaken in supposing that Shakspeare changed the name of this estate. I find from ancient documents that it was called New Place as early at least as 1565. In other points he appears to have been in an error. From his words, the reader may be led to suppose that Henrietta Maria was obliged to *take refuge* from the rebels in Stratford-upon-Avon: but that was not the case. She marched from Newark, June 16, 1643, and entered Stratford-upon-Avon triumphantly, about the 22d of the same month, at the head of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, with one hundred and fifty waggons and a train of artillery. Here she was met by Prince Rupert, accompanied by a large body of troops. After sojourning about three weeks at our poet's house, which was then possessed by his grand-daughter Mrs. Nash, and her husband, the Queen went (July 13) to the plain of Keinton under Edge-hill, to meet the King, and proceeded from thence with him to Oxford, where, says a contemporary historian, "her coming (July 15) was rather to a triumph than a war."

Of the College above-mentioned the following was the origin, John de Stratford Bishop of Winchester, in the fifth year of King Edward III. founded a Chantry consisting of five priests, one of whom was Warden, in a certain chapel adjoining to the church of Stratford on the south side ; and afterwards (in the seventh year of Henry VIII.) Ralph Collingwode instituted four choristers, to be daily assistant in the celebration of divine service there. This Chantry, says Dugdale, soon after its foundation, was known by the name of The College of Stratford-upon-Avon.

In the 26th year of Edward III. "a house of square stone" was built by Ralph de Stratford, Bishop of London, for the habitation of the five priests. This house, or another on the same spot, is the house of which Mr. Theobald speaks, and still bears the name of "The College."

After the suppression of religious houses, the site of the college was granted by Edward VI. to John Earl of Warwick and his heirs ; who being attainted in the first year of Queen Mary, it reverted to the crown.

Sir John Clopton, Knt. (the father of Edward Clopton, Esq. and Sir Hugh Clopton), who died at Stratford-upon-Avon, in April, 1719, purchased the estate of New-place, &c. some time after the year 1685, from Sir Reginald Forster, Bart. who married Mary the daughter of Edward Nash, Esq. cousin-german to Thomas Nash, Esq. who married our poet's grand-daughter, Elizabeth Hall. Edward Nash bought it, after the death of her second husband, Sir John Barnard, Knight. By her will, which will be

found in a subsequent page, she directed her trustee, Henry Smith, to sell the New-Place, &c. (after the death of her husband), and to make the first offer of it to her cousin, Edward Nash, who purchased it accordingly. His son, Thomas Nash, whom for the sake of distinction I shall call the younger, having died without issue, in August, 1652, Edward Nash, by his will, made on the 16th of March, 1678-9, devised the principal part of his property to his daughter Mary, and her husband Reginald Forster, Esq. afterwards Sir Reginald Forster; but in consequence of the testator's only referring to a deed of settlement executed three days before, without reciting the substance of it, no particular mention of New-Place is made in his will. After Sir John Clopton had bought it from Sir Reginald Forster, he gave it by deed to his younger son, Sir Hugh, who pulled down our poet's house, and built one more elegant on the same spot.

In May, 1742, when Mr. Garrick, Mr. Macklin, and Mr. Delane visited Stratford, they were hospitably entertained under Shakspeare's mulberry-tree, by Sir Hugh Clopton. He was a barrister at law, was knighted by George the First, and died in the 80th year of his age, in Dec. 1751. His nephew, Edward Clopton, the son of his elder brother Edward, lived till June, 1753.

The New Place was sold by Henry Talbot, Esq. son-in-law and executor of Sir Hugh Clopton, in or soon after the year 1752, to the Rev. Mr. Gastrell, a man of large fortune, who resided in it but a few years, in consequence of a disagreement with the

inhabitants of Stratford. Every house in that town that is let or valued at more than 40s. a year, is assessed by the overseers, according to its worth and the ability of the occupier, to pay a monthly rate toward the maintenance of the poor. As Mr. Gastrell resided part of the year at Lichfield, he thought he was assessed too highly; but being very properly compelled by the magistrates of Stratford to pay the whole of what was levied on him, on the principle that his house was occupied by his servants in his absence, he peevishly declared, that *that* house should never be assessed again; and soon afterwards pulled it down, sold the materials, and left the town. Wishing, as it should seem, to be "damn'd to everlasting fame," he had some time before cut down Shakspeare's celebrated mulberry-tree, to save himself the trouble of showing it to those whose admiration of our great poet led them to visit the poetick ground on which it stood.

That Shakspeare planted this tree, is as well authenticated as any thing of that nature can be. The Rev. Mr. Davenport informed me, that Mr. Hugh Taylor (the father of his clerk,) who was then [1790] eighty-five years old, and an alderman of Warwick, told him that he lived when a boy at the next house to New-Place; that his family had inhabited the house for almost three hundred years; that it was transmitted from father to son during the last and the present century; that this tree (of the fruit of which he had often eaten in his younger days, some of its branches hanging over his father's gar-

den) was planted by Shakspeare; and that till this was planted, there was no mulberry-tree in that neighbourhood. Mr. Taylor adds, that he was frequently when a boy at New-Place, and that this tradition was preserved in the Clopton family, as well as in his own.

There were scarce any trees of this species in England till the year 1609, when by order of King James many hundred thousand young mulberry-trees were imported from France, and sent into the different counties with a view to the feeding of silkworms, and the encouragement of the silk manufacture. See Camdeni Annales ab anno 1603 ad annum 1623, published by Smith, quarto, 1691, p. 7; and Howes's Abridgment of Stowe's Chronicle, edit. 1618, p. 503, where we have a more particular account of this transaction than in the larger work. A very few mulberry-trees had been planted before; for we are told, that in the preceding year a gentleman of Picardy, Monsieur Forest, "kept greate store of English silkworms at Greenwich, the which the king with great pleasure came often to see them worke; and of their silke he caused *a piece of taffeta* to be made."

Shakspeare was perhaps the only inhabitant of Stratford, whose business called him annually to London; and probably on his return from thence in the spring of the year 1609, he planted this tree,

As a similar enthusiasm to that which with such diligence has sought after Virgil's tomb, may lead my countrymen to visit the spot where our great bard

spent several years of his life and died ; every Englishman will, I am sure, concur with me in wishing that it may enjoy perpetual verdure and fertility.

“ In this retreat our Shakspeare’s godlike mind
“ With matchless skill survey’d all human kind.
“ Here may each sweet that blest Arabia knows,
“ *Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the rose,*
“ To latest time, their balmy odours fling,
“ And Nature here display eternal spring ! ”

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

24 Nov. 1597. Powley.

To the right honorable S^r Thomas Egerton Knighte
Lorde Keper of the greate seale of Englande.

IN most humblewise complayninge sheweth unto your good Lordshipp your dailye orators, John Shakespere of Stratford upon Avon in the county of Warwicke and Mary his wief, That whereas your same orators were lawfully seized in their demesne as of fee as in the ryghte of the saide Mary, of and in one messuage and one yarde lande with thappurtenauncs lyinge and beinge in Wyl-necote in the saide county, And they beinge thereof so seised for and in consideracōn of the sōme of fowerty pounds to them by one Edmounde Lamberte of Barton on the Heath in the saide countie payde your sayde orators were content that the saide Edmounde Lamberte should have and enjoye the same premisses untill such tyme as your sayde orators did repaye unto him the saide sōme of fowertie pounds; By reason whereof the saide Edmounde did enter into the premisses, and did enjoye the same for the space of three or fower yeares, and thissues and profytts thereof did receyve and take. After which your saide orators did tender unto the saide Edmounde the sayde sōme of fowertie pounds, and desired that they mighte have agayne the sayd premisses accordinge to their agreement, which money he the sayde Edmounde then refused to receyve, sayinge that he would not receyve the same, nor suffer your sayd orators to have the saide premisses agayne, unlesse they would paye unto him certayne other money which they did owe unto him

for other matters: All which not withstandinge now so yt is and yt maye please your good Lo^{pp} that shortelie after the tendringe of the sayde fowertie pounds to the saide Edmounde, and the desyre of your sayde orators to have theire lande agayne from him, he the saide Edmounde at Barton aforesayde dyed; after whose deathe one John Lamberte as sonne and heire of the saide Edmounde entred into the same premisses, and occupied the same: after which entrie of the sayde John your sayde orators came to him and tendred the saide money unto him, and likewise requested him that he woulde suffer them to have and enjoye the sayde premisses accordinge to theire righte and tyle therein, and the promise of his saide father to your saide orators made, which he the saide John denied in all things, and did withstande them for entringe into the premisses, and as yet doeth so continew still; And by reason that certaine deeds and other evydences concerninge the premisses and that of righte belonge to your saide orators are comme to the hands and possession of the sayde John, he wrongfully still keepeth and detayneth the possession of the saide premisses from your saide orators, and will in no wise permytt and suffer them to have and enjoye the sayde premisses accordinge to theire righte in and to the same. And he the saide John Lamberte hathe of late made sondrie secrete estates of the premisses to dyvers persons to your saide orators unknownen, whereby your saide orators cannot tell agaynste whome to bringe their accōns at the comen lawe, for the recovery of the premisses. In tender consideracōn whercof, and for so muche as your saide orators knowe not the certaine date nor contents of the saide wrytings, nor whether the same be contayned in bagge, boxe, or cheste, sealed, locked or noe, and therefore have no remedye to recover the same evydences and wrytings by the due course of the cōmen laws of this realme; and for that also by reasone of the saide secrete estates so made by the saide John Lamberte as aforesaide, and want of

your saide orators havinge of the evidences and wrytings as aforesaide, your saide orators cannot tell what accōns or agaynst whome or in what manner to bring their accōn for the recovery of the premisses at the comen lawe : And for that also the sayde John Lamberte ys of greate wealth and abilitie and well frended and alied amongst gentlemen and freeholders of the countrey in the saide countie of Warwicke, where he dwelleth, and your saide orators are of small wealthe and verey fewe frends and alyance in the saide countie, may yt therefore please your good Lo^{pp^e} to graunt unto your saide orators the Queenes Ma^{ties} most gracyous writte of Subpœna to be directed to the saide John Lamberte comādinge him thereby at a certaine daie and under a certaine payne therein to be lynytted personally to appeare before your good Lo^{pp^e} in her ma^{ties} highnes corte of Chauncerie, then and there to answer the premisses, and further to stande to and abyde suche order and direction therein as to your good Lo^{pp^e} shall seeme best to stande with righte, equitie and good conscyence. And your sayde orators shall daylie praye to God for the prosperous healtie of your good Lo^{pp^e} with increase of honor long to contynewe.

J. STONE.

No. II.

Juratus coram me Thoma Legge, 24 November, 1597.

The Answere of John Lamberte defendte to the Byll of Compl^{te} of John Shakspeare and Mary his wief, Complts.

The said defendte (savage to him selfe both nowe and at all tymes hereafter all advantage of excepcon to the uncertentie and insufficiencie of the said Complts byll, and also savage to this defendte suche advantage as by the order of this honorable courte he shalbe adjudged to have for that the like byll in effecte conteyninge the selfe

same matter hath byne heretofore exhibited into this honorable courte againste this defendte, wherunto this defendte hath made a full and direct answere, wherin the said complte hath not proceeded to hearinge,) for a seconde full and directe answere unto the said Complts byll, sayeth, That true yt is (as this defendte verylie thinkethe) that the said complts were or one of them was lawfully seized in theire or one of theire demeasne as 'of fee of and in one messuage and one yearde and fower acres of lande with thappurtenaunces lyeinge and beinge in Wylmecott in the parishe of Aston Cauntlowe in the countie of Warwicke, and that they or one of them soe beinge thereof seized, the said complte John Shakspeare by indenture beringe date uppon or aboute the fowertenth daie of November in the twentieth yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lady the Queenes Ma^{tie} that now ys, for and in consideracon of the some of fortie pounds of lawfull English monney unto the said complte paide by Edmunde Lamberte this defendts father in the said byll named, did give, graunte, bargaine, and sell the said messuage and one yearde and fower acres of lande with theappurtenaunces unto the said Edmunde Lamberte and his heires and assignes; to have and to holde the said messuage one yearde and fower acres of lande with thappurtenaunces unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte his heires and assignes for ever. In which indenture there is a condicōnall proviso conteyned that if the said complte did paye unto the said Edmunde Lamberte the sūme of fortie pownds uppon the feast of S. Michell tharchangell which shoulde be in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousande fyve hundred and eightie at the dwellinge house of the said Edmunde Lamberte in Barton on the heath in the said countie of Warwicke, that then the said graunte bargaine and sale and all the covenants, graunts and agreements therein conteyned shoulde cease and be voyde; As by the said Indenture wherunto this defendte for his better certentie doth

referre him selfe maye appeare. And afterwards the saide Com^{pl}te John Shakspeare by his deede pole and liverie theruppon made did infeoffe the said Edmunde Lamberte of the said premisses, to have and to holde unto him the said Edmunde Lamberte and his heires for ever. After all which in the terme of Ester in the one and twentieth yeare of the Queenes Ma.^{ties} raigne that nowe ys, the said com^{pl}tes in due forme of lawe did levye a fyne of the said messuage and yearde lande and other the premisses before the Queenes Ma.^{ties} Justics of the comon ples at Westm^r unto the saide Edmunde Lamberte and his heires sur conuzance de droyt as that which the said Edmunde had of the gifte of the said John Shakspeare; as by the said pole deede and the chirographe of the said fine wherunto this defend^{te} for his better certentie referreth him selfe yt doth and maye appeare. And this defend^{te} further sayeth that the said com^{pl}te did not tender or paye the said sūme of fortie pownds unto the said Edmunde Lamberte this defend^{ts} father uppon the said feaste daye which was in the yeare of our Lord God one thowsande fyve hundred and eightie, according to the said provisoe in the said Indenture expressed: By reason whereof this defend^{ts} said father was lawfully and absolutely seized of the said premisses in his demeanne as of fee; and aboute eleven years last paste thereof dyed seized. By and after whose decease the said messuage and premisses with thappurtenauncs descended and came as of righte the same oughte to descende and come unto this defend^{te} as sonne and next heire of the said Edmunde. By vertue whereof this defend^{te} was and yet is of the said messuage, yearde lande, and premisses, lawfully seized in his demeanne as of fee; which this defend^{te} hopeth he oughte both by lawe and equitie to enjoye accordinge to his lawfull righte and tytle therin. And this defend^{te} further sayeth that the said messuage yearde lande and other the said premisses or the moste parte thereof have,

ever sythence the purches therof by this defendts father, byne in lease by the demise of the said complte. And the lease therof beinge nowe somewhat nere expyred, wherby a greater value is to be yearly raised therby, they the said complts doe nowe trouble and moleste this defendte by unjuste sute in lawe, thinkinge therby (as yt shoulde seme) to wringe from him this defendte some further recompence for the said premisses then they have alreddy received; Without that that yt was agreed that the said Edmund Lambert should have and enjoye the said premisses in anie other manner & forme (to the knowledge of this defendte) then this defendte hath in his said answere heretofore expressed. And without that that anie deeds or evidences concerninge the premisses, that of righte belonge to the said complts, are come to the hands and possession of this defendte; as in the sayd byll is untruly supposed: And without that that anie other matter cause or thinge in the said complts byll conteyned materiall or effectual in the lawe to be answered unto, towching or concerninge him this defendte, and herein before not answered unto, confessed & avoyded traversed or denied, is true, to this defendts knowledge or remembrance, in suche manner & forme as in the said byll the same is sett downe and declared. All which matters this defendte is reddey to averre & prove as this honorable courte shall awarde. And prayeth to be dismissed ther hence with his reasonable coste and charge in this wrongfull sute by him unjustly susteyned.

OVERBURY.

No. III.

Powle.

The Replicacō of John Shakespere and Mary his wief,
Plent to the Answer of John Lamberte Defend.

The said complaynts for replicacō to the answere of the said deft saie that their bill of complaynt ys certayne

and sufficient in the lawe to be answered: which said bill and matters therein contayned these comp^{ts} will avowe verifie and justifie to be true and sufficient in the lawe to be answered unto, in such sorte manner and forme as the same be sett forth and declared in the said bill; And further they saie that thanswere of the said defendendte is untrue and insufficient in lawe to be replied unto, for many apparent causes in the same appearange, thadvantage whereof these Comp.^{ts} praie may be to theyn nowe and at all times saved. Then and not ells for further replicacon to the said answe^r they saie, that accordinge to the condicon or proviso mencoed in the said Indenture of bargaine and sale of the premisses mencoed in the said bill of complaynt, he this comp.^{ts} John Shakspere did come to the dwelling house of the said Edmunde Lamberte in Barton upon the Heath upon the feast daie of St. Michaell tharcheangell which was in the yeare of our Lorde God one thousand fyve hundred and eightie¹, and then and there tendered to paie unto him the said Edmunde Lamberte the said fortie pounds, which he was to paie for the redempcon of the said premisses, which some the said Edmunde did refuse to receyve, sayinge that he owed him other money, and unles that he the said John would paie him altogether as well the said fortie pounds as the other money which he owed him over and above, he would not receyve the said fortie pounds, and immediatlie after he the said Edmunde dyed², and by reason thereof he the said def^t. entered into the said premisses and wrongfullie kepeth and detayneth the said premisses from him the said comp.^{ts} Without that, that any other matter or thinge materiall or effectuall for these comp^{ts} to replie unto and not herein sufficientlie confessed and avoyded denyed and traversed all which matters and things this complaynants are redie to avere and prove as this honorable co^rt will awarde.

¹ *Eight.* in orig.

² E. L. died in 1586, according to the account of his son John.

And praie as before in theire said bill they have praied. J. STONE.

No. IV.

“ In the name of God, Amen, the xxiiijth daye of November in the yeare of our lord God 1556, in the third and the forthe yeare of the raygne of our soveraigne Lord and lady, Phylipe and Mary, kyng and quene, &c. I Robert Ardēn of Wylmcote in the paryche of Aston Cauntlow, secke in bodye and good and perfitt of remembrance, make this my last will and testament, in manner and forme folowyng.

“ Fyrst, I bequethe my solle to allmyghty God and to our blessed laydye sent Marye, and to all the holye companye of heven, and my bodye to be beryde in the church yarde of Seynt Jhon the baptyst in Aston aforsayde.

“ Also I geve and bequeth to my youngste dowghter Marye all my lande in Willmecote, cawlide Asbyes & the crop upon the ground sowne and tyllde as hit is. And *vili. xiijs. iiijd.* of money to be payde ovr ere my goodes be devydede. Also I gyve & bequethe to my daughter Ales the thyrde parte of all my goodes moveable & unmoveable in fylde and town, after my detts and leggesces be performyde, besydes that goode she hath of her owne att this tyme. Also I gyve and bequethe to Agnes my wife *vili. xiijs. iiijd.* upon this condysione, that [she] shall sofer my daughter Alice quyetye to ynyoye halfe my cople hould in Wylmcote duryng the tyme of hir wyddowe-whodde: and if she will nott soffer my daughter Ales quyetye to occupye halfe with her, then I will that my wyfe shall have but *iiijl. vis. viijd.* & her ginture in Snytherfyelde.

“ Item, I will that the resdew of all my goodes moveable & unmoveable, my funeralles & my dettes dyschargyde I gyve and bequethe to my other children to be equallye devydide amongeste them by the descrysyon of Adam Palmer Hugh Porter of Snytterfyld & Jhon Sher-

lett, whom I do orden & make my overseres of this my last will & testament, & they to have for ther peynes taking in this behalfe xxs. apese. Allso I ordīn & constytute & make my full executores Ales & Marye my daughters of this my last will & testament, and they to have no more for ther peynes takyng nar as afore geven them. Also I gyve & bequethe to every house that hath no teme in the parish of Aston to every howse iiij*d*.

“Thes beyng wytnesses,

“Wylliam Bowton, Curatt.

“Adam Palmer.

“Jhon Sherlett

“Thomas Jhenkes

“William Pytt

“with other more

“Probat fuit &c. Wigorn. &c. xvii*o**d*. die mensis Decembris anno dni 1556.”

The Will of Agnes Arden, the widow of Robert Arden, was proved at Worcester, March 31, 1584. The precise date I am unable exactly to ascertain, as that part of the paper which contained it has been worn away by time; but it was made in the 21st year of Queen Elizabeth (1579); and it appears from the Register of Aston Cantlow, as I have already mentioned, that she was buried there Dec^r. 29, 1580. From her will, I learn that she did suffer her daughter Alice quietly to enjoy the moiety of the copyhold mentioned by her husband, for she devises to Jⁿ Hill *her part or moiety* of the neat crop in the fields, paying the Lord's rent. It appears that John Hill and John Fulwood had married two of the sisters of Mary Shakspeare. To each of the children of John Hill and John Fulwood she gives a sheep; to the poor of Aston Cantlow ten shillings; to Avery Fulwood two sheep; to Richard Petifer one sheep; to John Page and his wife (who perhaps was also her daughter), *vis. viii*d*.*; to Joan Lambard, *xi*d*.*; to John Hill her best platter of the best sort and her best platter of the second sort; one porringer,

one saucer, and one candlestick; two pair of sheets, her second pot, and best pan; to her son-in-law, John Fulwood, all the rest of her household stuff; and one brown steer two years old; to each of her brother Alexander Webbe's children, twelve-pence. She makes John Fulwood and John Hill her executors and residuary legatees, in trust for their children; and Adam Palmer and George Gibbs overseers of her will, which is witnessed by Thomas Edkins, Richard Petifer, "*with others.*"

"**The** Inventorye of the goodes moveable & unmoveable of Robert Ardenes of Wylmccote late descesid made the ixth daye of Decemb^r in the thyrde & the fourthe yeare of the raygne of our soveraygne lord and ladye Phylipe & Marye king & quene, &c. 1556.

"Imprimis, in the halle ij table bordes, ij choyeres, ij formes, one cobbourde, ij coshenees, ij benches & one lytle table with shelves, presede att viiis.

"Ib. ij peyntide clothes in the hull & v peynted clothes in the chamber, vij peire of shettes, ij colferes one which presede at xviiijs.

"Ib. v borde clothes, ij Toweles & one dyeper towell, presed att vis. viij*d*.

"Ib. one fether bedde, ij matterases, viij canvases, one coverlett, ij hosteres, one pilowe, iiij peyntide clothes, one whyche presed att xxvjs. viij*d*.

"Ib. in the kechen iiij panes, iiij potts, ij candell stykes, one bason, one chafyng dyche, ii cathernes [caldrons], ij shelleetts, one frying pane, a gredycene & pott hangynges with hookes, presed att ljs. viij*d*.

"Ib. one broche, a paire of cobbardes, one axe, a bill, iiij nagares [augres] ij hatchetts, an ades, a mattock, ayren crowe, one fat, iiij barrelles, iiij payles, a gyrne, a knedyng trogh, a long seve, a hand saw, presed at xxs. ij*d*.

"Ib. viij oxen, ij bollokes, vij kyne, iiij weynyng caves, xxiiij*li*.

"Ib. iiij horses, ij colts presed att viij*li*.

"Ib. lto [52] shepe presed att vij*li*.

“ Ib. the whate in the barnes, & the barley, presed att xviiij*l*.

“ Ib. the heye & the pease, ottes & the strawe, presed att iij*l*. vis. viij*d*.

“ Ib. ix swyne presed att xxvis. viij*d*.

“ Ib. the bees & powltrye presed att vs.

“ Ib. carte & carte geres, & plogh & plogh geres with harrowes, presed att x*l*.

“ Ib. the wodd in the yarde, & the batten in the roffe, presed att, xxxs.

“ Ib. the wheate in the fylde, presed att vi*l*. xiijs. iij*d*.

“ Sum totalis, lxxviij*l*. xjs. xd.

No. V.

“ To all & singuler noble & gentilmen of what estate or degree bearing arms to whom these p^{re}sents shall come Willm Dethick als Garter principal king of arms sendeth greetings. Know yee that whereas by the authoritie privilege & custome pertaining to my said office of principal king of arms from the Quenes most exc. ma^{ty} and her highnes most noble & verteous progenitors I am to take general notice and to make publique demonstra^{ti}on & testimonie of all causes of arms & matters of gentrie through out all her ma^{ty}s kingdomes and dominions, principa^ltes, isles, & provinces To thend that As some by there auneyent names families kindreds & descents have & enjoy sunderie enseignes & [cotes] of arms, so other for there valiant feats magnanimitie vertue deguites & desserts maye have such marks & tokens of honor & worthinesse, whereby there name & good fame shal be [known] & divulged and there children & posteritie in all vertue & service of there prynce & contrie [encouraged] Being therfore solicited & by credible report informed that John Shakespeare of Stratford upon Avon in the countie of

parent and late

Warwick, whose ^a antecessors were for there valeant & faithfull services advaunced & rewarded of the most

prudent prince king Henry the Seventh of famous memorie, sithence whiche time they have continewed at those parts in good reputation & credit ; [and that the said John having maryed Mary, daughter and one of the heyres of Robert Arden of Wilmecote, in the same countie, gent.] In consideration whereof and for encouragement of his posteretie I have therefore assigned graunted and by these have confirmed this shield or cote of arms, viz Gould, on a bend sable & a Speare of the first, the point steeled, proper ; and his crest or cognizance, a faulcon, his wings displayd, argent standing on a wrethe of his coullors supporting a speare gould steele as aforesaid, sett uppon a helmet with mantells & tassells as hath been accustomed & more playnly appereth depicted in this margent &c &c³

“ At the office of Arms London the xxth daye of october in the xxxixth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth &c A° 1596.”

“ The xxxixth year,” &c. is a mistake ; it should be the xxxviiith year : for the 20th of October, 1596, was in the 38th of Elizabeth. And so it stands in the other draft.

In the copy numbered 24, in the passage with which we are principally concerned, an interlineation directs us instead of—“ whose parents and late antecessors for their faithful and valiant services,” &c. to read—“ whose grandfather for his faithful and valiant services,” &c.

The following grant made in 1599, is found in a book marked R 21 (formerly G. 13) p. 347.

“ To all and singuler noble and gentlemen of all estats and degrees, bearing arms, to whom these presents shall come, William Dethick, Garter, Principall King of Arms of England, and William Camden, alias Clarencieux, King of Arms for the south, east, and west parts of this realme, sendethe greeting. Know ye, that in all nations and kingdoms the record and remembraunce of the valeant facts and vertuous dispositions of worthie men have been made knowne and divulged by certeyne shields

³ No mention of impaling these arms with those of Arden.

of arms and tokens of chevalrie; the grant and testimonie whereof apperteyneth unto us, by vertue of our offices from the Quenes most Exc. Majestie, and her Highenes most noble and victorious progenitors: wherefore being solicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakspeare, now of Stratford upon Avon, in the counte of Warwick, gent. whose parent and great grandfather, late antecessor, for his faithfull and approved service to the late most prudent prince, king Henry VII. of famous memorie, was advaunced and rewarded with lands and tenements, geven to him in those parts of Warwickshere, where they have continwed by some descents in good reputacion and credit; and for that the said John Shakspeare having maryed the daughter and one of the heysrs of Robert Arden of Wellincote, in the said countie, and also produced this his auncient cote of arms, heretofore assigned to him whilst he was her Majesties officer and baylefe of that towne; In consideration of the premisses, and for the encouragement of his posteritte, unto whom suche blazon of arms and achievements of inheritance from theyre said mother, by the auncyent custome and lawes of arms, maye lawfully descend; We the said Garter and Clarencieux have assigned, graunted, and by these presents exemplefied unto the said John Shakspeare, and to his posteritie, that shield and cote of arms, viz. In a field of gould upon a bend sables a speare of the first, the poynt upward, hedded argent; and for his crest or cognisance, A falcon with his wyngs displayed, standing on a wrethe of his coullers, supporting a speare armed hedded, or steeled sylver, fyxed uppon a helmet with mantell and tassells, as more playnely maye appeare depected on this margent; and we have likewise uppon on other escucheon impaled the same with the auncyent arms of the said Arden of Wellincote; signifieng therby, that it maye and shalbe lawfull for the said John Shakspeare, gent. to beare and use the same shield of arms, single or impaled, as aforesaid, dving his naturall lyffe; and that it shalbe lawfull for his children, yssue, and pos-

terryte, (lawfully begotten,) to beare, use, and quarter, and show forth the same, with theyre dewe differences, in all lawfull warlyke facts and civile use or exercises, according to the lawes of arms, and custome that to gentlemen belongethe, without let or interruption of any person or persons, for use or bearing the same. In wyttnesse and testemonye whereof we have subscribed our names, and fastened the seals of our offices, geven at the Office of Arms, London, the⁴ day of in the xlii yere of the reigne of our most gracious Sovraigne lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, quene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. 1599."

In this grant it appears that the words which I have had occasion so particularly to consider, stood originally "whose parent and antecessor," for which were next substituted "whose parent and *late* antecessor;" and afterwards, "whose great grandfather" was adopted. Accordingly, Mr. Anstis, when he copied this instrument for Mr. Pope, in 1523, thus exhibited it. But the former draught (No. 24), we see, was right—"whose grandfather," &c. The cause of this error has been pointed out already. See Section II. p. 28.

No. VI.

SECUNDA PARS patentium de anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi decimo septimo.

DE CONCESSIONE ARDERN, m. 30.

R. omibz ad quos &c. saltm Sciatis qđ in consideraõe boni & veri ſviciij quod dilcūs ſviens nř Robtus Ardern unus garcionū camē nře ante hec tempora nob impendit ac durante vita sua impendere intendit Dedim⁹ & concessim⁹ eidem Robto officiū custodis parvi parci nři de Aldercar Hēnd & gaudend dēm officiū dco ſvienti nřo p se vel p ejus deputatū sufficientē durante benefīto nřo cum vadijs &

⁴ Between 17 Nov. 1599, and 25 March, 1599—1600,

feodis eidem officio debitis & consuetis Hēnd & annuatim p̄cipiend in modo & forma ante hec tempora usitaſ ad ſ̄minos ibidem usuales simul cum om̄imod p̄ficuis cōmoditatibz & advantagijs eidem officio quovismodo p̄tineñ seu spectañ In cujus &c. T. R. apud Westm̄ xxij die Februarij.

P b̄re de privato sigillo & de daſ &c.

DE CONCESSIONE ARDERN, m. 35.

R. om̄ibz ad quos &c. saltm Sciatis qđ nos de gr̄a n̄ra sp̄ali ac in consideraōe boni & veri ſ̄vicij quod dil̄cus ſ̄viens n̄r Robtus Ardern unus garcionū came n̄re nob impendit ac durante vita sua impendere intendit Dedim⁹ & concessim⁹ eidem Robto officia ballivi dnij n̄ri de Codnore & custodis parci n̄ri ibidem Hēnd & occupand eadem officia p se vel p sufficientem deputatum suū sive sufficientes deputatos suos durante benepl̄ito n̄ro cum vadijs feodis p̄ficuis cōmoditatibz & advantagijs eidem officijs debitis & consuetis Hēnd & annuatim p̄cipiend in modo & forma ante hec tempora usitaſ In cujus &c. T. R. apud Westm̄ ix die Septemb̄r.

P b̄re de privato sigillo & de daſ &c.

PRIMA PARS pateñ de anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi vicesimo tertio, m. 12.

D' CUSTOD' COMISS' ARDERN.

R. om̄ibz ad quos &c. salutem. Sciatis nos in consideraōe v̄i & fidelis ſ̄vicij qđ dil̄cus & fidelis ſ̄viens n̄r Robtus Ardern p̄antea impendit & durante vita sua impendere intendit concessisse tradidisse & ad firmam dimississe eidem Robto manū de Yoxsall in cōm Staff cum p̄tin' necnon cum om̄ibz alijs p̄ficuis & cōmoditatibz quibuscunq eidem manū p̄tiñ sive spectañ unacum p̄ficuis viſ francipleḡ d̄ci manij videñt finibz p̄quis p̄litis & am̄ciamentis' (eoꝝdem wardis maritagijs relevijs boscis advocaōibz eccliaꝝ bonis & catallis feloñ aut fugitiṽ & thesauꝝ invent om̄ino exceptis ac nob & heredibz n̄ris reservat) Hēnd tenend & occupand

pdēm mañiū cum ptiñ ut p̄mittiſ exceptis p̄exceptē p̄fato Robto heredibꝫ & assigniſ suis a festo S̄ci Michis Archi p̄x futuſ usqꝫ finem & l̄minū viginti unius annoꝝ extunc p̄x sequeñ & plenarie complend̄ Reddendo inde annuatim nob̄ & heređ n̄ris regibꝫ Angl̄ durante l̄mino p̄dco quadraginta duas libras put responſ fuim⁹ antea & quadraginta solidos ultra de inc̄ro solvend̄ ad l̄minos ibidem usuales ad manus receptoris n̄ri ibidem p̄ tempore existeñ Proviso tamen qđ d̄cūs Robtus & pleḡ sui de om̄imod̄ repaçoibꝫ d̄ci mañij cum ptiñ exoñat̄ sint & p̄ nos vel ad custus n̄ros faciend̄ tociens quociens opus sive necesse fuit durante l̄mino p̄dco In cujus &c. T. R. apud Otford, xxiiij die Septemb̄r.

P b̄re de privato sigillo & de dat̄ &c.

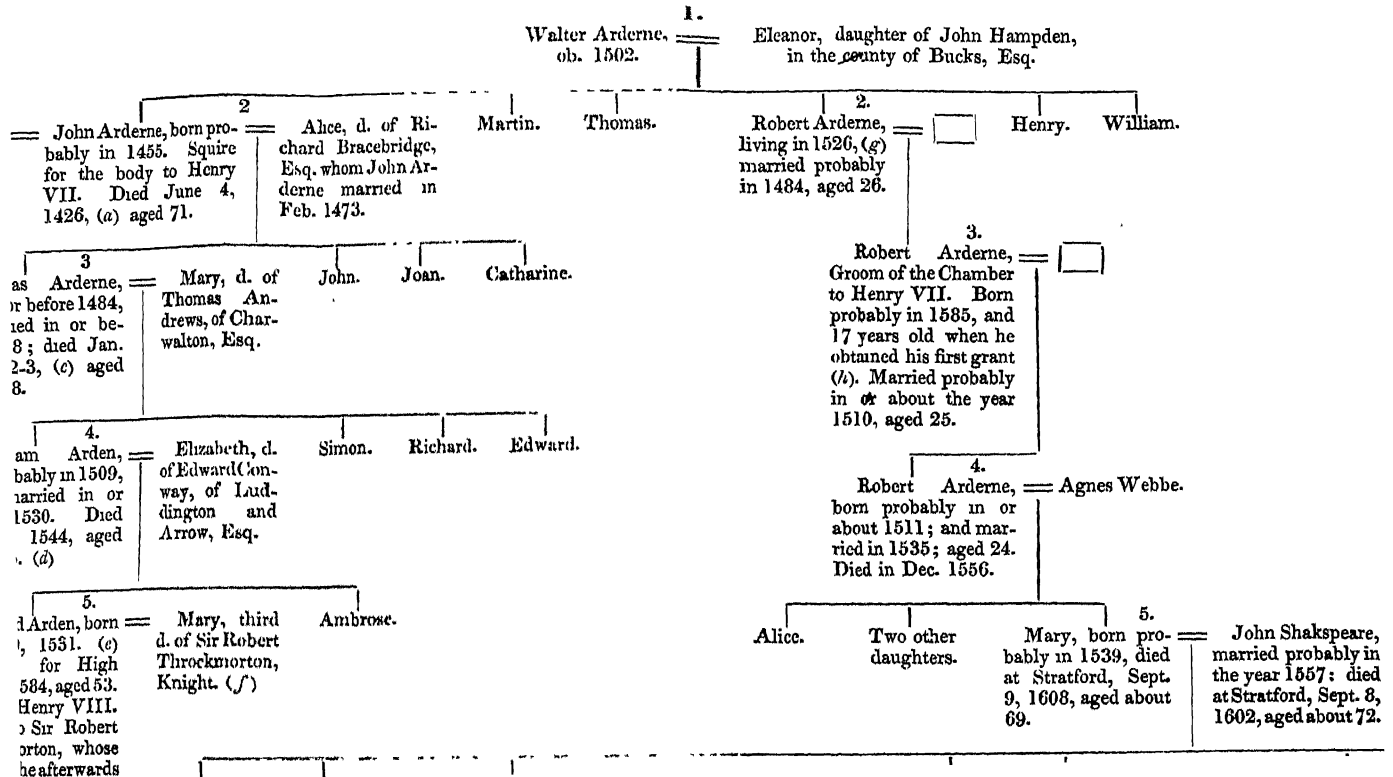
No. VIII.

The following list of the Bailiffs of Stratford from the time their first charter was granted to the year 1615, is formed from the various ancient documents in the chamber of Stratford :

1553. Thomas Gilbert, the first Bailif.	1566. William Tyler.
1554. William Whatley, elected in Sep' for the ensuing year.	1567. Ralph Cawdrey.
1555. John Burbadge.	1568. John Shakspeare.
1556. Ralph Cawdrey, <i>alias</i> Coke.	1569. Robert Salisbury.
1557. Francis Harbadge.	1570 John Sadler.
1558. Robert Perrot.	1571. Adrian Quiney.
1559. Adrian Quiney.	1572. Roger Sadler.
1560. Roger Sadler.	1573. Lewis ap Williams.
1561. Lewis ap Williams.	1574. Humphrey Plymley.
1562. Humphrey Plymley.	1575. Richard Hill.
1563. George Whatley.	1576. John Wheler.
1564. Richard Hill.	1577. William Tyler.
1565. John Wheler.	1578. Thomas Barber.
	1579. Nicholas Barnehurst.
	1580. Robert Salisbury.
	1581. Ralph Cawdrey.
	1582. Adrian Quiney.

No. VII.

GENEALOGY OF ROBERT ARDEN, SHAKSPEARE'S MATERNAL GRANDFATHER.



- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1583. George Whateley. | 1601. Richard Quiney died in
office. John Gibbes,
<i>suffectus</i> . |
| 1584. Richard Hill. | 1602. Daniel Baker. |
| 1585. William Tyler. | 1603. Frances Smyth, senior. |
| 1586. Thomas Barber. | 1604. John Smyth. |
| 1587. Robert Salisbury. | 1605. William Wyett. |
| 1588. William Wilson. | 1606. John Gybbes. |
| 1589. Thomas Rogers. | 1607. Henry Walker. |
| 1590. William Parsons. | 1608. Francis Smyth, Jun ^r . |
| 1591. John Gibbes. | 1609. Henry Wilson. |
| 1592. Richard Quiney. | 1610. William Walford. |
| 1593. Henry Wilson. | 1611. William Parsons. |
| 1594. Thomas Barber. | 1612. John Sadler. |
| 1595. Thomas Rogers. | 1613. Daniel Baker. |
| 1596. Abraham Sturley. | 1614. Francis Smyth, Sen ^r . |
| 1597. John Gibbes. | 1615. Julius Shaw. |
| 1598. John Smythe. | |
| 1599. John Sadler. | |
| 1600. Henry Wilson. | |

No. IX.

“ Ultimo die february Anno regni regis Edw. sexti septimo pro Bullivo et Burgensibus burgi de Stratford super Avon, in com. Warr.

“ The kinges Maiesties pleasure is that the Borough of Stratforde vpon Avon in the County of Warr. shalbe Incorporated by the name of the Baylif and Burgesses of the Borough of Stratford vpon Avon.

“ Also his highnes pleasure is that the Almes house in the said Borough shall Continue and be maynteyned for ever, and that there shalbe alwaye kepte there xxiiij poore men and women, and that the saide Baylife and Burgesses shall distribute and paye wekely to every of the said poore folke, iij*d*.

“ Also that there shalbe one grammer Scole for ever to be kept in the said Borough for the good educacion and brynginge vp of the youth And that the Scolemaster of the said Scole shall haue for his Wages and Stipende xx*l*. by yeare, whiche Scolemaster shall from tyme to tyme be

Appointed and Assigned by the high Myghtie prynce, John Duke of Northumberland and his heyres and assignes, Lordes of the said Boroughe.

“ Also that there shalbe kept wekelie in the said Borough one markett every Thursdaye through the yeare. And also two ffayres there yerelie, the one on the ffest of the Exaltacion of the holy Crosse [Sep. 14] and the evyn and morrow of the same feast, And the other one [on] the ffest of the Invention of the holy Crosse [May 3] and the morrowe of the same ffeste, And that the said Bayliff and Burgesses shall have the profits and Revenues of the said markett and ffayres, Also that there shalbe kept every xv daies in the said Borough [before the Bailif for the time, being a court of record to hear and determine all personal actions of debt, accompt, trespass and defence, arising within the jurisdiction of the said borough] soe that the same excede not the some of one hundred shillings. And that the said Bayliffe and Burgesses shall take the profits of the said Courtes. Also his highnes further pleasure is, that the said Baylif and Burgesses shall have a licence to purchase landes tenements and heredytaments to the Clere yerelie value of two hundred marks.

“ Also because the parishe of Stratford vpon Avon is a grate parishe havinge the number of fifteen hundred people to receyve the Communion, and is in Circuyte xiiij Myles at the leaste, there shall be A Vicare endowed in the said Borough, whiche shall serve the cure in the parishe Churche there, and hee to haue for his wages xx/. yerelie to be paid by the handes of the said Baylyf and Burgesses; and that the same Vicare shalbe presented and appointed by the said Duke of Northumberland his grace, and his heyres and Assignes Lordes of the said Borough; and that there shalbe one other preste or Chapplayne to be assistaunt to serve in the saide Churche who shall haue for his stipende yerelie x/.

“ And in Consideracion of all whiche premisses the Kinges Maiestie is pleased and Contented to giue and graunte to the said Baylyf and Burgesses all the landes,

tenements, rentes, reversions, services, tithes, pencions, porcions, and hereditaments in the particlers hereunto annexed, to them and their Successors for ever. Therefore make a graunt thereof to them Accordingly.

“RY. SAKEVYLE.”

The sentence within crotchets was omitted, by the negligence of the amanuensis, in the copy of this warrant preserved in the chamber of Stratford. I have therefore supplied it, from an inspection of the charter itself. It is observable that in the charter the jurisdiction is extended from five pounds to thirty pounds.

No. X.

“This Inventory made the XXVIth Day of July in the Yere of the Reigne of Kyng Edward the IIIth after the Conqueste the XVth Yere of divers Goodes and Juelles beyuge in the Gildehalle of Stratforde uppon Avon delivered the seide Day and Yere in kapyng to John Hoggekyns and John Samwell then Proketours of the seide Gilde In the Tyme of Roger Pagette then Maister yf the seide Gilde.

“In the furste. In the Pantery and Botery A Stondynge Cuppe of Selver with A Kevercle of Selver gylded by the Bordurs. Item A Grete Maser callud Pardon Maser A Bonde with Selver and overgylte with IIII Oches in the Bothom gylded A Grete Owche in the Myddes graven with a Crucyfix our Lady and Seynt John Baptiste.—Item a nodur Maser broken at John Oxtou Weddynge with a Bonde of Selver and overgylt with a Nowche in the Botom of our Lady Selver and overgylte with IIII Hedes of Selver and overgilte and IIII Small thyn plats of Selver and overgylte in the same Maser. Item a nodur Maser with a Nowche in the Botom with a Beeste therein of Selver and overgilte and II Plates of Selver and overgilte and the Bonde of Selver and overgylte. Item a nodur Lasse Maser, with a brode Bonde of Selver and overgilte, and a Nowche in the Botom with a Rose of

Selver and overgilte. Item II Dosen Spones of Selver with flatte gyldyn Knottes at the Ende. Item III flatte Bason of Laten with II Lavers of Laten one withoute a Lydde. Item II Salte Salers. Item a Brason Morter with a pestolle of Bras. Item a Longe Cofur in the Countynghouse. Item too Laduls of Bras. Item II Skymers of Bras. Item a Flech Hooke. Item III Steyned Clothes for the Halle. Item a Grater for Brede. Item for the Halle a Borde Clothe conteynnyng IX Elles and more. Item a nodur Clothe conteynnyng VI Elles and a halfe. Item a nodur Borde Clothe conteynnyng VIII Elles and a Quarter. Item a nodur Borde Clothe conteynnyng X Elles. Item a nodur Borde Clothe conteynnyng V Elles and a halfe. Item a Borde Clothe of Dyapre Werke conteynnyng IIII Elles and a halfe. Item a nodur playne olde Borde Cloth conteynnyng IIII Elles and halfe a Quarter. Item a nodur Mete Clothe conteynnyng VI Elles. Item a nodur Borde Clothe conteynnyng VII Elles and III Quarters. Item a nodur Borde Clothe conteynnyng VIII Elles. Item IIII Olde Towelless one of them conteynnyng III Elles and III Quarters. Item A nodur conteynnyng II Elles. Item a nodur conteynnyng III Elles. Item a nodur conteynnyng II Elles and III Quarters. Item IIII. Item II Panttery Clothes newe bought. Item IIII Grete Chargers. Item XIII Dosen Platers and II Peces. Item XIX Dosen Potengers of Pewtur and VII Peces. Item X Dosen Sawcers and VIII Peses of Pewter. Item II Cofurs with Evydences in the Botery. Item II Awndyrons in the Countynghouse. Item a Grete Standarde Potte of Bras. in the Store House. Item IX odor Grete Potts of Bras in the seid House. Item III small brason potts. Item IIII Grete Pannys thre of them conteynnyng Galnes a nodur conteynnyng Galnys. Item a panne broken. Item II Pannys one of them conteynnyng IIII. G. a nodur III. G. & di. Item II odor Lytell pannys on of them broken near the Bordur. Item a nodur panne yeven by Alson Thorne conteynnyng VII Gallnos in the Kychen.

Item II Meles, a more and a lasse. Item II Tren. Plats. Item II rounde Grete Broches. Item IIII Grete Square Broches. Item II odor Square Broches. Item II Peyre of Yron Rakkes. Item a Grete Brand Yron. Item II Frowes of Tree. Item a Peyre of Grete Cobertes yeven by Sir Nycolas Leke stondynge in the Kychyn. Item thre Theles. Item III Bordes in the Store House. Item a Spynnynge Whele for Flax. Item a Brasen potte broken by the Egge by the queste of Alson Thorne. Item VII Bordes in the Over Halle. Item III Farmes. Item IIII Tressulles. Item a potte yeven by Mawde Furbour by John Gilberts Tyme conteynynge III G. Item I Sawyng Ax of John Lever, Bocher. Item II Clevers in the Countying House of the seid John.

“Item delyvered to the seide Procutors beyng in the Gilde Chapelle videlit Vestiments, Awter Clothes, Chaleys, with odor Goodes beyng in the seyde Chapelle.

“Furste. A Peyre of Vestmentes of Blake Velvet newe bougte by Roger Pagette with all the Reparelle. Item a newe blac Coope bought by the seide Roger. Item a nodur Peyre of Blake Vestmentes with all the Reparelle yeven by Sir William Bischoppeston Knygte of Clothe of Golde. Item a nodur Peyre Vestimentes of blewe with all the Reparelle to them with Kateryn Wheles. Item a nodur Peyre rede Vestimentes with the Reparell to them with Lyons. Item a peyre of blac Damaske Vestimentys with all the Reparelle to them. Item a nodur Peyre of Vestiments of Grene Domasay with the Reparell at Seynte John Awter in the Chapelle. Item a nodur Peyre to the seide Awter of Grene and Ray with all the Reparelle to them. Item a White Chasespull of Bordalysaunder. Item II Chaleys one overgylte and the odor Gyldud in the Bordur and within. Item II Masse Bokes. Item II Frontelles one of the Trinite and a nodur rede and blewe. Item a Frontell to Seynt Jouhn Awter with Roses and Letters of Golde. Item a nodur Frontell to the seid Awter steyned with Seynte John Baptiste and the Ymage of our Lady. Item a nodur Frontell to the

“ Item IX Plates in the Kychyn. Item IIII Potengers.
Item IIII Sawcers.”

No. XI.

The Will of Ralph Shawe, a friend of Mr. John Shakspeare, and the father of Julius Shawe, our poet's friend, which was proved before the Rev. Mr. Bramhall, Oct. 15, 1592, (the Vicar there having a peculiar jurisdiction, as the Warden of the College of Stratford had before its dissolution), begins thus :

“ In the name of God, Amen, the xviith daye of March in the yeare of our Lord God 1591,—I, Ralph Shawe of Stratford upon Avon in the county of Warwick, *Wool-driver*, being weake in body,” &c. His stock of wool, as appears from his inventory, was twenty-one tods, which were estimated at 20*l*.—In a *distringas* issued by Mr. Thomas Greene, town-clerk of Stratford, to the serjeants at mace, to summon a jury for the approaching Quarter Sessions, 25 May, 1608, the name of George Shackleton, *wool-driver*, occurs. To *drive* feathers, is a term still in use.

Several branches of the woollen manufacture appear to have flourished at Stratford in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: Thus, I find frequent mention of dyers, wool-winders (see Stat. 23 Henry VIII. c. 17), card-makers, broad-weavers, fullers, and shearmen or cloth-workers: but towards the end of her reign it seems to have somewhat declined; for in A Supplication from the Bailif and Burgesses to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, dated Nov. 9, 1590, and preserved in the Chamber of Stratford, is the following paragraph:

“ And whereas the said towne is now fallen much into decay, for want of such trade as heretofore they had by *clothinge* and makinge of yarne, ymploying and mayntayninge a number of poore people by the same, which now live in great penury and miserie, by reason they are not set at worke as before they have ben.”

That they had a hall for the sale of wool appears from the following order :

“Stratford. } Ad aulam ibm. tent. xv.^o die Julii, a^o regni
Burgus. } dñæ Elizabethe, &c. vicesimo primo [1579]:

“At this hall it was agreed that Mr. Petoo’s should be answered in maner and forme followinge.

“The West-hall to be proclaimed.”

Registr. Burg. Stratf. A.

I am not, however, sure, that these two paragraphs are connected with each other. Mr. Peto was a gentleman of a very ancient family who lived at Chesterton, a few miles from Warwick. What the subject of his letter was, I have not been able to discover.

In February, 3 & 4 Ph. & Mar. [1556] an action on the case was brought by William Whatley, clothier, against Thomas Gilbert, dyer, relative to 442 yards of *broad-cloth* and thirty pounds of wool and yarn, which the latter undertook to dye for 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And a similar action was brought in July, 1589, by George Pyrrye against Frances Wheeler, dyer, relative to a charge made by the defendant for dyeing a certain quantity of woollen cloth, which the plaintiff alleged was exorbitant.

In the inventory of William Holmes, weaver, taken at Stratford the 22d of May, 1590, I find “one piece of *medley* ;” in that of Michael Shackleton, weaver, 1595, “20 ells of Hurden cloth ;” and in the inventory of Hugh Ayngge, 1606, twelve pounds of woollen yarn.

At a subsequent period, however, in a petition of the mercers and drapers of Stratford to Sir Edward Coke about the latter end of the year 1615, praying to be relieved from certain exactions made by Lodowick Duke of Lenox, or persons employed by him, under colour of a royal patent, it is stated that there were then “no clothes or stuffs made at Stratford, but bought at London or elsewhere :” but as I find that several of the trades above-mentioned subsisted there at that time, I suspect this statement not to be rigidly correct. The exactions of the Duke of Lenox were made a subject of parlia-

mentary complaint some years before. See "A Record of some worthie Proceedings in the parliament holden in the yeare 1611 [1610, it should have been] 4to. 1641, p. 35."

No. XII.

Among Camden's funeral certificates is the following:
 "The 7 of August, 1600.

[After mentioning the lady whom he married,] "Sir Thomas Lucy departed this transitory life the 7th of July, 1600, whose funerall was worshipfully solemnized according to his degree, at the parish of Charlecott, the 7th of August then next following; the preacher Mr Hill, parson of Hampton. The standart borne by Mr Edward Newport, gent.; the penner borne by Mr William Walter; the helm and crest by Thomas Lant, *alias* Windsor, for Chester herald; the sword and targe borne by Nicholas Paddie, *alias* Lancaster herald; the cote of armes borne by William Camden Esq^{re} *alias* Clarentcieux; the body borne by vi of his servants. The chief mourner Thomas Lucy Knight, sonne and heir to the defunct. The assistants Sir Richard Fynes, Mr Jerome Farmer, and Mr Tymothie Lucy, Esquiers. In witness of the truth the *executor* hath hereunto subscribed his name the daye and yeare above-mentioned. THO. LUCY."

There is no will of Sir Thomas Lucy the elder in the Prerogative Office; but that he made one, appears from the concluding words of this certificate. It was probably proved at Stratford.

Sir Thomas Lucy had a sister, Joan, married to George Verney, Esq. and a daughter, Anne, married to Sir Edward Aston, of Tickshall, in the county of Stafford. Neither of these are mentioned by Dugdale in the pedigree of the Lucy family.

His son, Sir Thomas, who, according to the inquisition above quoted, was born in 1557 or 1558, was knighted in 1592. His first wife, who is not noticed by Dugdale, was Dorothy, the daughter of Rowland Arnold of Glou-

cestershire, Esq. His second, Constantia, the daughter of Richard Kingsmill, surveyor of the Court of Wards, whom he appears to have married in 1594 [Esc. 4 Jac. p. 2, n. 75]. From his will, which is in the Prerogative Office (Heyes, qu. 77), and was made shortly after his father's death (Aug. 13, 1600), it is probable that he had travelled into foreign parts, for he bequeaths to his eldest son (beside "all his household stuff at Sutton, the gilt bason and ewer graven which was his father's together with two girdles engraved, livery pots, a nest of gilded boles with a cover, a gilded saulte and a dozen of gilded spoones"), all his "*French and Italian Books.*" To each of his unmarried daughters he gives one hundred marks "to be made eyther in a chayne, carkanett, or jewell, as they or their nearest friends shall think meete." And he recites that he had made leases to certain good friends for the payment of his debts, and for the preferment of his *natural daughters*. He died July 16, 1605, and was buried at Charlecote (as appears from the registers), on the 20th of the same month. At his death, his eldest son, Sir Thomas Lucy (for he also was then a knight), was "nineteen years and fifty weeks old." Esc. ut supra.

No. XIII.

Pat. 11 Hen. 8, p. 1, m. 9. Pro Willielmo Compton, milite.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Cum dilectus et fidelis serviens noster Willielmus Compton miles, quandam parcellam terre, bosci et pasture in Overcompton et Nethercompton, alias Compton Vyneyatys in comitatu Warr. ad presens fossis sepibus et palis inclusit, ea intencione ad inde parcum cum licencia nostra regia faciendum, Nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris concessimus ac per presentes concedimus dicto Willielmo Compton quod idem Willielmus Compton gaudeat et teneat sibi et heredibus et assignatis suis predictam parcellam terre pasture et bosci sic ut premittitur inclusam, ut unum parcum, ac cum

omnibus et singulis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad parcum et libertatem arci pertinentibus sive spectantibus. Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, concessimus et licentiam dedimus eidem Wilielmo Compton heredibus et assignatis suis pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, quod ipse heredes et assignate sui et eorum quilibet predictam parcellam terre et bosci ad presens inclusam ac duo mille acre terre et bosci suorum cum pertinentibus in predicta ville de Overcompton et Nethercompton, alias Compton Vynegatys in predicto comitatu Warr., simul cum predicta parcella ad presens inclusa, aut separatim per se imparcere includere et parcum aut parcos inde aut de qualibet inde parcella de tempore in tempus facere possit et valeat, possint et valeant, et terras et boscos illos sic inclusos et parcum aut parcos inde factos habere et tenere possit ac habeat et teneat, possint et habeant et teneant sibi heredibus et assignatis suis in perpetuum, una cum omnibus libertatibus privilegiis et liberis consuetudinibus quibuscumque ad parcum et ad libertatem parci pertinentibus sive spectantibus. Absque perturbacione impeticione impedimento molestacione seu gravamine nostri heredum vel successorum nostrorum seu aliquorum forestariorum aut Justiciariorum officiariorum, aut ministrorum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque. Dumtamen terre et bosci predicti non sint infra metas sive bundas alicujus foreste sive chacee nostre; et hoc absque persecucione de breve de ad quod dampnum sive aliquo alio brevi inde fiendo. Et volumus et concedimus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris dicto Willielmo Compton heredibus et assignatis suis, quod postquam idem Willielmus Compton heredis vel assignati sui predicta parcella terre ad presens incluse ac de et in predictis duobus millibus acris terre et bosci et in qualibet inde parcella parcum inde aut de aliqua inde parcella fuit aut fieri fecerit quod ex tunc idem Willielmus heredis et assignati sui habeant teneant gaudeant et utentur infra parcum illum sive parcos illos sic inclusos

omnia et singula libertatis franchisias privilegia et liberas consuetudines ac omne id quod ad libertatem parci pertineant spectant et incumbant. Volentes firmiterque mandantes quod nullus in parco illo ad presens incluso nec in aliqua inde parcella terre et bosci predictorum postquam inclusum et factum fuerit sine licentia et voluntate dicti Willicelmi Compton heredum aut assignatorum suorum in parco illo aut parcis illis aliquas feras fugat aut capiat vel aliquod ibidem capere aut facere presumat sive intermittat quod est vel erit contra libertatem aut privilegium parci aut contra formam aliquorum sive quorumcumque actuum sive ordinationem de parcis et venatoribus in parcis concernentium editorum, et provicisorum sub pena forisfacture quadraginta librarum et sub pena imprisonmente et punicionis in eisdem actibus et ordinationibus et eorum quolibet specificata et contenta. Et ulterius damus et licentiam concedimus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris eidem Willicelmo quod ipse heredes et assignati sui habeant et teneant sibi heredibus et assignatis suis liberam Warrennam in omnibus predictis duobus millibus aeris terre et in qualibet inde parcella nec non in omnibus dominicis terris suis in vellis predictis, cum omnibus que ad liberam Warrennam pertinent absque inpeticione molestacione impedimento seu gravamine nostri heredum seu successorum nostrorum seu aliquorum officiariorum vel ministrorum nostrorum heredum vel successorum nostrorum aut aliorum quorumcumque; Ita quod nullus intret in Warrennam illam ad fugandum aut aliquod ibidem faciendum sine licentia ipsius Willicelmi heredum vel assignatorum suorum sub pena forisfacture decem librarum. Dum tamen terre ille non sint infra metas sive bundas alicujus foreste sive chacee sive Warrenne nostre.

12 April.

No. XIV.

PAT' 4 & 5 PHIL' & MAR', p. 8. m. 21.—Dec. 22.

REX et REGINA omnibus ad quos &c. salutem Sciatis

quod nos pro summa ducentarum quinquaginta quatuor librarum et quindecim solidorum legalis monete Anglie ad receptam Scaccarij nostri ad manus dilecti servientis nostri Nicholai Brigham unius numeratorum ejusdem Scaccarij ad usum nostrum per predilectum et fidelem consiliarium nostrum Franciscum Englefyld militem magistrum curie wardorum et liberationum nostrorum premanibus bene et fideliter solutorum unde fatemur nos plenarie fore satisfactos et persolutos Eundemque Franciscum Englefyld heredes executores et administratores suos inde acquietatos et exoneratos esse per presentes De gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris Dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostrum prefate Regine ¹ Damus et concedimus prefato Francisco Englefyld (inter alia) Totum illum parcum nrm voç Fulbroke Pke *modo disparcatam* ac libertatem pci nri de Fulbroke Ac omes illas tras nras vocat seu cognit p nomen vel p noia de Fulbroke Pke in Fulbroke cum ptiñ in com nro Warř quondam pcella tras possessionū & hereditamentoz olim ducis Bedd & dudum Johis nup ducis Northumbř de alta pdicōe attinct & convict existeñ aut eoz alius Aceciam omes illas viginti & unam acras tre & prati nras unde una acra jacent infra bund dci dispcati parci & viginti acras inde adjacent extra & ppe bund ejusdem dispcati parci quond pcell tras possessionū & hereditamentoz dci quondam ducis Bedd & dudum pcell tras possessionū & hereditamentoz dci nup ducis Northumbř aut eoz alius Aceciam omes illas octoginta acras tre & pasture nras cum ptiñ jaceñ infra bund dci nup dispcati parci ac nup pcell tras possessionū & hereditamentoz dci quondam ducis Bedd & dudum pdci nup ducis Northumbř existeñ aut eoz alius Necnon omes illas quadraginta ² acras tre brueř & vast nras unde quadraginta acre includunt in duabz clausuř tre eidem nup parco adjaceñ & trescent & sexaginta acre inde adjaceñ infra limites ejusdem nup parci ac nup pcell tras possessionū & here-

¹ Sic MS.

² So in the Record (should be "Quadringentas.")

ditamentoꝝ dñi quondā ducis Bedd & dñi nup ducis Northumbꝛ existeñ seu eoꝝ al̃ius Accciam totam piscariam & libtatem piscandñ nřam eidem parco p̃tineñ in aqua & rivulo de Avoñ in dco com̃ Warř accurrentē p̃ bund & limites dñi nup parci quondā p̃cess possessionū & revenčonū dñi quondam ducis Bedd & dudum p̃cess possessionū & revenčonū dñi nup ducis Northumbꝛ existeñ seu eoꝝ al̃ius Quidem parcus de Fulbroke modo dispcañ ac ceta p̃miss in eodem parco & p̃pe eundem parcum jaceñ modo sunt in possessione dñi Francisci Englefelde seu tenenciū vel assign suoꝝ.

No. XV.

This letter was written, in the year 1598, to Mr. Quiney, when he was in London, engaged in the business of the borough of Stratford. It is as follows:

“ Quam possum brevissime; sed quam amantissime, nec possum literis exprimere neque mente concipere quidem. Multifarias tuas ante et post Nativitatem epistolae accepi: etiam magistro Wendaio datas et Westo ejus clerico Cantabrigiæ vidi, et magna voluptate animi perlegi ad Sessiones pacis. Sed quomodo ad te rescriberem propter itinerationis tuæ incertitudinem, facile conjectari non potui. Per quas ad nos proxime dedisti et Magistro Wendaio scripsisti, opinor te Londinum perventum se [esse] et illic te hiis meis obviam dare et de rebus omnibus iis, quantum memoriæ dabitur recordari, sic habeto. Tui tuæque omnes bene valent. Res tuæ domesticæ patris curâ, conjugis industria, ancillarum labore, benedicente Domino, succedunt pene ad votum. Leō. Ben.^t [Leonard Bennet] mutuo dedit 50^{ta} libras stipulatore Joh. Sadlcro tantum. M^r Th. Brbr [Barber] nec ego ullas. M^r Ballivus, Aldermannus, et consociatio nostra omnis valet. Robertus Bedell deest; et org [George] Badger dissociatus (uti accepi) ad Camerariorum computationem, agente me ipso Bedfordiæ et Cantabrigiæ. Quibus locis quid a me actum sit, cum domum veneris (si interim non illic) accipies. Canta-

brigiae dies solum datus est; Bedfordiae partim ad manus venerunt, partim in expectatione pendent. Quae in illis comitatibus vel expectationibus vel optionibus nostris responderunt, eorum omnium laudes magistro nostro Burgoino debentur meritissime secundum Deum. Jam tuo peregrinationis socio me commendatum habe; cujus uxor ac familia valetudine fruuntur desiderata, rebus aliquanto arctioribus et pressioribus. Utcumque bene sit vobis in negotiis vestris, valde imo pervalde desiderati estis. Quare omni jam excusatione cessante, domum celeriter advolate. Johannis Rogerus promisit se omni rationi promptum et alacrem, sed nihil adhuc prestitum est. Cognatus dominus Combe vasa argentea et aureata pro vado tenet, ex suasionem et deliberationem Danielis Baker quo cum etiam valde succensebat tua gratia, sed illius concitationis et iracundiae illum poenituisse puto: sed quidem ignoro an in gratiam rediit adhuc. Sed ne verbum unum addam amplius. Sed incolumem te servet Deus omnipotens ut te sospitem mittet ad nos omni festinationi festinantius. Quia jam ad me venit soror ut litteras ad te exarem, suo nomine, illius igitur et nostri reliqua habebis vernaculo sermone; haec enim hebetiora. Stretfordiae Januarii 18 vpe [vespere] dat.^{as} 1597 [1597-8].

“ Tuus utcumque suus

“ Abrah. Sturley.

“ Si otium dabitur, siste lites inter Magistrum Clopton et me, ac etiam inter Dominum Burtonum. Metuo non sine multo timore a mgra [magistra] warda.

“ To his most lovinge Brother, Mr Richard Quiney att London geve these.”

Mr. Abraham Sturley was, in 1590, married to the daughter of Mr. Richard Hill; as appears from Mr. Hill's will. Richard Quiney married Elizabeth Philips (Jan. 24, 1580-1); but she having died, he married Susanna, the sister of Abraham Sturley, as I learn from one of her letters to her husband, written by her brother Sturley, whose love of intermixing Latin in his letters

was so great that he could not refrain from this practice, even while he was holding the pen for his sister; for he thus concludes the letter to which I allude :

“ Your kind & loving wife bj u^r
 “ most loving broth^r hir secretary
 “ *in hac litterâ*, hâc vice tantû,
 “ Susâ. Qui.”

The Mr. Comb mentioned in the foregoing Latin letter was, without doubt, Mr. John Combe. Mr. George Badger was a woollen-draper in Stratford.

In a letter, dated at Stratford, Oct. 27, 1598, and directed thus : “ To his most loving brother M^r Richard Quiney att the bell in Carter Lane give these with speed,” I find the following passages :

“ M^r Baile is coming unto youe. he saith he will bring u[you] up the rest of the tax money. he will joyne with you if he can tarri; but if he hast downe againe, and that ani liklihood of u^r [your] proceeding mai appe [appere] it is ordered that I shall come unto youe with speede. for u^r [your] ease and comfort. Quid mihi optatius, quid gratius mihi accidere potest in hoc communi bono tibi conjungi, cui sim conjunctissimus? Hæ chartæ nimis sunt curtæ hæc nox non satis erit describendis hiis. nullus intervenerit nuntius, sine litteris nostris aliquid de hiis rebus præ se ferentibus. Brother Q. when u se it past padventure in your judgment, stand upon hit how u shall be considered; although in mine opinion you need not: quoniam, uti spero, melior pars major. Nunc de tuis sic habe. U^r father, and w. ch. [wife and children] well, and houshold not want but of u; which is well forborne whilest u are so well employed. U^r father hath sent u the particulars of so much as my sister will willingly passe: for W^m W. house, she hath destined hit for hir daughter Pli. [Plymley] which she will not alter as yet.”

In many other of his letters to Mr. Quiney, sentences of Latin are occasionally intermixed.

No. XVI.

“Patri suo amantissimo Mro. Richardo Quinye Richardus Quinye filius S. P. D.

“Ego omni officio ac potius pietate erga te (mi pater) tibi gratias ago pro iis omnibus beneficiis quæ in me contulisti; te etiam oro et obsecro ut provideres fratri meo et mihi duos chartaceos libellos quibus maxime caremus hoc presenti tempore; si enim eos haberemus, plurimus profecto iis usus esset nobis: et præterea gratias tibi ago quia a teneris, quod aiunt, unguiculis, educasti me in sacræ doctrinæ studiis usque ad hunc diem. Absit etiam verbulis meis vana adulationis suspicio, neque enim quenquam ex meis amicis cariorem aut amantio-rem mei te esse judico; et vehementer obsecro ut maneat semper egregius iste amor tuus sicut semper antea hac; et quanquam ego non possum remunerare tua beneficia, omnem tamen ab intimis meis præcordiis tibi exoptabo salutem. Vale.

“Filiolus tuus tibi obedientissimus,

“RICHARDUS QUINYE.”

There is no date to this letter; but it was probably written either in the latter end of the year 1597 or in 1598, in each of which years the elder Mr. Richard Quiney was in London, soliciting a renewal and enlargement of the charter, and an exemption for the borough of Stratford from a subsidy granted by parliament. The writer, Richard Quiney, was his second son, and was baptized at Stratford, Oct. 8, 1587: he was, therefore, at the time of writing this letter, either ten or eleven years old. Can there be a doubt that such a youth as Shakspeare, who was bred in the same school, could have written such a letter in 1575, when he was of the same age.

No. XVII.

Complete Copy of the Verses on Sir Thomas Lucy.

A parliament member, a justice of peace,
At home a poore scarecrowe, in London an asse,
If Lucy is Lowsie as some volke misscall it
Synge Lowsie Lucy whatever befall it.

He thinks hymself greate, yet an asse in hys state
We allowe bye his cares but with asses to mate;
If Lucy is Lowsie as some volke misscall it,
Synge Lowsie Lusy whatever befall it.

He's a haughty proud insolent knighte of the shire
At home nobodye loves, yet theres many hym feare.
If Lucy is Lowsie as some volke misscall it
Synge Lowsie Lucy whatever befall it.

To the sessions he went and dyd sorely complain
His parke had been rob'd and his deer they were slain.
This Lucy is Lowsie as some volke misscall it
Synge Lowsie Lucy whatever befall it.

He sayd twas a ryot his men had been beat,
His venson was stole and clandestinely eat.
Soe Lucy is Lowsie as some volke misscall it
Synge Lowsie Lucy whatever befall it.

Soe haughty was he when the fact was confess'd
He sayd 'twas a crime that could not bee redress'd,
Soe Lucy is Lowsie as some volke misscall it
Synge Lowsie Lucy whatever befall it.

Though Lucies a dozen he paints in his coat
His name it shall Lowsie for Lucy bee wrote
For Lucy is Lowsie as some volke misscall it
Synge Lowsie Lucy whatever befall it.

If a iuvenile frolick he cannot forgive
We'll synge Lowsie Lucy as long as we live
And Lucy the Lowsie a libel may call it
We'll synge Lowsie Lucy whatever befall it.

No. XVIII.

Most lovinge and beloved in the L^d. in plaine englishe we remembr u in the L^d & o^r. selves unto you. I would write nothings unto u nowe—but come home. I praj G^d send u comfortabli home. This is one speciall remembrance, from u^r fathrs motion. It seemeth bi him that o^r. countriman Mr. Shakspe is willing to disburse some monej upon some od yardeland or o^rther att Shott^{rj} or neare about us. He thinketh it a very fitt patterne to move him to deale in the matter of o^r Tithes. Bj the instructions u can geve him theareof, & bj the frendes he can make therefore, we thinke it a faire marke for him to shoote at, & not unpossible to hitt. It obtained would advance him in deede, & would do us much good. hoc movere & quantum in te ē p^rmovere, ne negligas: hoc enim et sibi et nobis maximi erit momenti: hic labor, hoc opus esset eximiæ et gloriæ et laudis sibi.

u shall understande, brother, that o^r. neighbours are grone with the wantes they feeles throughe the dearnes of corne, (w^c. heare is bejonde all other countries that I can heare of deare & over deare), malecontent. They have assembled togeath^r in a great nomb^s, & travelled to S^r Tho. Lucy on ffriday last, to complaine of o^r malst^rs: on Sunday to S^r ffoulke Gre. [Grevill] & S^r Joh. Conway. I should have said on Wensday to S^r Ed. Grevll first theare is a metinge heare expected to-morrowe: the L^d knoweth to what end it will sorte. Tho. West returning from the ij knights of the woodland², came home so full, that he said to M^r. Baily that night, he hoped w^hin a week to leade of thē in a halter, meaninge the malst^rs; & I hope, saith Tho. Granams, if G^d send mj L^d of Essex downe shortlj, to se thē hanged on gibbets at their owne doores.

To this end I write this chiefly: That as u^r occasion shall suffer u to staj theare, thearein gett by S^r Ed.

² Sir F. Greville, and Sir John Conway.

Grev. some meanes made to the Knights of the Shire for an ease & discharge of such taxes & subsidies where w^h o^r towne is like to be charged, & I assure u I am in great feare & doubt bj no meanes hable to paje. S^r Ed. Gre. is gonne to Brestowe, & from thence to Lond. as I heare, who verie well knoweth o^r estates, & wilbe willinge to do us anj good.

o^r great bell is broken, & W^m. Wiatt is mendinge the pavem^{te} of the bridge.

mj sister is chearefull & the L^d hath bin mercifull & comfortable to us & hir in hir labours, & so y^t u be well imploied, geveth u leave to followe u^r occasions for 1 weeke or fortnight longer. I would u weare furnisht to paj W^m Pattrike for me xi^l. & bringe his q^{tt}ance, for I thinke his specialtie is in Tho Knight hand, due at Candles daie. Yesterday I spake to Mr. Sheldon at S^r Tho. Lucies, for the staie of Mr. Burtons suite, & that the cause might be referred to M^r Walk^{rs} of Ellington: he answered me, y^t M^r Bur. was nowe att Lond. & wth all his harte & good will the suite should be staied, & the matter so referred. I have here inclosed a breife of the reckoninge betwene him & me, as I would have it passe, & as in a^qitie it should passe, if he wilbe but as good as his faith & p^mise.

Good broth^r, speake to M^r Goodale, that there be no more p^{ce}adinge in tharches bj M^r Clopton, whom I am content & most willing to compounde wthall, & have bin ever since the beginninge of the laste terme, and thearefore much iniured bj some bodie y^t I have bin put to an unnecessarie charge of xxs. & upwards, that terme; wheareas I had satisfied M^r Clopton, as I was credibl^y made believe by some of his s^rvantes. I was allso assured of the staie of suite bj M^r Barnes in the harvest, & bj M^r Pendleburj the latter end of the terme. mj broth^r Woodward cometh up att the latter end of this week, who will speake to Mr. Clopton him^selfe to that purpose.

“ u understande bj mj le'r I sent bj o' countrimā. Bur'll, that masse Brentt dispatchd 50*l.* for u. Jh. Sdlr. [John Sadler] bounde alone as yeat. Because Mr. Brbr [Barber] might not have it for 12 moneths, he would none at all, wherebj I loste my expectation, & [am] leaſte I assure u in the greatest neede of 30*l.* that possiblȝ maie be. In truth, brother, to u be it spokē & to none els; for want thereof knowe skarce w^c waj to turne me.

Det deus misericordiæ dcūs [Query, don̄s, i. e. dominus] exitū secundū bene placitum suum.

u^r fath'r wth. his blessinge & comendation mj sister wth. her lovinge remembrance, comends her: in health booth, with all u^r childrē & houshold. u^r fath'r extraordinarȝ hartie, chearefull, & lustie, hath sent u this remembrance inclosed.

It maie be u knowe Hins [him] his execut'r & brother; I meane of whom o' brot^r Whte borrowed for me the 80*l.* paihable at maj next. his name I have not att hand. he dwelleth in Watlinge Strete, if 40*l.* thereof might be p^rcured for 6 monethes more, it would make me whole. I knowe it doeth u good to be doing good & y^t u will do all the good u can.

I would Hamlet³ weare at home satisfied for his paines takē before his coming & so freed from further travell.

Nunc deus omnipot'ns opt. max. pater omnimodæ consolationis benedicat tibi in viis tuis, et secundet te in om̄b. tuis ꝑ̄ Ih̄n. cr̄m. dom̄. erm̄. Dū. ullus sū tuis tū.

ABRAH. STRL. [STURLEY.]

Stratfordia Januarii 24 [1597-8].

Comend me to Mr Tom. Bur'll & praj him ffor me & my broth. Da. Bakr [Daniel Baker] to looke y^t T. Tub maie be well hooped, that he leake not out lawe to o' hurte, for his cause: qōd partem avidio nonnihil suspicor & timeo.

³ Hamnet or Hamlet Sadler, who was probably godfather to Shakspeare's only son. He had accompanied Mr. Richard Quiney to London, on the business of the borough of Stratford.

Received of Mr. But :	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Beanes 23q ^r . att 3s. 4d. the strike	30	13	4
Burley, 8q ^{rs} & 4str. at 4s. y ^e str	13	12	0
Wheate 4q ^{rs} . 4 str. att 6s. 8d. y ^e str	12	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	56	5	4

I have paid & sowed theareof, 52*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

Mj lad. Gre. is ru [run] in arreāges wth mj sister for malt (as it seemeth), w^c hendreth & troubleth hir not a littel.

No. XIX.

Nov. 4. 1598. All health happines of suites and well-fare be multiplied unto u & u^r. labours in G^d o^r. ffather by Cr. o^r L^d.

Y^r l^{er} of the 21 of octobr came to mj handes the laste of the same at night p^r Grenwai, w^c. imported a staj of suites bj S^r E^d. G^r. [Edward Grevill's] advise, until &c^r. & y^t only u should follow on for tax & sub.⁴ p^rntly and allso u^r. travell & hinderance of answere therein, bj u^r. longe travell & thaffaires of the Courte: And that o^r countrimā M^r W. Shak. [Shakspeare] would p^rcure us monej, w^c. I will like of, as I shall heare when, & wheare, & howe; and I praj let not go that occasion, if it maj sorte to anj indifferent condicions. Also y^t if monej might be had for 30 or 40*l.* a lease, &c. might be p^rocured Oh howe can you make dowbt of monej, who will not beare xxxth or xl^s. towards such a match! The latter end of u^r l^{er} w^c concerned u^r houshold affaires I dd [delivered] p^rntly: nowe to u^r other l^{er} of the 1^o. of novmber received the 3^d of the same.

⁴ The borough of Stratford at this time were soliciting the Lord Treasurer Burghley to be exempted from the subsidies imposed in the last Parliament, on the plea of poverty and distress occasioned by two recent fires.

I would I weare with u; naj if you continue with hope of those suites u wr^ghte of, I thinke I shall w^t [without] concent; & I will most willinglj come unto u; as had u but advise & companj & more monej p^{re}nte [present] much might be done to obtaine o^r C^r [charter] enlarged, ij faires more, with tole of corne bests and sheepe and a matter of more valeu thē [than] all that; for (say u) all this is nothing y^t is in hand, seeinge it will not rise to 80^l. & the charges wilbe greate. What this matter of more valeu meaneth I cannot undrstand; but me thinketh whatsoever the good would be, u are afraid of want of monej. Good things in hand or neare hand can not choose but be worth monei to bring to hand, and being assured, will if neede be, bringe monej in their mouthes; there is no feare nor dowbte. If it be the rest of the tithes & the College houses and lands in o^r towne u speake of, the one half weare abundantly ritch for us; and the other halfe to increase S^r E^d [Grevill's] rialties would both beare the charge & set him sure on: the w^c I take to be your meaninge bj the latter p^{re}te of u^r l^{er}, where u write for a copie of the p^{re}ticulars (w^c. allso u shall have accordingly) Oh howe I fear whe I se what S^r E^d can do, & howe neare it sitteth to his selfe: leaste he shall thinke it to [too] good for us, & p^{re}cure it for himselfe, as he s^{ved} us the last time. for it seemeth by u^r owne words theare is some of hit [it] in u^r owne conceite, when u write if S^r E^d be as forward to do as to speake, it will be done: a dowbt I assure you not w^hout doubt to be made:—whearto allso u ad not-wstanding y^t doubt, no want but monej. Somewhat must be to S^r E^d & to each one y^t dealeth somewhat & great reason. And me thinketh u need not be affraid to p^{re}mise that as fitt for him, for all the [them] and for u^r selfe. The thinge obtained no dowbte will paj all. For p^{re}s^{ent} advice and encouragm^{te} u have by this time M^r Bailj; and for monej, when you certifie what u have done, & what u have spent, what u will do, & what u wante, somewhat u knowe

we have in hand, & G^d will p^rvide that w^c shall be sufficient. Be of good courage. Make fast S^r E^d. bj all meanes, or els all our hope & u^r travells be utterlj disgraced Consider and advise if S^r Ed. will be faste for us, so y^t bj his good-will to us & his meanes for us these things be brought about. What weare it for the fee farme of his rialties, nowe not above xii or xiiij^l. he weare assured of the double, when these things come to hand, or more, as the goodnes of the things p^rcured p^rveth. But whj do I travill in these things, whe [when] I knowe not certainly what u intende, neither what u^r meanes are, nor what are u^r difficulties p^rciselj & by name all w^c must be knowe' by name & speciallj wth an estimate of the charge before anj thing can be added either for advise or supplie. I leave these matters therefore unto the allmighties mercifull disposition in u^r hand untill a more neare possibilitie or more leisure will encourage u or suffer u to write more plainly & p^rticularly. But w^hall the Chancell must not be forgotte' w^c also obtained would yeald some p^rettj gub of monej for u^r p^rsent busines as I thinke. The p^rticulars u write for shalle this morninge be dispatched & sent as soon as maj be.—All is well att home; all your paiments made & dispatchd, mj sister saith if it be so y^t u can not be p^rvided for M^{rs} Pendllbur. [Pendlebury] she will, if you will, send you up x^l. towards that by the next after, or if u take it up paj it to who u appointe. W^m Wallford sendeth order and monej p^r W^m Court nowe cominge who hath some cause to feare, for he was newelj s^rved wth p^rces [process] on Tusday last at Ale^r. [Alecker] p^r Rog^rr S[adler].

M^r Parsons supposeth that Wenlock came the same day wth M^r Bailj y^t u writt u^r l^rer. he saith he supposeth u maj use yt x^l. for our br^rwinge matters. W^m Wiatt answered M^r Ba [Bailif] and us all y^t he would neither b^rrwe him selfe, nor submit him selfe to the order; but (bj those very wordes) make against it wth all the strength he could

possibly make, yeat we do this day begin M^r Bar[ber] and my selfe a littel for assai. My bro. D. B. [Daniel Baker] att Shrewsburj or homeward from thence. But nowe the bell hath runge my time spent. The L^d of all power, glorj, mercj, grace and goodnes, make his great power & mercie knowe towards us in u^r weaknes Take heed of tabacco whereof we heare p^y W^m Perrj against an longe iournei u maj undertake on foote of necessity, or wherein the exercise of u^r bodj must be implored, drinke some good burned wine or aq'avita and ale strongly mingled wthout bread for a t[oast] & above all keepe u warme. Farewell mj dare heart, and the L^d increase o^r loves & comforts one to an other that once it maj be such as becomethe christianity purity & sincerity wthout staine or blemishe. Fare you well, all u^r & o^rs well. ffrom Stratford, Novem. 4th 1598.

u^s in all love in the best bond

ABRAH. STURLEY.

M^{rs} Coomb^s whē Gil'ert Charnocke paid the there monej as he told me, said y^t if anj but he had brought it she would not receve it, because she had not hir gowne; & that she would arrest u for hit as soon as u come home; & much twattle; but at the end so y^t youe would pai 4ⁿ. towards hit, she would allow u xx^s & we shall heare at some leasure howe fruits are & hopps & sutch knakks. At this point came W^m Sheldon the silkma with a warrant to serve W^m Walford againe upon a trespasse of 500^l.

To his most lovinge brother M^r Richard Quiney, at the Bell in Carter Lane att London, give these.

No. XX.

Sir Walter Raleigh, at the time Colin Clout was written,

^s Probably Mrs. Mary Combe, the wife of Thomas Combe, John Combe's elder brother.

was forty years old. His acquaintance with Spenser, we may presume, commenced in Ireland, where he first distinguished himself in military service, during the years 1580 and 1581; Spenser being, at that time, secretary to Arthur Lord Grey, who assumed the government of Ireland, as Lord Deputy, in September, 1580. At the assault on the Golden Fort, near Dingle, in the county of Kerry, a few days after Grey's arrival, where the inhuman office of putting the garrison to the sword, in cold blood, after they had surrendered at discretion, was assigned to Raleigh and another officer; Spenser, as he has himself told us, was near the scene of action, in the train of the Lord Deputy; for whose conduct, on that occasion, he has made an elaborate defence. In 1582, Raleigh returned to England; and after the death of Gerald, the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, and the consequent confiscation of his immense estate, consisting of near 600,000 acres, which produced a revenue of about 7000*l.* per annum, Raleigh's services were rewarded, in 1585, with a grant of 12,000 acres of land, in the counties of Waterford and Cork. "He had these lands," according to a manuscript in the Lambeth Library (No. 617), "by expresse words of warrantie in a special letter from her Majestie at a hundred marks p^{ann.} rent." Till the year 1590, however, neither he, nor any other of the undertakers, as they were called, paid any rent. From Michaelmas, 1591, to Michaelmas, 1594, he paid only fifty marks a-year; and from that time, for ever, his rent was fixed at one hundred marks annually. In 1587, as appears from a letter written by himself to Sir Robert Cecil (Burghley Papers, p. 658), he built a castle on this estate, and established on it a colony brought from England; but before May, 1593, he had been "driven to recall all his people." And, about the year 1600, he sold this estate to Richard Boyle, afterwards the great Earl of Corke, who, by means of its woods, and the iron-works which he erected on it, made

a great accession to his fortune. In the summer of 1589, as has been stated in the text, having been *chased from the court*, by Essex, he repaired to his estate in Ireland, and, doubtless, then spent some time with Spenser, at his Castle of Kilcolman, which was not far distant from Raleigh's estate : and the poet appears to have afterwards accompanied his friend to England.

Dr. Birch, in his Life of Raleigh, and others after him, have stated that Raleigh " obtained, of the crown, a grant, in 1594, of some church lands ; a course of reward usual, with Queen Elizabeth, towards such as had performed any considerable service to the state . . . Dr. John Caldwell, upon his election to the see of Salisbury, having consented to alienate the manor of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, Sir Walter requested and procured it from her Majesty." This statement is wholly inconsistent with the history of his disgrace at court ; for it cannot be supposed that the Queen would grant him any favour at the very time he was forbid to appear in her presence. To avoid that inconsistency, therefore, it has been supposed that, in 1594, he was restored to her Majesty's favour, which he had lost by seducing one of her maids of honour, Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. But the truth is, that Dr. Caldwell, after he was elected to the see of Salisbury, and before he was confirmed in the bishoprick, on the 18th of January, 1590-91, made a *lease* of the manor of Sherborne to the Queen, for ninety-nine years, at the annual rent of 200*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* ⁶ ; and, *nine days afterwards*, the Queen assigned it over to Raleigh, for the remainder of her term. His disgrace took place near eighteen months afterwards, July 1592, when he was, for some time, committed to the custody of Sir George Carew, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance ; and on the 31st of July, he was commit-

⁶ Claus. 34 Eliz. p. 13.

ted to the Tower, where he was confined for two months. See a letter, from Sir Edward Stafford, to Anthony Bacon, July 30, 1592, Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, part i. p. 79. From other letters in the same collection, and from Camden, we learn, that he was not admitted into the Queen's presence before the end of the year 1595; if even then. In the summer of 1596, he was so far forgiven, as to be allowed a command in the expedition against Cadiz; but he was not allowed to resume the exercise of his office of Captain of the Guard till 1597. The disgrace, therefore, which Spenser so pathetically laments, continued for nearly five years. About two years after his restoration to the Queen's favour, and while his rival, Essex, was absent from the court, September 11, 1599, he obtained, from her, a grant of the manor of Sherborne *to him and his heirs for ever*⁷, of which he had before only a lease. At what time his marriage with Elizabeth Throckmorton took place, has not been ascertained. It appears that she accompanied him to the Tower, in July, 1592; but a letter written by him to Cecil, and dated March 10, 1592⁸, about three months before he and that lady were confined (for Raleigh reckoned the year as we now do), contains these remarkable words: "I meane not to come away, as they say, I will, for feare of a *marriage*, and I know not what. If any such thing weare, I would have imparted it unto your sealf, before any man living; and therefore I pray, believe it not; and I beseech you to suppress what you can, any such malicious report; for *I protest before God, there is none on the face of the yearth, that I would be fastned unto.*"

During the period above-mentioned, it was, that he poured forth those piteous complaints at being excluded from the presence of his "love's Queen, and the goddess of his life;" to which Spenser alludes in the following verses of the poem which has given rise to these observa-

⁷ Pat. 41 Eliz. p. 12.

⁸ Murden, p. 663.

tions. Thestylis having asked what was the subject on which the shepherd of the ocean descanted, Colin replies,

“ His song was all a lamentable lay,
 “ Of great unkindness and of usage hard,
 “ Of Cynthia, the ladie of the sea,
 “ Which from her presence faultlesse him debarr’d.
 “ And ever and anon with singults rife,
 “ He cryed out, to make his under song,
 “ Ah my *love's queene*, and *goddesse of my life*,
 “ Who shall me pitie, when thou dost me wrong.”

That the colouring of this picture is not overcharged, appears from Raleigh's own words, and also from a very curious letter written by Arthur Gorges, and already alluded to.

In a letter, written by Raleigh to Cecil, in July 1592, and, as it should seem, on the day when he was sent to the Tower, are the following passages :

“ My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so farr of [on her progress], whom I have followed so many years with so great *love and desire*, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. When she was at hand, *that I might hear of her once in two or three dayes*, my sorrowes were the lesse; but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. *I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her hair about her pure checks, like a nymph; sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess; sometimes singing like an angel; sometimes playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world, once [one] amiss hath bereaved me of all. . . . All those times past, the loves, the sythes, the sorrowes, the desires*, can they not weigh down one frail misfortune! Cannot one drop of gall be hidden in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *spes et fortuna, valete.*”

Mr. Gorge's letter to Sir Robert Cecil, on this subject, is so curious, and so well illustrates Spenser's verses, that I shall give it entire. Dr. Birch says, "it has no date of month or year, but the indorsement is 26th July." The indorsement, however, in the copy in the Museum (MSS. Birch, 4106) is as follows: "Mr. A. Gorge's letter to my Mr. July 26, 1592;" which doubtless was written by Cecil's secretary. This letter was written five days before that above quoted, while Raleigh was in the custody of Sir George Carew (afterwards Earl of Totness), then Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance:

"Honorab! Sir,

"I cannot chuse but advertise you of a straunge tragedye, that this day had lyke to have fallen oute betweene the Captayne of the Guard, and the Lyvetennant of the Ordenaunce, if I had not by greate chaunce cummen at the very instant to have turned it into a comedye. For uppon the report of her Majestyes being at Sir George Carey's⁹, Sir W. Rawly having *gazed and syghed* a long tyme att his study-wyndow, from whence he myght discerne the barges and boates about the Black-fryars stayers, soodaynly he brake owte into a greate distemper, and sware, that hys enemyes had of purpose brought hyr majestye thether, *to breake his gaule in sounder with Tantalus' torments, that, when shee went away he myght see hys death before his eyes*: with many such lyke conceyts. And as a mann transported with passion, he sware to Sir George Carew, that he wolde disguyse hyme selfe, and gett into a payer of oares, *to ease his mynde but with a syght of the Queene, or els he protested his harte wolde breake*. But the trusty Jaylor wold non of that, for displeasing¹ the higher powers, as he sayde, which he more respected than the feeding of hys humor: and so flatly

⁹ The eldest son of Lord Hunsden.

¹ i. e. for fear of displeasing, &c.

refused to permitt hym. But in conclusion, uppon the dispute, they fell flatt owte to colloryq outrageous wordes, with streyning and struggling att the doores, that all lamenes was forgotten, and, in the fury of the conflyct, the jaylor he had hys newe perwygg torne of [off] his crowne; and yet heare the battle ended not, for at laste they had gotten owte theyr daggers: which when I sawe, I played the styckler betweene theme, and so purchased such a rapp on the knockles, that I wysht both theyr pates broken: and so with much adoo they stayed theyre brawle, to see my bloodyed fyngers. Att the fyrste, I was ready to breake with laughinge, to see theme too so scramble and brawle lyke mad menn, untill I sawe the iron walkinge; and then I did my best to apease the fury. As yet I canot reconcyle them by any perswasions, for Sir Walt. sweares, that he shall hate hyme for so restrayning hyme from the syght of his mistress, whylst he lyves; for that he knowes not (as he sayd) whether ever he shall see hyr agayne, when she is goane the Progress. And Sir Georg on hys syde, swares, that he had rather he should lose hys longinge, then that he wolde draw on hym hyr Majesties displeasure by such libertie. Thus they contynew in mallyce and snarlynge; but I am sure all the smarte lyghted on me. I cannot tell wheare [whether] I should more alowe [approve] of the *passionate lover*, or the trusty jaylor. But yf your selfe had seene it as I dyd, yow wold have byne as hartely merry and sorry as ever yow weare in all your lyfe, for so short a tyme. I praye yow pardon my hasty wrytten narration, which I acquaynt yow with, hoping yow will be the peace-maker. But good sir, let no body knowe theareof, for I feare Sir W. Rawly wyll shortely growe to be Orlando Furioso, if *the bryght Angelyca* persever agaynst hyme a lyttle longer.

“Your Honors humbly to be commanded,

“A. GORGES.

“London in haste, this Wensdaye.”

From the following postscript, added on a slip of paper, and fastened by wax to the letter, it appears that the writer's principal object was, that it should be shown to the Queen, in order to serve Raleigh, who was his kinsman:

"If you let the Qs. Majestie know heareof, as you thinck good, so be it; but otherwyse, good Sir, keepe it secrett, for theyr credytt, for they know not of my discourse, *which I could wyshe her Majestie knewe.*"

It remains only to add a few words concerning Raleigh's poetry. Puttenham, in 1589, says, "for dittie and amorous ode I finde Sir Walter Raleyghs vayne most loftie insolent and passionate;" and in another place he classes him in "the crewe of courtly makers, noblemen and gentlemen of her Majesties own servauntes, who have written excellently well, as it would appeare, if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest." Of the *doings* of Raleigh in this way, very few remain; but yet more than is generally known. It is extraordinary that his *Cynthia*, a poem written expressly in honour of Elizabeth, should not have been preserved. It is alluded to by Spenser, in his letter expounding the scheme of the Faery Queen, and again more particularly mentioned in the conclusion of his verses addressed to Raleigh, at the end of the third book of that poem. Gabriel Harvey, in his MSS notes on Chaucer, already quoted, denominates Raleigh's *Cynthia*, "a fine and sweet invention." Puttenham, in p. 168, and elsewhere, has quoted lines from some of Raleigh's ditties. The little poem, entitled sometimes *The Farewell*, and sometimes *The Lie*, beginning—"Go, soul, the body's guest," which has been attributed to Raleigh, I believe, first appeared in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*. 1608; but it is not subscribed with even the initial letters of his names. It may, therefore, be doubted whether it be his. Whosoever was its author, it must have been written as early as 1595, for a manuscript copy of it with that date is in

my possession. On the other hand, the poem subscribed W. R., and published by Davison, in the first edition of the same miscellany, 1602, beginning with the words—"Concept begotten by the eyes," and the verses prefixed to the translation of Lucan, by his friend Sir Arthur Gorges, folio, 1614, and subscribed with the same initial letters, were doubtless written by Raleigh.

Among the epitaphs on Sir Philip Sidney, collected by Spenser at the close of his *Astrophel*, that which commences "To praise thy life or waile thy worthie death," was certainly Sir Walter's production, as appears from the notes subjoined to the 16th book of Harrington's translation of Ariosto: "Our English Petrarche, Sir Philip Sidney, or, as Sir Walter Raleigh in his Epitaph worthely calleth him, 'the Scipio and the Petrarche of our time,'" &c. See the last stanza of the epitaph in question. Indeed, the authors of all the anonymous epitaphs on Sidney, subjoined to Spenser's *Astrophel*, may, in like manner, be ascertained. The first epitaph, by Clorinda, as Spenser himself intimates, was written by Mary Countess of Pembroke. The second, entitled *The Mourning Muse of Thestylis*, was written at Dublin, in 1587, by Spenser's friend, Lodowick Bryskett, the initial letters of whose names are subscribed to the following *Æglogue*, with the same motto, which is prefixed to his *Treatise of Civil Life*, 4to. 1606. See also an entry in the *Stationers' books*, by John Wolfe, in 1587: "The Mournfull Muses of Lod. Bryskett upon the Death of the most noble Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight." The third anonymous epitaph, beginning—"As then no wind at all there blew," was the production of Mathew Roydon, a poet who was living in 1611 (see Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, p. 201), and whose "comick inventions" are highly praised by Nashe, in his epistle prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, 4to. 1589, *ad finem*, where there is a reference to this elegy. The fourth, we have seen, is Sir Walter Raleigh's; and the fifth, beginning, "Silence augmenteth grief, writing en-

creaseth rage," may be safely attributed to Sir Edward Dyer. It had previously appeared in a miscellany entitled *The Phoenix Nest*, 4to. 1593, where it is said to be "excellently written by a most worthy gentleman." He was an intimate friend of Sidney; and these verses were evidently dictated by sincere grief and affection. The measure, too, is that which Dyer has employed in other compositions².

² As little of Dyer's poetry is generally known, I have annexed the following not unfavourable specimen transcribed by Mr. Malone from Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian, compared with another copy in the Ashmolean Museum: :

"He that his mirth hath lost whose comforte is dismayde,
 "Whose hope is vayne, whose fayth is scornde, whose trust is
 all betrayde,

"If he have held them deere, and cannot cease to moane,
 "Come let him take his place by me, he shall not rue alone.

"Butt if the smallest sweete be mixte with all his soure

"If in the daye, the month, the yeere he feele one lightnunge
 howre.

"Then rest he by him selfe he is no mate for me

"Whose hope is falne, whose succour voyde whose hap his
 death must be

"Yet not the wished death which hath no playnt nor lack,

"Which makynge free the better part is only nature's wracke.

"Oh no; that were too good; my death is of the mynde

"Which bringes allwayes the extremest paynes and leaves the
 worst behynde †.

* * * * *

"The solytarye woodes my cytye shall become,

"The darkest den shall be my lodge wherein I'll rest or run ‡.

"Of hebon blacke my boorde, the wormes my feast shall be,

"Wherwith my carcase shall be fedd untill they feed on me.

† MS. A. "Which allwayes yeeldes extremest paynes yct keepes
 the worst behynde."

‡ MS. A. "Wherein no light shall come."

- " My wine of Niobe * my hed the craggy rocke,
 " The serpents hiss my harmonye, the skrychyng owlle my
 cocke.
 " My exercise nought else but raging agonies,
 " My bookes of spytefull fortunes spoylles and dreerye tragedies ;
 " My walk the pathes of plaint, my prospect into hell,
 " Where wretched Sysiphe and his pheeres in endless paynes
 do dwell.
 " And thoughe I seeme to use the poets' fayned style,
 " To figure forth my wofull plight, my fall and my exile.
 " Yet is my woe not faynde, wherein I sterve and pyne ;
 " Who feeleth most, shall finde his least comparing his with
 myne.
 " My Songe, if any aske—" whose grievous case is such ? "
 " DYER then let his name be knowne ; his folly shoves to
 muche.
 " Butt best 'twere thee to hide, and never come to lyght,
 " For in the world can none but I thye accents sound aright."

Miserum est fuisse,

E. Dier.

Finis.

* i. e. tears.

SHAKSPEARE'S COAT OF ARMS.

The following Instrument ¹ is copied from the Original in the College of Heralds: It is marked G 13, p. 349.

“To all and singuler noble and gentlemen of all estats and degrees, bearing arms, to whom these presents shall come, William Dethick, Garter, Principall King of Arms of England, and William Camen, alias Clarencieux, King of Arms for the south, east, and west parts of this realme, sendethe greeting. Know ye, that in all nations and kingdoms the record and remembraunce of the valeant facts and vertuous dispositions of worthie men have been made knowne and divulged by certeyne shields of arms and tokens of chevalrie; the grant and testimonie whereof apperteyneth unto us, by vertu of our offices from the Quenes most Exc. Majestie, and her Highenes most noble and victorious progenitors: wherefore being solicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakspeare, now of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the countie of Warwick, gent. whose parent, great grandfather, and late antecessor, for his faithfull and approved service to the late most prudent prince, king Henry VII. of famous

¹ In the Herald's Office are the first draughts of John Shakspeare's grant or confirmation of arms, by William Dethick, Garter, Principal King at Arms, 1596. See Vincent's Press, vol. 157, No. 23, and 4. STEEVENS.

In a Manuscript in the College of Heralds, marked W. 2. p. 276, is the following note: “As for the *speare in bend*, it is a patible difference, and the person to whom it was granted hath borne magistracy, and was justice of peace at Stratford-upon-Avon. He married the daughter and heire of Arderne, and was able to maintain that estate.” MALONE.

memorie, was advaunced and rewarded with lands and tenements, geven to him in those parts of Warwickshere, where they have continewed by some descents in good reputacion and credit; and for that the said John Shakspeare having maryed the daughter and one of the heysrs of Robert Arden of Wellingcote, in the said countie, and also produced this his auncient cote of arms, heretofore assigned to him whilest he was her Majesties officer and baylefe of that towne²: In consideration of the premisses, and for the encouragement of his posteritie, unto whom suche blazon of arms and achievements of inheritance from theyre said mother, by the auncyent custome and lawes of arms, maye lawfully descend; We the said Garter and Clarencieulx have assigned, graunted, and by these presents eximplefied unto the said John Shakspeare, and to his posteritie, that shield and cote of arms, viz. In a field of gould upon a bend sables a speare of the first, the poynt upward, hedded argent; and for his crest or cognizance, A falcon with his wyngs displayed, standing on a wrethe of his coullers, supporting a speare armed hedded, or steeled sylver, fyxed upon a helmet with mantell and tassels, as more playnely maye appeare depected on this margent: and we have likewise upon on other escutcheon impaled the same with the auncyent arms of the said Arden³ of Wellingcote; signifieng therby, that it maye and shalbe lawfull for the said John Shakspeare

² — his auncient cote of arms, heretofore assigned to him whilest he was her Majesties officer and baylefe of that towne;] This grant of arms was made by Robert Cook, Clarencieux, in 1569, but is not now extant in the Herald's Office. MALONE.

³ — and we have likewise—impaled the same with the auncyent arms of the said Arden—] It is said by Mr. Jacob, the modern editor of Arden of Feversham (first published in 1592 and republished in 1631 and 1770) that Shakspeare *descended by the female line* from the gentleman whose unfortunate end is the subject of this tragedy. But the assertion appears to want sup-

gent. to beare and use the same shield of arms, single or impaled, as aforsaid, during his natural lyffe; and that it shalbe lawfull for his children, yssue, and posteryte, (lawfully begotten,) to beare, use, and quarter, and show forth the same, with theyre dewe differences, in all lawfull warlyke facts and civile use or exercises, according to the laws of arms, and custome that to gentlemen belongethe, without let or interruption of any person or persons, for use or bearing the same. In wyttnesse and testemonye whereof we have subscribed our names, and fastened the seals of our offices, geven at the Office of Arms, London, the day of in the xlii yere of the reigne of our most gracious Sovraigne lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, quene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. 1599."

CONVEYANCE FROM WALKER TO SHAKSPEARE,
March 10, 1612-13.

This Indenture made the tenthe day of Marche, in the yeare of our Lord God according to the computacōn of the church of England one thousand six hundrede and twelve, and in the yeares of the reigne of our soveraigne Lord James by the grace of God king of England, Scotland ffraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. that is to saie, of England, ffraunce and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortith: Betweene Henry

port, the true name of the person who was murdered at Feversham being *Ardern* and not *Arden*. *Ardern* might be called *Arden* in the play for the sake of better sound, or might be corrupted in the Chronicle of Holinshed: yet it is unlikely that the true spelling should be overlooked among the Heralds, whose interest it is to recommend by ostentatious accuracy the trifles in which they deal. STEEVENS.

Ardern was the original name, but in Shakspeare's time it had been softened to *Arden*. MALONE.

Walker Citizein of London and Minstrel of London of thone partie, and William Shakespeare of Stratforde Upon Avon in the countie of Warwick gentleman, William Johnson citizein and Vintner of London, John Jackson and John Hemyng of London gentlemen, on thother ptie : Witnesseth, that the said Henry Walker for and in consideracōn of the some of one hundred and fortie pounds of lawful money of England to him in hand before thensealing hereof by the said William Shakespeare well and trulie paid, whereof and wherewth hee the said Henry Walker doth acknowledge himselfe fully satisfied and contented, and thereof and of every part or parcell thereof doth cleerlie acquite and discharge the saide William Shakespeare, his heires, executors, admīstrators, and assignes, and every of them, by these p̄nts hath bargayned and soulded, and by theis p̄nts doth fullie cleerlie and absolutlie bargayne and sell vnto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemyng, their heires and assignes for ever, All that dwelling house or Tenement wth thappurtenāncs situate and being w^{thin} the Precinct Circuit and Compasse of the late black fryers London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner Esqui^{re}, and since that in the tenure of John ffortescue gent. and now or late being in the tenure or occupacōn of one William Ireland or of his assignee or assignes; abutting vpon a streete leading downe to Puddle Wharffe on the east part, right against the kings Maiesties Wardrobe; part of w^{ch} said Tenement is erected over a great gate leading to a Capitall Mesuage w^{ch} sometyme was in the tenure of William Blackwell Esqui^{re} deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacōn of the right Honorable Henry now Earl of Northumberland. And also all that plott of ground on the west side of the same Tenement w^{ch} was lately inclosed wth boords on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon, widowe, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise; and being on

the thirde side inclosed wth an olde Brick wall; Which said plott of ground was sometyne parcell and taken out of a great voide peece of ground lately vsed for a garden; and also the soyle wherevppon the said Tenement standeth, and also the said Brick wall and boords w^{ch} doe inclose the said plott of ground: With free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egresse, and regresse, in by and through the said greate gate and yarde there vnto the vsual dore of the said Tenement; And also all and singuler cello's, sollers, romes, lights, easiaments, profitts, comodities, and hereditaments whatsoever, to the said dwelling house or Tenement belonging or in any wise app'teyning; And the reversion and reversions whatsoever of all and singuler the premisses, and of every parcell thereof; And also all rents, and yearlie profitts whatsoever reserved and from hensforth to growe due and paiable vpon whatsoever lease, dimise or graunt, leases dimises or graunts, made of the premisses or of any parcell thereof, And also all the state, right, title, interest, propertie, vse, possession, clayme, and demaunde whatsoever w^{ch} hee the said Henry Walker now hath, or of right may, might, should, or ought to have, of in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof; And also all and every the deeds, evidences, charters, escripts, miniments, & writings whatsoever w^{ch} hee the said Henry Walker now hath, or any other person or persons to his vse have or hath, or which hee may lawfullie come by w^{thout} suite in the lawe, which touch or concerne the premisses onlie, or onlie any part or parcell thereof, Together wth the true coppies of all such deeds, evidences, and writings as concerne the premisses (amonge other things) to bee written and taken out at the onlie costs and charg^e of the said William Shakespeare his heires or assignes. Which said dwelling house or Tenement, and other the premisses above by theis prnts mencōned to bee bargayned and sould the saide Henry Walker late purchased and had to him his heires and assignes for ever of Mathie Bacon of Graies Inne in the

Countie of Midd gentleman, by Indenture bearing date the fifteenth day of October in the yeare of our Lord god one thousand six hundred and fower, and in the yeares of the reigne of our said Sovereigne Lord king James of his realmes of England ffraunce and Ireland the second, and of Scotland the eight and thirtith: To have and to holde the said dwelling house or Tenement, shopps, cello's, sollers, plott of ground and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis pntes mencōned to bee bargayned and soulded and every part and parcell thereof wth thappurtenānts, vnto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemyng, their heires and assignes for ever: To thonlie & proper vse and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemyng, their heires and assignes for ever. And the said Henry Walker for himselfe, his heires, executo's, administrato's, and assignes, and for every of them, doth Covenānt, promise and graunt to and wth the said William Shakespeare his heires and assignes by theis pntes in forme following, that is to saic, That hee the said Henry Walker his heires, executo's administrato's or assignes shall and will cleerlie acquite, exonerate, and discharge or otherwise from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmles the said William Shakespeare his heires and assignes and every of them of for and concernyng the bargayne and sale of the premisses, and the said bargayned premisses and every part and parcell thereof wth thappurtenāncs of and from all and almaner of former bargaynes, sales, guifts, graunts, leases, statuts, Recognizauncs, Joynters, dowers, intailes, lymittacōn and lymittacōns of vse and vses, extents and judgments, execucōns, Annuities, and of and from all and every other charg^e titles and incumbancs whatsoever, wittinglie and wilfullie had, made comitted, suffered, or donne by him the said Henry Walker or any other under his authoritie or right, before thensealing and deliverye of theis pnts; Except the rents

and services to the Cheefe Lord or Lords of the fee or fees of the premisses from hensforth, for or in respecte of his or their seigniorie or seigniories onlie to be due and donne. And further the saide Henry Walker for himselfe his heires executo^rs and administrato^rs and for every of them, doth covenant, promisse and graunt to and wth the said William Shakespeare, his heires and assignes, by theis p^{ntes} in forme following; that is to saie, That for and notwthstanding any acte or thing donne by him the said Henry Walker to the Contrary, hee the said William Shakespeare his heires and assignes shall or lawfullie maye peaceablie & quietlie have, holde, occupie and enioye the said dwelling house or Tenement, Cello's Sollers and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis p^{ntes} mencōned to bee bargayned and soulded and every part and parcell thereof w^{ch} thappurtenānces, and the rents yssues and profitts thereof and of every part and parcell thereof to his and their owne vse receave perceave take and enioye from hensforth forever wthout the lett troble eviccōn or interrupcōn of the said Henry Walker his heires executo^rs or administrato^rs or any of them, or of or by any other person or persons w^{ch} have or may before the date hereof pretende to have any lawfull estate, righte, title, vse, or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by from or under him the said Henry Walker. And also that hee the said Henry Walker and his heires and all and every other person and persons and their heires which have or that shall lawfullie and rightfullie have or clayme to have any lawfull and rightfull estate, right, title, or interest, in or to the premisses or any parcell thereof, by from or vnder the said Henry Walker, shall and will from tyme to tyme & at all tymes fromhensforth for and during the space of three yeares now next ensuing at or vpon the reasonable request and costs and charg^t in the lawe of the said William Shakespeare his heires and assignes doe make knowledge and suffer to bee donne made and knowledge all and every such further lawfull and reasonable

acte and acts, thing and things, devise and devises in the law whatsoever, for the conveying of the premises, bee it by deed or deeds inrolled or not inrolled, inrolment of theis p̄nts, fyne, feoffament, recoverye, release, confirmacōn, or otherwise, wth warrantie of the said Henry Walker and his heires against him the said Henry Walker and his heires onlie, or otherwise wthout warrantie, or by all any or as many of the wayes meanes and devises afore-said, as by the said William Shakespeare his heires or assignes or his or their Councell learned in the lawe shalbee reasonable devised or advised, for the further, better, and more perfect assurance suertie suermaking and conveying of all and singuler the premisses and every parcell thereof wth thappurtenāncs vnto the said William Shakespeare his heires and assignes forever to th' use and in forme afore-said, And further that all and every fyne and fynes to be levyed, recoveryes to be suffered, estats, and assurances at any tyme or tymes hereafter to bee had made executed or passed by or betweene the said parties of the premisses or of any parcell thereof, shalbee, and shalbee esteemed, adiudged, deemed, and taken to bec, to th' onlie and proper vse and behoofe of the said William Shakespeare, his heires, and assignes forever; and to none other vse, intent or purpose. In witnesse whereof the said parties to theis Indentures Interchaungable have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written.

William Shaksper

W^m. Johnson. Jo : Jackson.

Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson in the p̄nce of Will: Atkinson

Ed: Ouery

Robert Andrewes Scr.

Henry Lawrence servant to the same Scr.

MORTGAGE MADE BY SHAKSPEARE.

A. D. 1612-13.

THE following is a transcript of another deed executed by our author three years before his death. The original deed, which was found in the year 1768, among the title deeds of the Rev. Mr. Fetherstonhaugh, of Oxted, in the county of Surry, is now in the possession of Mrs. Garrick, by whom it was obligingly transmitted to me through the hands of the Hon. Mr. Horace Walpole. Much has lately been said in various publications relative to the proper mode of spelling Shakspeare's name. It is hoped we shall hear no more idle babble upon this subject. He spelt his name himself as I have just now written it, without the middle *e*. Let this therefore for ever decide the question.

It should be remembered that to all ancient deeds were appended labels of parchment, which were inserted at the bottom of the deed; on the upper part of which labels thus rising above the rest of the parchment, the executing parties wrote their names. Shakspeare, not finding room for the whole of his name on the label, attempted to write the remaining letters at top, but having allowed himself only room enough to write the letter *a*, he gave the matter up. His hand-writing, of which a *fac-simile* is annexed, is much neater than many others, which I have seen, of that age. He neglected, however, to scrape the parchment, in consequence of which the letters appear imperfectly formed.

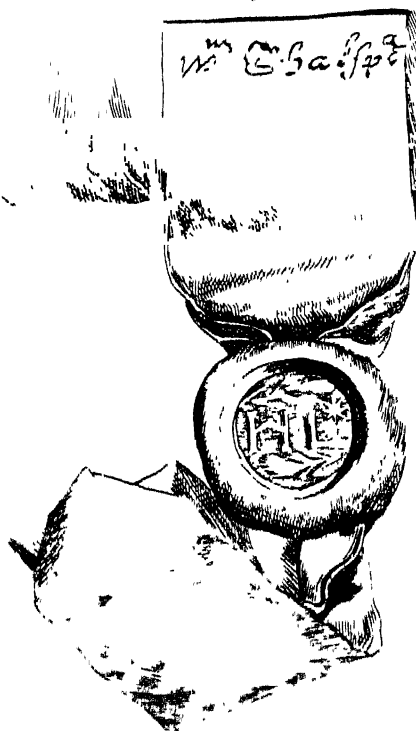
He purchased the estate here mortgaged, from Henry Walker, for 140*l*. as appears from the enrolment of the deed of bargain and sale now in the Rolls-Chapel, dated the preceding day, March 10, 1612-13. [See the preceding article.] The deed here printed shows that he paid down eighty pounds of the purchase-money, and mort-

gaged the premises for the remainder. This deed and the purchase deed were probably both executed on the same day (March 10), like our modern conveyance of Lease and Release. MALONE.

“ This Indenture made the eleventh day of March, in the yeares of the reigne of our Sovreigne Lorde James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c. that is to say, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six-and-fortieth ; Between William Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the Countie of Warwick, gentleman, William Johnson, Citizen and Vintener of London, John Jackson, and John Hemyng of London, gentleman, of thone partie, and Henry Walker, Citizen and Minstrell of London, of thother partie ; Witnesseth, that the said William Shakspeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemyng, have demised, graunted, and to ferme letten, and by theis presents do demise, graunt, and to ferme lett unto the said Henry Walker, all that dwelling house or tenement, with thappurtenaunts, situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compasse of the late Black ffryers, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner, Esquire, and since that in the tenure of John Fortescue, gent, and now or late being in the tenure or occupation of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignees ; abutting upon a streete leading downe to Puddle Wharfe, on the east part, right against the king Majesties Wardrobe ; part of which said tenement is erected over a greate gate leading to a capitall messuage, which sometyme was in the tenure of William Blackwel Esquire, deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupation of the right honourable Henry now Earle of Northumberlande : And also all that plott of ground on the west side of the said tenement, which was lately inclosed with boords on two sides thereof, by Anne Baton, widow, & farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by th

said Anne Baton, and not otherwise; and being on the third side inclosed with an old brick wall; which said plott of ground was sometyme parcell and taken out of a great voyde peece of ground lately used for a garden; and also the soyle whereupon the said tenement standeth; and also the said brick wall and boords which doe inclose the said plott of ground; with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, and regresse, in, by, and through, the said great gate and yarde there, unto the usual dore of the said tenement: And also all and singular cellors, sollers, romes, lights, easiements, profitts, commodities, and appurtenaunts whatsoever to the said dwelling-house or tenement belonging or in any wise apperteyning: to have and to holde the said dwelling-house or tenement, cellers, sollers, romes, plott of ground, and all and singular other the premisses above by theis presents mentioned to bee demised, and every part and parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunts, unto the said Henry Walker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, from the feast of thannunciacion of the blessed Virgin Marye next coming after the date hereof, unto thende and terme of One hundred yeares from thence next ensuing, and fullie to be compleat and ended, withoute impeachment of, or for, any manner of waste: yelding and paying therefore yearlie during the said terme unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemyng, their heires and assignes, a pepper corne at the feast of Easter yearly, yf the same be lawfullie demaunded, and noe more. provided alwayes, that if the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executors, administrators or assignes, or any of them, doe well and truelie paie or cause to be paid to the said Henry Walker, his executors, administrators or assigns, the sum of threescore pounds of lawfull money of England, in and upon the nyne and twentieth day of September next coming after the date hereof, at, or in, the nowe dwelling-house of the said Henry Walker,

situate and being in the parish of Saint Martyn neer Ludgate, of London, at one entier payment without delaie ; That then and from thenesforth this presente lease, demise and graunt, and all and every matter and thing herein conteyned (other then this provisoe) shall cease, determine, and bee utterlie voyde, frustrate, and of none effect, as though the same had never beene had, ne made ; theis presents or any thing therem conteyned to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And the said William Shakespeare for himselfe, his heires, executors, and administrators, and for every of them, doth cove-naunt, promisse and graunt to, and with, the said Henry Walker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, and everie of them, by theis presentes, that he the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executors, administrators or assignes, shall and will cleerlie acquite, exonerate and discharge, or from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, well and sufficientlie save and keepe harmless the said Henry Walker, his executors, administrators, and assignes, and every of them, and the said premisses by theis presents demised, and every parcell thereof, with thappurtenaunts, of and from all and al manner of former and other bargaynes, sales, guiftes, graunts, leases, jointures, dowers, intailes, statuts, recognizaunces, judgments, executions ; and of, and from, all and every other charge, titles, troubles, and incumbrances whatsoever by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson, and John Hemyng, or any of them, or by their or any of their meanes, had made, committed or done, before thensealing and delivery of theis presents, or hereafter before the said nyne and twentieth day of September next comming after the date hereof, to bee had, made, committed or done, except the rents and servits to the cheef lord or lords of the fee or fees of the premisses, for, or in respect of, his or their segnorie or seignories onlie, to bee due and done.



*Shakespeare's autograph, if it had been written
on paper, would have appeared thus*

Wm Shakespeare

“ In witnesse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchangeablie have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and years first above written, 1612 [1612-13.]

A
 “ W^m SHAKSPE. W^m JOHNSON. JO. JACKSON.

“ Ensealed and delivered by the
 said William Shakespeare,
 William Johnson, and John
 Jackson², in the presence of

“ WILL. ATKINSON. ROBERT ANDREWS, Scr.³

“ ED. OUDRY. HENRY LAWRENCE, Ser-
 vant to the said Scr.

DECLARATION OF TRUST BY JOHN HEMINGES AND OTHERS, Feb. 10, 1617-18.

This indenture made the tenth day of february in the yeres of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. That is to say, of England, ffraunce, and Ireland, the fifteenth, and of Scotland the one and fiftith; Between John Jackson and John Hemynge of London, gentlemen, and William Johnson, Citizen and Vintner of London, of thone part, and John Greene of Clements Inn in the County of Midd. gent. and Matthew Morryes of Stretford vpon Avon in the County of Warwick gent. of thother part; Witnesseth, that the said John Jackson, Iohn Hemynge, and William Johnson, as well for and in performance of the confidence and trust in them reposed by William Shakespeare, deceased, late of Stretford aforesaid, gent., and to thend and intent that the lands tenem^{ts} and hereditam^{ts} hereafter in theis p^{nts} mencōned and expressed, may be conveyed and assured according to the true intent and meaning of the last will

² John Heming did not sign, or seal.

³ i. e. Scrivener.

and testam^t of the said William Shakespeare, and for the some of ffyve shillings of lawfull money of England to them payd, for and on behalf of Susanna Hall, one of the daughters of the said William Shakspeare and now wife of Iohn Hall of Stretford aforesaid gent. before then-sealling and deliury of theis pñts, Have aliened bargained sold and confirmed, and by theis pñts doe and every of them doth fully cleerely and absolutely alien bargainne sell and confirme vnto the said Iohn Greene and Matthew Morry, their heires and assignes for ever, All that dwelling house or tenem^t with thapp^ttuñts scituat and being within the precinct, circuite, and compase of the late Black-frieres, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner Esquier, and since that in the tenure of Iohn ffortescue gent, and * now or late being in the tenure or occupacōn of one William Ireland or of his Assignee or Assignes, abutting vpon a street leadinge downe to Puddle Wharfe, on the east part, right against the kings Ma^s wardrobe, part of which tenem^t is erected over a great gate leading to a capitall messuage which sometymes was in the tenure of William Blackwell Esquier deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacōn of the right Hono^rble Henry Earle of Northumberland, And also all that plot of ground on the west side of the said tenem^t, which was lately inclosed with boords on twoe sides thereof by Anne Bacon widdow, soe farr and in such sort as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise; and being on the third side inclosed with an ould Brick wall; Which said plot of ground was sometymes parcell and taken out of a great peece of voyd ground lately vsed for a garden; And also the soyle wherevpon the said tenem^t standeth; And also the said

* These words are merely copied from Walker's Conveyance to Shakspeare, in March, 1612-13. From a subsequent part of this deed it appears that John Robinson was now the tenant in possession, under a lease made to him by Shakspeare for a term of years.

Brickwall and boords which doe inclose the said plot of ground ; with free entry, access, ingres, egres, and regres, in by and through the said great gate and yard there vnto the vsuall dore of the said tenem^t ; And also all and singular cellars sollars roomes lights, easem^{ts} profitts comodities and hereditam^{ts} whatsoever to the said dwelling house or tenem^t belonging or in any wise apperteyning, And the reuercōn and reuercōns whatsoever of all and singular the premisses and of every parcell thereof ; And also all rents and yerely profitts whatsoever reserued and from henceforth to grow due and payable vpon whatsoever lease demisse or graunt, leases demises or graunts, made of the premisses or any parcel thereof ; And also all thestate, right, title, interest, property, vse, clayme, and demaund whatsoever, which they the said John Jackson, John Hemyuge, and William Johnson, now have or any of them hath or of right may, might, shoold, or ought to have in the premises : To haue and to holde the said dwelling howse or tenem^t, lights, cellers, sollers, plot of ground, and all and singular other the premisses aboue by theis pñts mencōned to be bargained and sold, and every part and parcell thereof, with thapp^ttñts, vnto the said John Green and Mathew Morrys their heires and assignes foreuer ; To the vse and behoofes hereafter in theis pñts declared mencōned expressed and lymitted, and to none other vse, behoofe, intent, or purpose : That is to say, to the vse and behoofe of the aforesaid Susanna Hall for and during the terme of her natural life, and after her deceas to the vse and behoofe of the first sonne of her body lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said first sonne lawfully yssueing ; And for the want of such heires to the vse and behoofe of the second sonne of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the heires males of the body of the said second sonne lawfully yssueing ; and for want of such heires to the vse of the third sonne of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing and of the heires males of the body of the said third son lawfully yssueing ; And for want of such

heires to the vse and behoofe of the fowerth, fiveth, sixth, and seaventh sonnes of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and of the severall heirs males of the severall bodyes of the said fowerth, fiveth, sixth, and seaventh sonnes, lawfully yssueing, in such manner as it is before lymitted to be and remeyne to the first, second, and third sonnes of the body of the said Susanna lawfully yssueing, and to their heires males as aforesaid; And for default of such heires to the vse and behoofe of Elizabeth Hall daughter of the said Susanna Hall and of the heires males of her body lawfully yssueing; and for default of such heires to the vse and behoofe of Judyth Quiney now wife of Thomas Quiney of Stretford aforesaid Vintner, one other of the daughters of the said William Shakespeare and of the heires males of the body of the said Judith lawfully yssueing; And for default of such yssue to the vse and behoofe of the right heires of the said William Shakespeare forever. And the said John Jackson for himself, his heires, executors, admīstrators and assignes, and for every of them, doth coveñant, promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Green and Mathew Morrys and either of them, their or either of their heires and assignes, by these pñts, That he the said John Jackson, his heires, executors, admīstrs or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter within convenient tyme after every reasonable request to him or them made, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmeles the said bargained premisses and every part and parcell thereof, of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, guifts, graunts, leases, statuts, recognizauncs, joynctures, dowers, intayles, vses, extents, iudgem^{ts} execuōns, annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombrauncs whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had, made, comitted, or done by him the said John Jackson alone, or joynctly with any other person or persons whatsoever; Excepte the rente and servics to the Cheiffe Lord or Lords of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, And Except one lease and

demise of the premisses with thapp'tnncs heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare, together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemynge, and William Johnson, vnto one John Robinson, now Tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired; As by the same wherevnto relacōn be had at large doth appeare. And the said John Hemynge for him self, his heires, executors, admīstrators, and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenēt, promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Greene and Mathew Morrys, and either of them their and either of their heires and assignes, by theis prēts, That he the said John Hemynge, his heires, executors, admīstrators, or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter, within convenient tyme after every reasonable request, well and sufficiently save and keepe harmeles the said bargained premisses and every part and parcel thereof of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, gufts, graunts, leases, statuts, recognizauncs, ioynctures, dowers, intayles, vses, extents, judgm^{ts} executōns, Annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombraunces whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had, made, comitted, or done by him the said John Hemynge alone, or ioynctly with any other person or persons whatsoever; Except the rentes and service to the Chieffe Lord or Lords of the fee or fees of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, And except one lease and demise of the premisses with thapp'tnants heretofore made by the said William Shakspeare together with them the said John Jackson, John Hemyng and William Johnson vnto one John Robinson, now Tennant of the said premisses, for the terme of certen yeres yet to come and vnexpired, As by the same wherevnto relacōn be had at large doth appeare. And the said William Johnson for him self, his heires, executors, admīst^{ors} and assignes, and for every of them, doth covenānt promise, and graunt, to and with the said John Green and Mathew Morryes, and either of them, their and either of their heires and

assignes, by theis pñts, That he the said William Johnson, his heires, executors, admīstrs, or assignes, shall and will from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter within convenient tyme after every reasonable request, well and sufficiently saue and keepe harmeles the said bargained premisses and every part and parcell thereof of and from all and all manner of former bargaines, sales, gufts, graunts, leases, statuts, recognizauncs, ioynctures, dowers, intayles, vses, extents, iudgements, executōns, Annewyties, and of and from all other charges, titles, and incombrauncs whatsoever, wittingly and willingly had made comitted or done by him the said William Johnson alone, or ioyntly with any other person or persons whatsoever; Except the rents and service to the Cheiff Lord or Lords of the fec or fecs of the premisses from henceforth to be due and of right accustomed to be done, And except one lease and demise of the premisses with thappṛtnncs heretofore made by the said William Shakespeare together with them the said John Jackson John Hemynge and William Johnson vnto one John Robinson, now Tennant of the said premisses, for the term of certen yeres yet to come and unexpired, As by the same wherevnto relation be had at large doth appeare. In witnes whereof the parties aforesaid to theis pñte Indentures have interchangeably sett their hands and scalls. Yeoven the day and yeres first aboue written 1617.

Jo: Jackson John Heminges Wm Johnson
Sealed & delyvered by the within named

John Jackson in the pñce of Roc: Swale John Prise
Sealed & delyvered by the w'thinamed

Willm Johnson in the p'sence of

Nickolas Harysone John Prise

Sealed and delyvered by the w'thinamed

John Hemynges in the pñce of

Matt^y Benson John Prise

Memorand. that the xith day of ffebruarye in the yeres within written John Robinson tenant of the p'myssees w'tihnmencōed did geve and delyver vnto John Greene

Witeram
Sjattjærw

Witeram Sjattjærw

2 By mō Witeram Sjattjærw

wished to be publishing
erich. Fra: Collyns
John's Sjame
John Robinson
Hannet Sadler
Robert Wjattrott

w'thin named to the vse of Susanna Hall w'thin named five
pence of lawfull money of England in name of Attorñment
in the p'sence of

Matt: Benson

John Prise

by me Richarde Tylor

SHAKSPEARE'S WILL,

*From the Original in the Office of the Prerogative Court
of Canterbury.*

Vicesimo quinto die Martii¹, Anno Regni Domini nostri
Jacobi nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. decimo quarto, et
Scotiæ quadragesimo nono. Anno Domini 1616.

In the name of God, Amen. I William Shakspeare of
Stratford-upon Avon, in the county of Warwick, gent.
in perfect health and memory, (God be praised!) do
make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner
and form following: that is to say:

First, I commend my soul into the hands of God my
creator, hoping, and assuredly believing, through the
only merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, to be made par-
taker of life everlasting; and my body to the earth
whereof it is made.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Judith
one hundred and fifty pounds of lawful English money,
to be paid unto her in manner and form following;
that is to say, one hundred pounds in discharge of her
marriage portion within one year after my decease, with

¹ Our poet's will appears to have been drawn up in February,
though not executed till the following month; for *February* was
first written, and afterwards struck out, and *March* written over it.

consideration after the rate of two shillings in the pound for so long time as the same shall be unpaid unto her after my decease; and the fifty pounds residue thereof, upon her surrendering of, or giving of such sufficient security as the overseers of this my will shall like of, to surrender or grant, all her estate and right that shall descend or come unto her after my decease, or that she now hath, of, in, or to, one copyhold tenement, with the appurtenances, lying and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, in the said county of Warwick, being parcel or holden of the manor of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, and her heirs for ever².

Item, I give and bequeath unto my said daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds more, if she, or any issue of her body, be living at the end of three years next ensuing the day of the date of this my will, during which time my executors to pay her consideration from my decease according to the rate aforesaid; and if she die within the term without issue of her body, then my will is, and I do give and bequeath one hundred pounds thereof to my niece³ Elizabeth Hall, and the fifty pounds to be set forth by my executors during the life of my sister Joan Hart, and the use and profit thereof coming, shall be paid to my said sister Joan, and after her decease the said fifty pounds shall remain amongst the children of my said sister, equally to be divided amongst them; but if my said daughter Judith be living at the end of the said three years, or any issue of her body, then my will is, and so I devise and bequeath the said hundred and

² This was found to be unnecessary, as it was ascertained that the copyhold descended to the eldest daughter by the custom of the manor.

³ — to my NIECE—] Elizabeth Hall was our poet's granddaughter. So, in *Othello*, Act I. Sc. I. Iago says to Brabantio, "You'll have your *nephews* neigh to you;" meaning his grandchildren. See the note there.

fifty pounds to be set out by my executors and overseers for the best benefit of her and her issue, and the stock not to be paid unto her so long as she shall be married and covert baron ; but my will is, that she shall have the consideration yearly paid unto her during her life, and after her decease the said stock and consideration to be paid to her children, if she have any, and if not, to her executors or assigns, she living the said term after my decease: provided that if such husband as she shall at the end of the said three years be married unto, or at any [time] after, do sufficiently assure unto her, and the issue of her body, lands answerable to the portion by this my will given unto her, and to be adjudged so by my executors and overseers, then my will is, that the said hundred and fifty pounds shall be paid to such husband as shall make such assurance, to his own use.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my said sister Joan twenty pounds, and all my wearing apparel, to be paid and delivered within one year after my decease; and I do will and devise unto her the house, with the appurtenances, in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her natural life, under the yearly rent of twelve-pence.

Item, I give and bequeath unto her three sons, William Hart, —— Hart⁴, and Michael Hart, five pounds apiece, to be paid within one year after my decease.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the said Elizabeth Hall all my plate, (except my broad silver and gilt bowl)⁵, that I now have at the date of this my will.

⁴ — Hart,] It is singular that neither Shakspeare nor any of his family should have recollected the Christian name of his nephew, who was born at Stratford but eleven years before the making of his will. His Christian name was Thomas ; and he was baptized in that town, July 24, 1605. He was at this time, therefore, between ten and eleven years old.

⁵ — except my broad silver and gilt bowl,] This bowl, as we afterwards find, our poet bequeathed to his daughter Judith.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of Stratford aforesaid ten pounds; to Mr. Thomas Combe⁵ my sword; to Thomas Russel, Esq. five pounds; and to Francis Collins⁶ of the borough of Warwick, in the county of Warwick, gent. thirteen pounds six shillings and eight-pence, to be paid within one year after my decease.

Item, I give and bequeath to Hamlet [*Hamnet*] Sadler⁷ twenty-six shillings eight-pence, to buy him a ring; to

Instead of *bowl*, Mr. Theobald, and all the subsequent editors, have here printed *boxes*.

⁵ — Mr. Thomas Combe,] This gentleman was baptized at Stratford, Feb. 9, 1588-9; he was therefore twenty-seven years old at the time of Shakspeare's death. He died at Stratford in July, 1657, aged 68; and his elder brother William died at the same place, Jan. 30, 1666-7, aged 80. Mr. Thomas Combe, by his will made June 20, 1656, directed his executors to convert all his personal property into money, and to lay it out in the purchase of lands, to be settled on William Combe, the eldest son of John Combe of Allchurch, in the county of Worcester, Gent. and his heirs male; remainder to his two brothers successively. Where therefore our poet's sword has wandered, I have not been able to discover. I have taken the trouble to ascertain the ages of Shakspeare's friends and relations, and the time of their deaths, because we are thus enabled to judge how far the traditions concerning him, which were communicated to Mr. Rowe in the beginning of this century, are worthy of credit.

⁶ — to Francis Collins —] This gentleman was, I believe, christened at Warwick. He died the year after our poet, and was buried at Stratford, Sep. 27, 1617, on which day he died.

⁷ — to Hamnet Sadler —] This gentleman was godfather to Shakspeare's only son, who was called after him. Mr. Sadler, I believe, was born about the year 1550, and died at Stratford-upon-Avon, where he was buried, October 26, 1624. His wife Judith Sadler, who was godmother to Shakspeare's youngest daughter, was buried there, March 23, 1613-14. Our poet probably was godfather to their son William, who was baptized at Stratford, Feb. 5, 1597-8.

William Reynolds, gent. twenty-six shillings eight-pence, to buy him a ring; to my godson, William Walker⁸, twenty shillings in gold; to Anthony Nash⁹, gent. twenty-six shillings eight-pence; and to Mr. John Nash¹, twenty-six shillings eight-pence: and to my fellows, John Hemynge, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell², twenty-six shillings eight-pence apiece, to buy them rings.

Item, I give, will, bequeath, and devise, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, for better enabling of her to perform this my will, and towards the performance thereof, all that capital messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, in Stratford aforesaid, called The New Place, wherein I now dwell, and two messuages or tenements, with the appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in Henley-street, within the borough of Stratford aforesaid; and all my barns, stables, orchards, gardens, lands, tene-

⁸ — to my godson William Walker.] This godson of our author was the son of Mr. Henry Walker, who was elected an Alderman of Stratford, January 3, 1605-6. William was baptized at Stratford, October 16, 1608. I mention this circumstance, because it ascertains that our author was at his native town in the autumn of that year. Mr. William Walker was buried at Stratford, March, 1679-80.

⁹ — to Antony Nash,] He was father of Mr. Thomas Nash, who married our poet's grand-daughter, Elizabeth Hall. He lived, I believe, at Welcombe, where his estate lay; and was buried at Stratford, Nov. 18, 1622.

¹ — to Mr. John Nash,] This gentleman died at Stratford, and was buried there, Nov. 10, 1623.

² — to my fellows, John Hemynge, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell.] These our poet's *fellows* did not very long survive him. Burbage died in March, 1619; Cundell in December, 1627; and Hemynge in October, 1630. See their wills in the Account of our old Actors in the third volume.

ments, and hereditaments whatsoever, situate, lying, and being, or to be had, received, perceived³, or taken, within the towns, hamlets, villages, fields, and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe⁴, or in any of them, in the said county of Warwick; and also that messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, situate, lying, and being, in the Blackfriars in London near the Wardrobe⁵; and all other my lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever; to have and to hold all

³ — received, perceived,] Instead of these words, we have hitherto had in all the printed copies of this will *reserved*, *preserved*.

⁴ — Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe,] The lands of Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcome, here devised, were in Shakspeare's time a continuation of one large field, all in the parish of Stratford. Bishopton is two miles from Stratford, and Welcombe one. For *Bishopton*, Mr. Theobald erroneously printed *Bushaxton*, and the error has been continued in all the subsequent editions. The word in Shakspeare's original will is *Bushopton*, the vulgar pronunciation of Bishopton.

I searched the Indexes in the Rolls chapel from the year 1589 to 1616, with the hope of finding an enrolment of the purchase deed of the estate here devised by our poet, and of ascertaining its extent and value; but it was not enrolled during that period, nor could I find any inquisition taken after his death, by which its value might have been ascertained. I suppose it was conveyed by the former owner to Shakspeare, not by bargain and sale, but by a deed of feoffment, which it was not necessary to enroll.

⁵ — that messuage or tenement—in the Blackfriars in London near THE WARDROBE;] This was the house which was mortgaged to Henry Walker.

By *the Wardrobe* is meant the King's Great Wardrobe, a royal house, near Puddle Wharf, purchased by King Edward the Third from Sir John Beauchamp, who built it. King Richard III. was lodged in this house in the second year of his reign. See Stowe's

and singular the said premises, with their appurtenances, unto the said Susanna Hall, for and during the term of her natural life; and after her decease to the first son of her body lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said first son lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to the second son of her body lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said second son lawfully issuing; and for default of such heirs, to the third son of the body of the said Susanna lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said third son lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, the same so to be and remain to the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sons of her body, lawfully issuing one after another, and to the heirs males of the bodies of the said fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sons lawfully issuing, in such manner as it is before limited to be and remain to the first, second, and third sons of her body, and to their heirs males; and for default of such issue, the said premises to be and remain to my said niece Hall, and the heirs males of her body lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heirs males of her body lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to the right heirs of me the said William Shakspeare for ever.

Item, I give unto my wife my second-best bed, with the furniture ⁶.

Survey, p. 693, edit. 1618. After the fire of London this office was kept in the Savoy; but it is now abolished.

⁶ — my SECOND-best bed, with the furniture.] Thus Shakspeare's original will. Mr. Theobald and the other modern editors have been more bountiful to Mrs. Shakspeare, having printed instead of these words, "— my *brown* best bed, with the furniture." MALONE.

It appears, in the original will of Shakspeare (now in the Prerogative-Office, Doctors' Commons), that he had forgot his wife; the legacy to her being expressed by an interlineation, as well as those to Heminge, Burbage, and Condell.

Item, I give and bequeath to my said daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bowl. All the rest of my goods, chattels, leases, plate, jewels, and household-stuff whatsoever, after my debts and legacies paid, and my funeral expences discharged, I give, devise, and bequeath to my son-in-law, John Hall, gent. and my daughter Susanna his wife, whom I ordain and make executors of this my last will and testament. And I do entreat and appoint the said Thomas Russel, esq. and Francis Collins, gent. to be overseers hereof. And do revoke all former wills, and publish this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand, the day and year first above-written.

By me ⁶ WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Witness to the publishing hereof,

Fra. Collyns ⁷,
 Julius Shaw ,
 John Robinson ⁹,
 Hamnet Sadler ¹,
 Robert Whattcoat.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London, coram Magistro William Byrde, Legum Doctore, &c. vicesimo secundo die mensis Junii, Anno Domini 1616; juramento Johannis Hall unius ex. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat. reservata potestate, &c. Susannæ Hall alt. ex. &c. eam cum venerit, &c. petitur. &c. ²

The will is written on three sheets of paper, the two last of which are undoubtedly subscribed with Shakspeare's own hand. The first indeed has his name in the margin, but it differs somewhat in spelling as well as manner, from the two signatures that follow. The reader will find a fac-simile of all the three, as well as those of the witnesses, on the opposite page. STEEVENS.

⁶ BY ME William Shakspeare.] This was the mode of our poet's time. Thus the Register of Stratford is signed at the bottom of each page, in the year 1616, "*Per me* Richard Watts,

Minister." These concluding words have hitherto been inaccurately exhibited thus: "— *the day and year first above-written, by me William Shakspeare.*" Neither the day, nor year, nor any preceding part of this will, was written by our poet. "*By me,*" &c. only means—*The above is the will of me William Shakspeare.*

⁷ — Fra. Collins.] See p. 604, n. 6.

⁸ — Julius Shaw—] was born in Sept. 1571. He married Anne Boyes, May 5, 1594; and died at Stratford, where he was buried, June 24, 1629.

⁹ — John Robinson.] John, son of Thomas Robinson, was baptized at Stratford, Nov. 30, 1589. I know not when he died.

¹ — Hamnet Sadler.] See p. 604, n. 7.

² The total omission of his wife's name by Shakspeare in the first draft of his will, and the very moderate legacy he afterwards inserted, has created a suspicion that his affections were estranged from her either through jealousy or some other cause. But if we may suppose that some provision had been made for her during his life-time, the bequest of his *second-best* bed was probably considered in those days neither as uncommon nor reproachful. Sir Thomas Lucy, the younger, by his will in 1600, of which I find an account among Mr. Malone's *Adversaria*, leaves to his second son, Richard, his *second-best horse*, but no land, because his father-in-law had promised to provide for him. Shakspeare's not recollecting at first to mention her name at all, will be no great subject of surprise, when we recollect the remarkable instances of forgetfulness which perpetually occur in documents of this nature. He had forgotten also, at first, his fellows, Heminge, Burbage, and Condell, upon whom he certainly did not intend to fix a stigma. If he had taken offence at any part of his wife's conduct, I cannot believe that he would have taken this petty mode of expressing it. BOSWELL.

STRATFORD REGISTER.

Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, of the Shakspeare Family; transcribed from the Register-Books of the Parish of Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire ⁴.

Jone⁵, daughter to John Shakspeare, was baptized Sept. 15, 1558.

Margaret, daughter of John Shakspeare, was baptized Dec. 2, 1562.

Margaret, daughter of John Shakspeare, was buried April 30, 1563.

WILLIAM, son of John Shakspeare, was baptized April 26, 1564⁶.

Johanna, daughter of Richard Hathaway, otherwise Gardiner, of Shottery⁷, was baptized May 9, 1566.

⁴ An inaccurate and very imperfect list of the baptisms, &c. of Shakspeare's family was transmitted by Mr. West some years ago to Mr. Steevens. The list now printed I have extracted with great care from the Registers of Stratford; and, I trust, it will be found correct.

[Those marked with an asterisk, according to Mr. Malone's hypothesis, did not belong to the poet's family. See p. 51.]

⁵ This lady Mr. West supposed to have married the ancestor of the Harts of Stratford; but he was certainly mistaken. She died probably in her infancy. The wife of Mr. Hart was undoubtedly the *second* Jone, mentioned below. Her son Michael was born in the latter end of the year 1608, at which time she was above thirty-nine years old. The elder Jone would then have been near fifty.

⁶ He was born three days before, April 23, 1564. I have said this on the faith of Mr. Green, who, I find, made the extract from the register which Mr. West gave Mr. Steevens; but quære, how did Mr. Green ascertain this fact?

⁷ This Richard Hathaway of Shottery was probably the father

Gilbert, son of John Shakspeare, was baptized Oct. 13, 1566.

Jone⁸, daughter of John Shakspeare, was baptized April 15, 1569.

Anne, daughter of Mr. John Shakspeare, was baptized Sept. 28, 1578.

Richard, son of Mr. John Shakspeare, was baptized March 11, 1573 [1573-4].

Anne, daughter of Mr. John Shakspeare, was buried April 4, 1579.

Edmund, son of Mr. John Shakspeare, was baptized May 3, 1580.

Susanna, daughter of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, was baptized May 26, 1583.

Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Shakspeare, of Hampton⁹, was baptized February 10, 1583 [1583-4].

to *Anne Hathaway*, our poet's wife. There is no entry of her baptism, the Register not commencing till 1558, two years after she was born. Thomas, the son of this Richard Hathaway, was baptized at Stratford, April 12, 1569; John, another son, Feb. 3, 1574; and William, another son, Nov. 30, 1578.

⁸ It was common in the age of Queen Elizabeth to give the same christian name to two children successively. (Thus, Mr. Sadler, who was godfather to Shakspeare's son, had two sons who were baptized by the name of *John*.) This was undoubtedly done in the present instance. The former Jone having probably died, (though I can find no entry of her burial in the Register, nor indeed of many of the other children of John Shakspeare) the name of Jone, a very favourite one in those days, was transferred to another new-born child. This latter Jone married Mr. William Hart, a hatter in Stratford, some time, as I conjecture, in the year 1599, when she was thirty years old; for her eldest son William was baptized there, August 28, 1600. There is no entry of her marriage in the Register.

⁹ There was also a Mr. *Henry* Shakspeare settled at Hampton-Lucy, as appears from the Register of that parish:

* John Shakspeare and Margery Roberts were married
Nov. 25, 1584.

Hamnet^r and Judith, son and daughter of WILLIAM
SHAKSPERE, were baptized February 2, 1584
[1584-5.]

Lettice, daughter of Henry Shakspeare, was baptized, June 10,
1582.

James, son of Henry Shakspeare, was baptized, October 15,
1585.

James, son of Henry Shakspeare, was buried September 25,
1589.

There was a *Thomas* Shakspeare settled at Warwick; for in the Rolls Chapel I found the inrolment of a deed made in the 44th year of Queen Elizabeth, conveying "to Thomas Shakspeare of Warwick, yeoman, Sachbroke, *alias* Bishop-Sachbroke, in Com. Warw." MALONE.

^r Mr. West, or Mr. Green (who made the extract for him), imagined that our poet's only son was christened by the name of *Samuel*, but he was mistaken. Mr. Hamnet Sadler, who was related, if I mistake not, to the Shakspeare family, appears to have been sponsor to his son; and his wife, Mrs. Judith Sadler, to have been godmother to Judith, the other twin-child. The name *Hamnet* is written very distinctly both in the entry of the baptism and burial of this child. *Hamnet* and *Hamlet* seem to have been considered as the same name, and to have been used indiscriminately both in speaking and writing. Thus, this Mr. Hamnet Sadler, who is a witness to Shakspeare's Will, writes his christian name, *Hamnet*; but the scrivener who drew up the will, writes it *Hamlet*. There is the same variation in the Register of Stratford, where the name is spelt in three or four different ways. Thus among the baptisms we find in 1591, "May 26, John filius *Hamletti* Sadler;" and in 1583, "Sept. 13, Margaret, daughter to *Hamlet* Sadler." But in 1588, Sept. 20, we find, "John, son to *Hamnet* Sadler;" in 1596, April 4, we have "Judith, filia *Hamnet* Sadler;" in 1597-8, "Feb. 3, Wilelmus, filius *Hambnet* Sadler; and in 1599, "April 23, Francis, filius *Hamnet* Sadler." This Mr. Sadler died in 1624, and the entry of his burial, which was made by Mr. Simon Trappe, curate of the

- * Margery, wife of John Shakspere, was buried Oct. 29, 1587.
- * Thomas², son of Richard Queeny, was baptized Feb. 26, 1588 [1588-9].
- * Ursula³, daughter of John Shakspere, was baptized March 11, 1588 [1588-9].
- * Thomas Greene, alias Shaksperc⁴, was buried March 6, 1589 [1589-90].

parish, stands thus: "1624, Oct. 26, *Hamlet* Sadler." So also in that of his wife: "1623, March 23, Judith, uxor *Hamlet* Sadler."

The name of Hamlet occurs in several other entries in the Register. Oct. 4, 1576, "*Hamlet*, son to Humphry Holdar," was buried; and Sept. 28, 1564, "Catharina, uxor *Hamoleti* Hassal." Mr. *Hamlet* Smith, formerly of the borough of Stratford, is one of the benefactors annually commemorated there.

Our poet's only son, Hamnet, or Hamlet, died in 1596, in the twelfth year of his age.

² This gentleman married our poet's youngest daughter. He had three sisters, Elizabeth, Anne, and Mary, and five brothers; Adrian, born in 1586, Richard, born in 1587, William, born in 1593, John in 1597, and George, baptized April 9, 1600. George was curate of the parish of Stratford, and died of a consumption. He was buried there April 11, 1624. In Doctor Hall's pocket-book is the following entry relative to him: "38, Mr. Quiney, *tussi gravi cum magna phlegmatis copia, et cibi vomitu, feb. lenta debilitatus,*" &c. The case concludes thus: "Anno seq. (no year is mentioned in the case, but the preceding case is dated 1624,) in hoc malum incidebat. Multa frustra tentata;—placide cum Domino dormit. Fuit boni indolis, et pro juveni omnifariam doctus."

³ This Ursula, and her brothers Humphrey and Philip, appear to have been the children of John Shakspeare the shoemaker.

⁴ A great many names occur in this Register, with an *alias*, the meaning of which it is not very easy to ascertain. I should have supposed that the persons thus described were illegitimate; but that in the Register we frequently find the word *bastard* expressly added to the names of the children baptized.

* Humphrey, son of John Shakspere, was baptized May 24, 1590.

* Philip, son of John Shakspere, was baptized Sept. 21, 1591.

Thomas, son of Mr. Anthony Nash, was baptized June 20, 1593.

Hamnet, son of WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, was buried Aug. 11, 1596.

William, son of William Hart, was baptized Aug. 28, 1600.

Mr. John Shakspeare was buried Sept. 8, 1601.

Mr. Richard Quiney⁶, Bailiff of Stratford, was buried May 31, 1602.

Mary, daughter of William Hart, was baptized June 5, 1603.

Thomas, son of William Hart, latter, was baptized July 24, 1605.

The Rev. Mr. Davenport observes to me that there are two families at present in Stratford, (and probably several more) that are distinguished by an *alias*. "The real name of one of these families is *Roberts*, but they generally go by the name of *Burford*. The ancestor of the family came originally from Burford in Oxfordshire, and was frequently called from this circumstance by the name of Burford. This name has prevailed, and they are always now called by it; but they write their name, Roberts, *alias* Burford, and are so entered in the Register.

"The real name of the other family is Smith, but they are more known by the name of *Buck*. The ancestor of this family from some circumstance or other, obtained the nickname of Buck and they now write themselves Smith, *alias* Buck.

⁵ This gentleman married our poet's grand-daughter, Elizabeth Hall. His father, Mr. Anthony Nash, lived at Welcombe (where he had an estate), as appears by the following entry of the baptism of another of his sons: "1598, Oct. 15, John, son to Mr. Anthony Nash, of Welcombe."

⁶ This was the father of Mr. Thomas Quiney, who married Shakspeare's youngest daughter.

John Hall, gentleman, and Susanna Shakspere, were married June 5, 1607.

Mary, daughter of William Hart, was buried Dec. 17, 1607.

Elizabeth, daughter of John Hall, gentleman, was baptized Feb. 21, 1607 [1607-8].

Mary Shakspere, widow, was buried Sept. 9, 1608.

Michael, son of William Hart, was baptized Sept. 23, 1608.

Gilbert Shakspeare, adolescens⁷, was buried Feb. 3, 1611 [1611-12].

Richard Shakspere, was buried February 4, 1612 [1612-13].

Thomas Queeny and Judith Shakspere were married Feb. 10, 1615 [1615-16].

William Hart⁸, hatter, was buried April 17, 1616.

WILLIAM SHAKSPERE⁹, gentleman, was buried April 25, 1616¹.

Shakspere, son of Thomas Quiney, gentleman, was baptized Nov. 23, 1616.

Shakspere, son of Thomas Quiney, gentleman, was buried May 8, 1617.

Richard, son of Thomas Quiney, was baptized Feb. 9, 1617 [1617-18].

Thomas, son of Thomas Quiney, was baptized Aug. 29, 1619.

⁷ This was probably a son of Gilbert Shakspeare, our poet's brother. When the elder Gilbert died, the Register does not inform us; but he certainly died before his son.

⁸ This William Hart was our poet's brother-in-law. He died, it appears, a few days before Shakspeare.

⁹ He died, as appears from his monument, April 23d.

¹ No one hath protracted the Life of Shakspeare beyond 1616, except Mr. Hume, who is pleased to add a year to it, contrary to all manner of evidence. FARMER.

Anthony Nash, Esq.³ was buried Nov. 18, 1622.

Mrs. Shakspeare⁴ was buried Aug. 8, 1623.

Mr. Thomas Nash was married to Mrs. Elizabeth Hall, April 22, 1626.

Thomas⁵, son of Thomas Hart, was baptized April 13, 1634.

Dr. John Hall⁶ ["*medicus peritissimus*"], was buried Nov. 26, 1635.

³ Father of Mr. Thomas Nash, the husband of Elizabeth Hall.

⁴ This lady, who was the poet's widow, and whose maiden name was Anne Hathaway, died, as appears from her tomb-stone at the age of 67, and consequently was near eight years older than her husband. The following is the inscription on her tomb-stone in the Church of Stratford:

"Here lyeth interred the body of Anne, wife of William Shakespeare, who departed this life the 6th day of August 1623, being of the age of 67 years."

After this inscription follow six Latin verses not worth preserving. I have not been able to ascertain when or where they were married, but suspect the ceremony was performed at Billesley, in August 1582. The register of that parish is lost.

⁵ It appears from Lady Barnard's will that this Thomas Hart was alive in 1669. The Register does not ascertain the time of his death, nor that of his father.

⁶ Susanna's husband, Dr. John Hall, is interred in the chancel of the church of Stratford near his wife.

The following is a transcript of his will, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury:

"The last Will and Testament nuncupative of John Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, Gent. made and declared the five and twentieth of November, 1635. Imprimis, I give unto my wife my house in London. Item, I give unto my daughter Nash my house in Acton. Item, I give unto my daughter Nash my meadow. Item, I give my goods and money unto my wife and my daughter Nash, to be equally divided betwixt them. Item, concerning my study of books, I leave them, said he, to you, my son Nash, to dispose of them as you see good. As for my

George, son of Thomas Hart, was baptized Sept. 18, 1636.

manuscripts, I would have given them to Mr. Boles, if he had been here; but forasmuch he is not here present, you may, son Nash, burn them, or do with them what you please. Witnesses hereunto,

“ Thomas Nash,

“ Simon Trapp.”

The testator not having appointed any executor, administration was granted to his widow, Nov. 23, 1636.

Some at least of Dr. Hall's manuscripts escaped the flames, one of them being yet extant. See p. 505.

I could not, after a very careful search, find the will of Susanna Hall in the Prerogative-office, nor is it preserved in the Archives of the diocese of Worcester, the Registrar of which diocese at my request very obligingly examined the indexes of all the wills proved in his office between the years 1649 and 1670; but in vain. The town of Stratford-upon-Avon is in that diocese.

The inscriptions on the tomb-stones of our poet's favourite daughter and her husband are as follows:

“ Here lyeth the body of John Hall, Gent. he marr. Susanna, ye daughter and co-heire of Will. Shakspeare, Gent. he deceased Nov. 25, A°. 1635, aged 60.”

“ Hallius hic situs est, medica celeberrimus arte,

“ Expectans regni gaudia læta Dei.

“ Dignus erat meritis qui Nestora vinceret annis;

“ In terris omnes sed rapit æqua dies.

“ Ne tumulto quid desit, adest fidissima conjux,

“ Et vitæ comitem nunc quoque mortis habet.”

These verses should seem, from the last two lines, not to have been inscribed on Dr. Hall's tomb-stone till 1649. Perhaps indeed the last distich only was then added.

“ Here lyeth the body of Susanna, wife to John Hall, Gent. y^e daughter of William Shakspeare, Gent. She deceased the 11th of July, A°. 1649, aged 66.”

“ Witty above her sexe, but that's not all,

“ Wise to salvation was good Mistriss Hall.

Thomas, son of Thomas Quiney, was buried Jan. 28, 1638 [1638-9].

" Something of Shakspeare was in that, but this
 " Wholy of him with whom she's now in blisse.

" Then, passenger, hast ne're a teare,
 " To weepe with her that wept with all :

" That wept, yet set her selfe to chere
 " Them up with comforts cordiall.

" Her love shall live, her mercy spread,
 " When thou hast ne're a teare to shed."

The foregoing English verses, which are preserved by Dugdale, are not now remaining, half of the tomb-stone having been cut away, and another half stone joined to it; with the following inscription on it—" Here lyeth the body of Richard Watts of Ryhon-Clifford, in the parish of old Stratford, Gent. who departed this life the 23d of May, Anno Dom. 1707, and in the 46th year of his age." This Mr. Watts, as I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Davenport, was owner of, and lived at the estate of Ryhon-Clifford, which was once the property of Dr. Hall.

Elizabeth, our poet's grand-daughter, who appears to have been a favourite, Shakspeare having left her by his will a memorial of his affection, though she at that time was but eight years old, was born in February 1607-8, as appears by an entry in the Register of Stratford, which Mr. West omitted in the transcript with which he furnished Mr. Steevens. I learn from the same Register that she was married in 1626: " MARRIAGES. April 22, 1626, Mr. Thomas Nash to Mistriss Elizabeth Hall." It should be remembered that every unmarried lady was called *Mistress* till the time of George I. Hence our author's *Mistresse* Anne Page. Nor in speaking of an unmarried lady could her Christian name be omitted, as it often is at present; for then no distinction would have remained between her and her mother. Some married ladies indeed were distinguished from their daughters by the title of *Madam*.

The following is the inscription on Mr. Nash's tomb-stone in the chancel of the church of Stratford:

" Here resteth y^e body of Thomas Nashe, Esq. He mar. Eli-

Richard, son of Thomas Quiney, was buried Feb. 26, 1638 [1638-9].

zabeth the daugh. and heire of John Hall, Gent. He died April 4th, A^o. 1647, aged 53."

" *Fata manent omnes ; hunc non virtute carentem,*

" *Ut neque divitiis, abstulit atra dies.*

" *Abstulit, at referet lux ultima. Siste, viator ;*

" *Si peritura paras, per male parta peris.*"

The letters printed in Italicks are now obliterated.

By his last will, which is in the Prerogative-Office, dated August 26, 1642, he bequeathed to his well beloved wife, Elizabeth Nash, and her assigns, for her life (in lieu of jointure and thirds), one messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, situate in the Chapel Street in Stratford, then in the tenure and occupation of Joan Norman, widow ; one meadow, known by the name of the Square Meadow, with the appurtenances, in the parish of old Stratford, lying near unto the great stone-bridge of Stratford ; one other meadow with the appurtenances, known by the name of the Wash Meadow ; one little meadow with the appurtenances, adjoining to the said Wash Meadow ; and also all the tythes of the manor or lordship of Shottery. He devises to his kinsman Edward Nash, the son of his uncle George Nash of London, his heirs and assigns (*inter alia*), the messuage or tenement, then in his own occupation, called The New-Place, situate in the Chapel Street, in Stratford ; together with all and singular houses, outhouses, barns, stables, orchards, gardens, easements, profits, or commodities, to the same belonging ; and also four-yard land of arable land, meadow, and pasture, with the appurtenances, lying and being in the common fields of Old Stratford, with all the easements, profits, commons, commodities, and hereditaments, of the same four-yard lands belonging ; then in the tenure, use, and occupation of him the said Thomas Nash ; and one other messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, situate in the parish of —, in London, and called or known by the name of The Wardrobe, and then in the tenure, use, and occupation of — Dickes. And from and after the death of his said wife, he bequeaths the meadows above named, and devised to her for life, to his said cousin Edward Nash, his heirs and assigns for ever.

William Hart^r was buried March 29, 1639.

Mary, daughter of Thomas Hart, was baptized June 18, 1641.

Joan Hart, widow, was buried Nov. 4, 1646.

Thomas Nash, Esq. was buried April 5, 1647.

Mrs. Susanna Hall, widow, was buried July 16, 1649.

After various other bequests, he directs that one hundred pounds, at the least, be laid out in mourning gowns, cloaks, and apparel, to be distributed among his kindred and friends, in such manner as his executrix shall think fit. He appoints his wife Elizabeth Nash his residuary legatee, and sole executrix, and ordains Edmund Rawlins, William Smith, and John Easton, overseers of his will, to which the witnesses are John Such, Michael Jonson, and Samuel Rawlins.

By a nuncupative codicil dated on the day of his death, April 4th, 1647, he bequeaths (*inter alia*) "to his mother Mrs. Hall fifty pounds; to Elizabeth Hathaway fifty pounds; to Thomas Hathaway fifty pounds; to Judith Hathaway ten pounds; to his uncle Nash and his aunt, his cousin Sadler and his wife, his cousin Richard Quiney and his wife, his cousin Thomas Quiney and his wife, twenty shillings each, to buy them rings." The meadows which by his will he had devised to his wife for life, he by this codicil devises to her, her heirs and assigns, for ever, to the end that they may not be severed from her own land; and he "appoints and declares that the inheritance of his land given to his cousin Edward Nash should be by him settled, after his decease, upon his son Thomas Nash, and his heirs, and for want of such heirs then to remain and descend to his own right heirs."

It is observable that in this will the testator makes no mention of any child, and there is no entry of any issue of his marriage in the Register of Stratford; I have no doubt, therefore, that he died without issue.

It has been supposed that the family of Miller of Hide-Hall, in the county of Herts, were descended from Dr. Hall's daughter Elizabeth; and to prove this fact, the following pedigree was transmitted some years ago by Mr. Whalley to Mr. Steevens:

Mr. Richard Queeny^s, gent. of London, was buried May 23, 1656.

George Hart, son of Thomas Hart, was married by Francis Smyth, Justice of peace, to Hester Ludiate, daughter of Thomas Ludiate, Jan. 9, 1657 [1657-8].

Elizabeth, daughter of George Hart, was baptized Jan. 9, 1658 [1658-9].

Jane, daughter of George Hart, was baptized Dec. 21, 1661.

Judith, wife of Thomas Quiney, gent. was buried Feb. 9, 1661 [1661-2].

John Hall = Susanna, daughter and co-heiress of William Shakspeare.

Elizabeth Hall = Thomas Nash, Esq.

A daughter = Sir Reginald Forster, of Warwickshire.

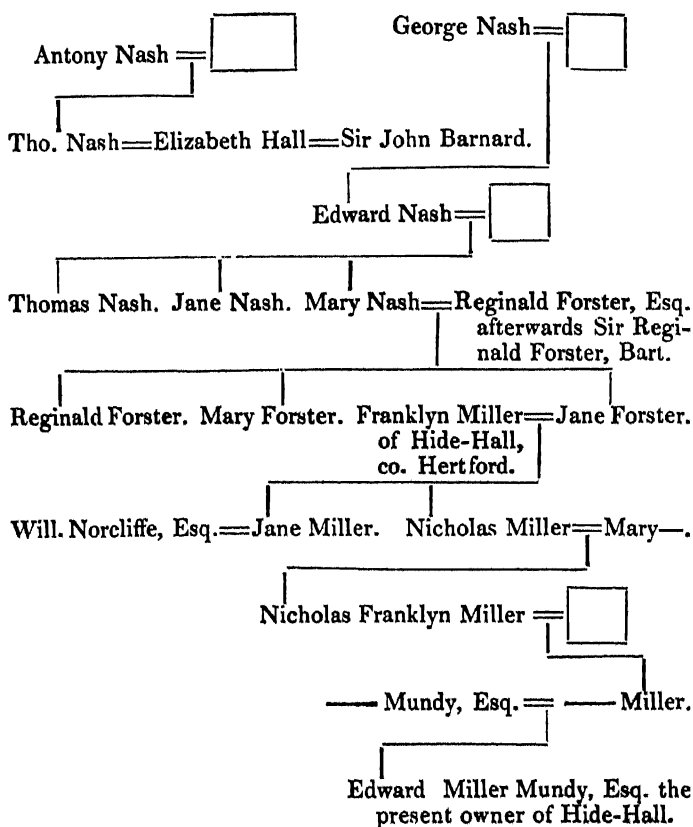
Franklyn Miller = Jane Forster.
of Hide-Hall,
co. Hertford.

Nicholas Miller = Mary ———.

Nicholas Franklyn Miller of Hide-Hall, the only surviving branch of the family of Miller.

But this pedigree is founded on a mistake, and there is undoubtedly no lineal descendant of Shakspeare now living. The mistake was, the supposing that Sir Reginald Forster married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Nash and Elizabeth Hall, who had no issue, either by that gentleman or her second husband, Sir John Barnard. Sir Reginald Forster married the daughter of Edward Nash, Esq. of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, cousin-german to Mr. Thomas Nash; and the pedigree ought to have been formed thus:

Susanna, daughter of George Hart, was baptized March 18, 1663-4].



That I am right in this statement, appears from the will of Edward Nash (see p. 619), and from the following inscription on a monument in the church of Stratford, erected some time after the year 1733, by Jane Norcliffe, the wife of William Norcliffe, Esq. and only daughter of Franklyn Miller, by Jane Forster:

“ P. M. S.

“ Beneath lye interred the body's of Sir Reginald Forster, Baronet, and dame *Mary* his wife, daughter of *Edward* Nash of

Shakspeare, son of George Hart, was baptized Nov. 18, 1666.

East Greenwich, in the county of Kent," &c. For this inscription I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Davenport, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon.

Reginald Forster, Esq. who lived at Greenwich, was created a Baronet, May 4, 1661. His son Reginald, who married Miss Nash, succeeded to the title on the death of his father, some time after the year 1679. Their only son, Reginald, was buried at Stratford, Aug. 10, 1685; and their daughter Jane, the wife of Francklyn Miller, Esq. was buried there in Feb. 1731-2.

Mrs. Elizabeth Nash was married to her second husband, Sir John Barnard, at Billesley, about three miles from Stratford-upon-Avon, June 5, 1649, and was buried at Abington, in the county of Northampton, Feb. 17, 1669-70; and with her the family of our poet became extinct.

Sir John Barnard of Abington, a small village about a mile from the town of Northampton, was created a Knight by King Charles II. Nov. 25, 1661. In 1671 he sold the manor and advowson of the church of Abington, which his ancestors had possessed for more than two hundred years, to William Thursby, Esq. Sir John Barnard was the eldest son of Baldwin Barnard, Esq. by Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of John Fulwood of Ford Hall in the county of Warwick, Esq. and was born in 1605. He first married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Clement Edmonds of Preston, in Northamptonshire, by whom he had four sons and four daughters. She dying in 1642, he married secondly our poet's grand-daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Nash, on the 5th of June 1649, at Billesley in Warwickshire, about three miles from Stratford-upon-Avon. If any of Shakspeare's manuscripts remained in his grand-daughter's custody at the time of her second marriage (and some *letters* at least she surely must have had), they probably were then removed to the house of her new husband at Abington. Sir Hugh Clopton, who was born two years after her death, mentioned to Mr. Macklin, in the year 1742, an old tradition that she had carried away with her from Stratford many of her grandfather's papers. On the death of Sir John Barnard they must have fallen into the hands of Mr. Edward Bagley, Lady

Mary, daughter of George Hart, was baptized March 31, 1671.

Barnard's executor; and if any descendant of that gentleman be now living, in his custody they probably remain.

Confiding in a pedigree transmitted by Mr. Whalley some years ago to Mr. Steevens, I once supposed that Mr. Rowe was inaccurate in saying that our poet's grand-daughter died without issue. But he was certainly right; and this lady was undoubtedly the last lineal descendant of Shakspeare. There is no entry, as I have already observed, in the register of Stratford, of any issue of hers by Mr. Nash; nor does he in his will mention any child, devising the greater part of his property between his wife and his kinsman, Edward Nash. That Lady Barnard had no issue by her second husband, is proved by the register of Abington, in which there is no entry of the baptism of any child of that marriage, though there are regular entries of the time when the several children of Sir John Barnard by his first wife were baptized. Lady Barnard died at Abington, and was buried there on the 17th of February, 1669-70; but her husband did not show his respect for her memory by a monument, or even an inscription of any kind. He seems not to have been sensible of the honourable alliance he had made. Shakspeare's grand-daughter would not, at this day, go to her grave without a memorial. By her last will, which I subjoin, she directs her trustee to sell her estate of New-place, &c. to the best bidder, and to offer it first to her cousin Mr. Edward Nash. How she *then* came to have any property in New-Place, which her first husband had devised to this very Edward Nash, does not appear; but I suppose that after the death of Mr. Thomas Nash she exchanged the patrimonial lands which he bequeathed to her, with Edward Nash and his son, and took New-Place, &c. instead of them.

Sir John Barnard died at Abington, and was buried there on March 5th, 1673-4. On his tomb-stone, in the chancel of the church, is the following inscription:

“Hic jacent exuviæ generosissimi viri Johannis Bernard, militis; patre, avo, abavo, tritavo, aliisque progenitoribus per ducentos et amplius annos hujus oppidi de Abingdon dominis, in-

Thomas, son of George Hart, was baptized March 3, 1673 [1673-4].

signis : qui fato cessit undeseptuagesimo ætatis suæ anno, quinto nonas Martii, annoque a partu B. Virginis, MDCLXXIII."

Sir John Barnard having made no will, administration of his effects was granted on the 7th of November 1674, to Henry Gilbert of Locko in the county of Derby, who had married his daughter Elizabeth by his first wife, and to his two other surviving daughters; Mary Higgs, widow of Thomas Higgs of Colesborne, Esq. and Eleanor Cotton, the wife of Samuel Cotton, Esq. All Sir John Barnard's other children except the three above-mentioned died without issue. I know not whether any descendant of these be now living: but if that should be the case, among their papers may probably be found some fragment or other relative to Shakspeare; for by his grand-daughter's order, the administrators of her husband were entitled to keep possession of her house, &c. in Stratford, for six months after his death.

The following is a copy of the will of this last descendant of our poet, extracted from the registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury :

"In the name of God, Amen. I Dame Elizabeth Barnard, wife of Sir John Barnard of Abington in the county of Northampton, knight, being in perfect memory, (blessed be God!) and mindful of mortality, do make this my last will and testament in manner and form following :

"Whereas by my certain deed or writing under my hand and seal, dated on or about the eighteenth day of April, 1653, according to a power therein mentioned, I the said Elizabeth have limited and disposed of all that my messuage with the appurtenances in Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, called the New-place, and all that four-yard land and an half in Stratford-Welcombe and Bishopton in the county of Warwick, (after the decease of the said Sir John Barnard, and me the said Elizabeth,) unto Henry Smith of Stratford aforesaid, Gent. and Job Dighton of the Middle Temple, London, Esq. since deceased, and their heirs; upon trust that they, and the survivor, and the heirs of such survivor, should bargain and sell the same for the best value they can get, and the money thereby to be raised to be

George, son of George Hart, was baptized August 20, 1676.

employed and disposed of to such person and persons, and in such manner as I the said Elizabeth should by any writing or note under my hand, truly testified, declare and nominate; as thereby may more fully appear. Now my will is, and I do hereby signify and declare my mind and meaning to be, that the said Henry Smith, my surviving trustee, or his heirs, shall with all convenient speed after the decease of the said Sir John Barnard my husband, make sale of the inheritance of all and singular the premises, and that my loving cousin Edward Nash, Esq. shall have the first offer or refusal thereof, according to my promise formerly made to him: and the monies to be raised by such sale I do give, dispose of, and appoint the same to be paid and distributed, as is herein after expressed; that is to say, to my cousin Thomas Welles of Carleton, in the county of Bedford, Gent. the sum of fifty pounds, to be paid him within one year next after such sale: and if the said Thomas Wells shall happen to die before such time as his said legacy shall become due to him, then my desire is, that my kinsman Edward Bagley, citizen of London, shall have the sole benefit thereof.

“ Item, I do give and appoint unto Judith Hathaway, one of the daughters of my kinsman Thomas Hathaway, late of Stratford aforesaid, the annual sum of five pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto her yearly and every year, from and after the decease of the said survivor of the said Sir John Barnard and me the said Elizabeth, for and during the natural life of her the said Judith, at the two most usual feasts or days of payment in the year, *videlicet*, the feast of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saint Michael the archangel, by equal portions, the first payment thereof to begin at such of the said feasts as shall next happen after the decease of the survivor of the said Sir John Barnard and me the said Elizabeth, if the said premises can be so soon sold; or otherwise so soon as the same can be sold: and if the said Judith shall happen to marry, and shall be minded to release the said annual sum of five pounds, and shall accordingly release and quit all her interest and right in and to the same after it shall become due to her, then and in such

Margaret Hart⁹, widow, was buried Nov. 28, 1682.

case, I do give and appoint to her the sum of forty pounds in lieu thereof, to be paid unto her at the time of the executing of such release as aforesaid.

“Item, I give and appoint unto Joan the wife of Edward Kent, and one other of the daughters of the said Thomas Hathaway, the sum of fifty pounds, to be likewise paid unto her within one year next after the decease of the survivor of the said Sir John Barnard and me the said Elizabeth, if the said premises can be so soon sold, or otherwise so soon as the same can be sold; and if the said Joan shall happen to die before the said fifty pounds shall be paid to her, then I do give and appoint the same unto Edward Kent the younger, her son, to be paid unto him when he shall attain the age of one-and-twenty years.

“Item, I do also give and appoint unto him the said Edward Kent, son of the said John, the sum of thirty pounds, towards putting him out as an apprentice, and to be paid and disposed of to that use when he shall be fit for it.

“Item, I do give or appoint and dispose of unto Rose, Elizabeth, and Susanna, three other of the daughters of my said kinsman Thomas Hathaway, the sum of forty pounds a-piece, to be paid unto every of them at such time and in such manner as the said fifty pounds before appointed to the said Joan Kent, their sister, shall become payable.

“Item, All the rest of the monies that shall be raised by such sale as aforesaid, I give and dispose of unto my said kinsman Edward Bagley, except five pounds only, which I give and appoint to my said trustee Henry Smith for his pains; and if the said Edward Nash shall refuse the purchase of the said messuage and four-yard land and a half with the appurtenances, then my will and desire is, that the said Henry Smith or his heirs shall sell the inheritance of the said premises and every part thereof unto the said Edward Bagley, and that he shall purchase the same; upon this condition, nevertheless, that he the said Edward Bagley, his heirs, executors, or administrators, shall justly and faithfully perform my will and true meaning, in making due payment of all the several sums of money or legacies before mentioned, in such manner as aforesaid. And I do hereby declare my will and mean-

Daniel Smith and Susanna Hart were married April 16, 1688.

ing to be that the executors or administrators of my said husband Sir John Barnard shall have and enjoy the use and benefit of my said house in Stratford, called the New-Place, with the orchards, gardens, and all other the appurtenances thereto belonging, for and during the space of six months next after the decease of him the said Sir John Barnard.

“ Item, I give and devise unto my kinsman, Thomas Hart, the son of Thomas Hart, late of Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, all that my other messuage or inn situate in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaid, commonly called the Maidenhead, with the appurtenances, and the next house thereunto adjoining, with the barn belonging to the same, now or late in the occupation of Michael Johnson or his assigns, with all and singular the appurtenances; to hold to him the said Thomas Hart the son, and the heirs of his body; and for default of such issue, I give and devise the same to George Hart, brother of the said Thomas Hart, and to the heirs of his body; and for default of such issue to the right heirs of me the said Elizabeth Barnard for ever.

“ Item, I do make, ordain, and appoint my said loving kinsman Edward Bagley sole executor of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills; desiring him to see a just performance hereof, according to my true intent and meaning. In witness whereof I the said Elizabeth Barnard have hereunto set my hand and seal, the nine-and-twentieth day of January, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine.

“ ELIZABETH BARNARD.

“ Signed, sealed, published, and declared to be the last will and testament of the said Elizabeth Barnard, in the presence of

“ JOHN HOWES, Rector de Abington.

“ FRANCIS WICKES.

“ *Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud ædes Exonienses situat. in le Strand, in comitatu Middx. quarto die mensis Martij, 1669, coram venerabili viro Domino Egidio Sweete, milite et legum doctore, surrogato, &c. juramento Edwardi Bagley, unici executor. nominat. cui, &c. de bene, &c. jurat.*”

Shakspeare Hart was married to Anne Prew, April 10, 1694.

William Shakspeare, son of Shakspeare Hart, was baptized Sept. 14, 1695.

Hester, wife of George Hart, was buried April 29, 1696.

Anne, daughter of Shakspeare and Anne Hart, was baptized Aug. 9, 1700.

George, son of George and Mary Hart, was baptized Nov. 29, 1700.

George Hart⁷ was buried May 3, 1702.

Hester, Daughter of George Hart, was baptized Feb. 10, 1702 [1702-3].

Catharine, daughter of Shakspeare and Anne Hart, was baptized July 19, 1703.

Mary, daughter of George Hart, was baptized Oct. 7, 1705.

Mary, wife of George Hart, was buried Oct. 7, 1705.

George Hart was married to Sarah Mountford, Feb. 20, 1728 [1728-9].

⁷ The eldest son of Joan Hart, our poet's sister. He was a player, and, I believe, father to Charles Hart, the celebrated tragedian. I have not found any entry in the register of the deaths of his brothers Thomas and Michael Hart.

⁸ This gentleman was born in 1587, and was brother to Thomas Quiney, who married Shakspeare's youngest daughter. It does not appear when Thomas Quiney died. There is a defect in the register during the years 1642, 1643, and 1644; and another *lacuna* from March 17, to Nov. 18, 1663. Our poet's son-in-law probably died in the latter of those periods; for his wife, who died in Feb. 1661-2, in the register of burials for that year is described thus: "Judith, *uxor* Thomas Quiney." Had her husband been then dead, she would have been denominated *vidua*.

⁹ Probably the wife of Thomas Hart, who must have been married in or before the year 1633. The marriage ceremony was not performed at Stratford, there being no entry of it in the register.

¹ He was born in 1636.

Thomas, son of George Hart, Jun. was baptized May 9, 1729.

Sarah, daughter of George Hart, was baptized Sept. 29, 1733.

Anne, daughter of Shakspeare Hart, was buried March 29, 1738.

Anne, daughter of George Hart, was baptized Sept. 29, 1740.

William Shakspeare, son of William Shakspeare Hart, was baptized Jan. 8, 1743 [1743-4].

William Shakspeare, son of William Shakspeare Hart, was buried March 8, 1744 [1744-5].

William, son of George Hart, was buried April 28, 1745.

George Hart³ was buried Aug. 29, 1745.

Thomas, son of William Shakspeare Hart, was buried March 12, 1746 [1746-7].

Shakspeare Hart⁴ was buried July 7, 1747.

Catharine, daughter of William Shakspeare Hart, was baptized May 10, 1748.

William Shakspeare Hart⁵ was buried Feb. 28, 1749 [1749-50].

The widow Hart⁶ was buried July 10, 1753.

John, son of Thomas Hart, was baptized Aug. 18, 1755.

Anne, daughter of Shakspeare and Anne Hart, was buried Feb. 5, 1760.

Frances, daughter of Thomas Hart, was baptized Aug. 8, 1760.

³ He was born in 1676, and was great grandson to Joan Hart.

⁴ He was born in 1666, and was also great grandson to Joan Hart.

⁵ He was born in 1695.

⁶ This absurd mode of entry seems to have been adopted for the purpose of concealment rather than information; for by the omission of the Christian name, it is impossible to ascertain from the register who was meant. The person here described was, I believe, Anne, the widow of Shakspeare Hart, who died in 1747.

Thomas, son of Thomas Hart, was baptized Aug. 10,
1764.

Anne, daughter of Thomas Hart, was baptized Jan. 16,
1767.

Sarah, daughter of George Hart, was buried Sept. 10,
1768.

Frances, daughter of Thomas Hart, was buried Oct. 31,
1774.

George Hart ⁷ was buried July 8, 1778.

⁷ He was born in 1700.

EXTRACTS OF ENTRIES

ON THE

BOOKS OF THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

N. B. The terms *book* and *ballad* were anciently used to signify dramattick works, as well as any other forms of composition; while *tragedy* and *comedy* were titles very often bestowed on novels of the serious and the lighter kind. STEEVENS.

A CHARTER was granted to the Company of Stationers on the 4th of May, 1556 (third and fourth of Philip and Mary), and was confirmed by Queen Elizabeth in 1560.

The first volume of these Entries has been either lost or destroyed, as the earliest now to be found is lettered B 3. The hall was burnt down in the fire of London. The entries began July 17, 1576.

1562.

[† Recevyd of M. Tottle for his licence for pryntinge
of the tragicall History of the Romeus
and Juliett with Sonnettes A. fol. 86. a 4.]

Again, Feb. 18, 1582 Vol. B.
M. Tottell.] Romeo and Juletta 5 p. 193.

3 Since this was written, the first volume, marked A, has been found. MALONE.

4 This article, within crotchets, is from vol. i. which (as Mr. Malone observes) has since been discovered. STEEVENS.

5 This and the foregoing are perhaps the original works on which Shakspeare founded his play of Romeo and Juliet.

STEEVENS.

Again, Aug. 5, 1596,—as a *newe ballad*, for
Edward White C. p. 12. b.

April 3, 1592.

Edw. White.] The tragedy of Arden of Fever-
sham and Black Will⁶. 286

April 18, -1593.

Rich. Feild.] A booke entitled Venus and
Adonis⁷ 297 b.

Afterwards entered by——Harrison,
sen. June 23, 1594: by W. Leake, June 23,
1596: by W. Barrett, Feb. 16, 1616:
and by John Parker, March 8, 1619.

⁶ This play was reprinted in 1770 at Feversham, with a preface attributing it to Shakspeare. The collection of parallel passages which the editor has brought forward to justify his supposition, is such as will make the reader smile. The following is a specimen:

Arden of Feversham, p. 74:

“Fling down Endimion, and snatch him up.”

Merchant of Venice, Act V. Sc. I.:

“Peace, ho! the moon sleeps with Endymion.”

Arden of Feversham, p. 87:

“Let my death make amends for all my sin.”

Much Ado About Nothing, Act IV. Sc. II.:

“Death is the fairest cover for her shame.” STEEVENS.

⁷ The last stanza of a poem entitled *Mirrha the Mother of Adonis*; or *Lustes Prodigies*, by William Barksted, 1607, has the following praise of Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*:

“But stay, my muse, in thy own confines keepe,

“And wage not warre with so deere-lov'd a neighbor;

“But, having sung thy day song, rest and sleepe,

“Preserve thy small fame and his greater favor.

“His song was worthie merit, (Shakspeare hee)

“Sung the faire blossome, thou the withered tree:

“Laurel is due to him; his art and wit

“Hath purchas'd it; cypres thy brow will fit.”

STEEVENS.

Oct. 19, 1593.

Symon Waterson.] A booke entitled the Tragedye
of Cleopatra⁸. 301 b.

Feb. 6, 1593.

John Danter.] A booke entitled a noble Roman
Historye of Tytus Andronicus 304 b.
Entered also unto him by warrant
from Mr. Woodcock, the ballad thereof.

March 12, 1593.

Tho. Millington.] A booke intituled the Firste
Part of the Contention of the twoo
famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster,
with the Deathe of the good Duke Hum-
phrey, and the Banishment and Deathe
of the Duke of Suffk, and the tragical
Ende of the proud Cardinall of Win-
chester, with the notable Rebellion of
Jack Cade, and the Duke of York's first
Claime unto the Crown 305 b.

May 2, 1594.

Peter Shorte.] A plesant conceyted hystorie
called the Tayminge of a Shrowe⁹. 306 b.

May 9, 1594.

Mr. Harrison Sen.] A booke entitled the Ra-
vyshement of Lucrece. 306 b.

⁸ I suppose this to be Daniel's tragedy of Cleopatra. Simon Waterson was one of the printers of his other works. STEEVENS.

Daniel's Cleopatra was published by Waterson in 1594; this entry therefore undoubtedly related to it. MALONE.

⁹ I conceive it to be the play that furnished Shakspeare with the materials which he afterwards worked up into another with the same title. STEEVENS.

May 14, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] A booke intituled the famous Victories of Henrye the Ffyft, conteyninge the honorable Battell of Agincourt¹. . . 306 b.

May 14, 1594.

Edw. White.] A booke entituled the Moste famous Chronicle Historye of Leire Kinge of England and his three Daughters². . . 307

May 22, 1594.

Edw. White.] A booke entituled a Wynters Nightes Pastime³. 307 b.

June 19, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] An enterlude intituled the Tragedie of Richard the Third, wherein is shoven the Death of Edward the Fourthe, with the Smotheringe of the twoo Princes in the Tower, with a lamentable End of Shore's Wife, and the Conjunction of the twoo Houses of Lancaster and York⁴. 309 b.

* This might have been the *very displeasing play* mentioned in the epilogue to the second part of King Henry IV. STEEVENS.

The earliest edition of this play now known to be extant, was printed in 1598. Of that edition I have a copy. This piece furnished Shakspeare with the outline of the two parts of King Henry IV. as well as with that of King Henry V. MALONE.

² I suppose this to be the play on the same subject as that of our author, but written before it. STEEVENS.

³ Query if *The Winter's Tale*. STEEVENS.

⁴ This could not have been the work of Shakspeare, as the death of Jane Shore makes no part of his drama. STEEVENS.

The play here entered, I believe to have been *The true Tragedy of Richard the Third*, which will be found appended to Shakspeare's drama in this edition. BOSWELL.

July 20, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] The lamentable Tragedie of Locrine, the eldest Sonne of K. Brutus, discoursinge the Warres of the Britans, &c. 310 b.
Vol. C.

Before the beginning of this volume are placed two leaves containing irregular entries, prohibitions, notes, &c. Among these are the following:

Aug. 4th.

As You Like It, a book.
Henry the Fift, a book ⁵.
Comedy of Much Ado about Nothing. } to be staied.

The dates scattered over these pages are from 1596 to 1615.

Dec. 1, 1595.

Cuthbert Burby.] A book entituled Edward the Third and the Black Prince, their Warres with Kinge John of Fraunce ⁶. 6

Aug. 5, 1596.

Edw. White.] A newe ballad of Romeo and Juliett ⁷. 12 b.

Aug. 15, 1597.

Rich. Jones.] Two ballads, beinge the ffirste and

⁵ Probably the play before that of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

Surely this must have been Shakspeare's Henry V. which, as well as Much Ado About Nothing, was printed in 1600, when this entry appears to have been made. See the Essay on the chronological order of Shakspeare's plays; article, As You Like It. MALONE.

⁶ This is ascribed to Shakspeare by the compilers of ancient catalogues. STEEVENS.

⁷ Query, if Shakspeare's play, the first edition of which appeared in 1597. STEEVENS.

second parts of the Widowe of Watling-
streete^s. 22 b.

Aug. 29, 1597.

Andrew Wise.] The tragedye of Richard the
Seconde 23

Oct. 20, 1597.

Andrew Wise.] The tragedie of Kinge Richard
the Third, with the Death of the Duke
of Clarence 25

Feb. 25, 1597.

Andrew Wise.] A booke entituled the Historye
of Henry the Fourth, with his Battaille
at Shrewsburys against Henry Hott-
spurre of the Northe with the conceipted
Mirth of Sir John Falstalffe 31

July 22, 1598.

James Robertes.] A booke of the Marchaunt of
Venyce, or otherwise called the Jewe of
Venyse. Provided that yt be not prynted
by the said James Roberts or anye other
whatsoever, without lycence first had of
the right honourable the Lord Cham-
berlen 39 b.

Aug. 4, 1600.

As You Like It, a book. Henry the Ffift, a book.
Every Man in his Humour, a book. The
Comedie of Much Adoo about Nothings,
a book.

^s Perhaps the songs on which the play with the same title was founded. It may, however, be the play itself. It was not uncommon to divide one dramattick piece, though designed for a single exhibition, into two parts. See the King John before that of Shakspeare. SEEEVENS.

Aug. 11, 1600.

Tho. Pavier.] First Part of the History of the
Life of Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham.

Item, The Second and last Parte of
the History of Sir John Oldcastell Lord
Cobham, with his Martyrdom 62

Aug. 14, 1600.

Tho. Pavyer.] The Historie of Henrye the Vth,
with the battel of Agencourt, &c 63

Aug. 23, 1600.

And. Wise, and Wm. Aspley.] Muche Adoe about
Nothinge 63 b.

Second Part of the History of King
Henry the Fourth, with the Humors of
Sir John Fallstaff, written by Mr.
SHAKESPERE ibid.

Oct. 8, 1600.

Tho. Fysher.] A booke called a Mydsomer Nyghte
Dreame. 65 b.

Oct. 28, 1600.

Tho. Haies.] The book of the Merchant of
Venyce 66

Jan. 18, 1601.

John Busby.] An excellent and pleasant con-
certed commedie of Sir John Faulstof
and the Merry Wyves of Windesor 78

Arth. Johnson.] The preceding entered as as-
signed to him from John Busby. ibid.

April 19, 1602.

Tho. Pavier.] By Assignment from Tho. Mil-
lington, *Salvo jure cujus cumq.* The
1st and 2d pts of Henry the VI. ii books.

Tho. Pavyer.] Titus and Andronicus 80 b.

July 26, 1602.

James Roberts.] A booke The Revenge of Hamlett prince of Denmarke, as yt was latelie acted by the Lord Chamberlayn his servantes. 84 b.

Aug. 11, 1602.

Wm. Cotton.] A booke called the Lyfe and Deathe of the Lord Cromwell, as yt was lately acted by the Lord Chamberleyn his servants 85 b.

Feb. 7, 1602.

Mr. Roberts.] The booke of Troilus and Cresseda, as yt is acted by my Lo. Chamberlen's men. 91 b.

June 27, 1603.

Matt. Law.] Richard 3.	} all kings.	98
Richard 2,		
Henry 4. 1st Part.		

Feb. 12, 1604.

Nath. Butter.] Yf he get good allowance for the Enterlude of K. Henry 8, before he begyn to print it; and then procure the warden's hands to it for the entrance of yt, he is to have the same for his copy⁹. 120

May 8, 1605.

Simon Stafford.] A booke called the tragicall Historie of Kinge Leir and his three Daughters, &c. as yt was latelie acted. 123

John Wright.] By assignment from Simon Stafford and consent of Mr. Leake, the tra-

⁹ This was a play entitled, "When you see me you know me, or the famous Chronicle Historie of King Henrie the Eight," &c. by Samuel Rowley. Printed for N. Butter, 1605. MALONE.

gical History of King Leire, and his
three Daughters, provided that Simon
Stafford shall have the printing of this
book ¹. *ibid.*

July 3, 1605.

Tho. Pavyer.] A ballad of lamentable Murther
done in Yorkshire, by a Gent. upon two
of his owne Children, sore wounding his
Wyfe and Nurse ². 126

Jan. 22, 1606.

Mr. Ling.] Romeo and Juliett.
Love's Labour Loste.
Taminge of a Shrewe 147

Aug. 6, 1607.

Geo. Elde.] A booke called the Comedie of the
Puritan Wydowe. 157 b.

Aug. 6, 1607.

Tho. Thorp.] A comedie called What you Will ³ *ibid.*

Oct. 22, 1607.

Arth. Johnson.] The Merry Devil of Edmonton ⁴ 159 b.

Nov. 19, 1607.

John Smythick.] A booke called Hamlett,
The Taminge of a Shrewe.

¹ This is the King Lear before that of Shakspeare. STEEVENS.

² Query, if the play. STEEVENS.

³ Perhaps this is Marston's comedy of What You Will. I have a copy of it dated 1607. What You Will, however, is the second title to Shakspeare's Twelfth-Night. STEEVENS.

This was certainly Marston's play, for it was printed in 1607, by G. Eld, for T. Thorpe. MALONE.

⁴ The Merry Devil of Edmonton is mentioned in the Blacke Booke by T. M. 1604: "Give him leave to see The Merry Divil of Edmunton, or A Woman Kill'd with Kindnesse." STEEVENS.

Romeo and Juliett.

Love's Labour Lost 161

Nov. 26, 1607.

Nath. Butter and John Busby.] Mr. Willm. Shakespeare, his Hystorye of Kinge Lear, as yt was played before the King's Majestie at Whitehall, upon St. Stephen's night at Christmas last, by his Majesties servants playing usually at the Globe on the Bank-side 161 b.

April 5, 1608.

Joseph Hunt and Tho. Archer.] A booke called the Lyfe and Deathe of the Merry Devill of Edmonton, with the pleasant Pranks of Smugge the Smyth, Sir John, and mine Hoste of the George, about their stealing of Venison. By T. B.^s .. 165 b.

May 2, 1608.

Mr. Pavyer.] A booke The Yorkshire Tragedy, written by Wylliam Shakespere 167

May 20, 1608.

Edw. Blount.] The booke of Pericles Prynce of Tyre 167 b.
A booke called Anthony and Cleopatra.. ibid.

Jan. 28, 1608.

Richard Bonion and Hen. Whalleys.] A booke called the History of Troylus and Cressida 178 b.

^s Bound up in a volume of plays attributed to Shakspeare, and once belonging to King Charles II. but now in Mr. Garrick's collection. The initial letters at the end of this entry, sufficiently free Shakspeare from the charge of having been its author.

STEEVENS.

May 20, 1609.

Tho. Thorpe.] A booke called Shakespeare's
sonnetts 183 b.

Oct. 16, 1609.

Mr. Welby.] Edward the Third 189

Dec. 16, 1611.

John Brown.] A booke called the Lyfe and
Death of the Lo. Cromwell, by W. S... 214 b.

Nov. 29, 1614.

John Beale.] A booke called the Hystory of
George Lord Faulconbridge, bastard
Sonne to Richard Cordelion⁶ 256 b.

Feb. 16, 1616.

Mr. Barrett.] Life and Death of Lord Cromwell 279

March 2, 1617.

Mr. Snodham.] Edward the Third, the play 288

Sept. 17, 1618.

John Wright.] The comedy called Mucedorus⁷ 293 b.

July 8, 1619.

Lau. Hayes.] A play called the Merchant of
Venice 403
Vol. D.

Oct. 6, 1621.

Tho. Walkely.] The tragedie of Othello the
Moore of Venice 21

⁶ Query, if this was Shakspeare's King John, or some old romance like that of Richard Coeur de Lion. STEEVENS.

It was undoubtedly The Famous Historie of George Lord Faulconbridge, a prose romance. I have an edition of it now before me printed for I. B. dated 1616. MALONE.

⁷ Bound up in a volume of plays attributed to Shakspeare, and once belonging to King Charles the Second. See Mr. Garrick's collection. STEEVENS.

Nov. 8, 1623.

Mr. Blounte and Isaak Jaggard.] Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedyes, Histories, and Tragedyes, soe many of the said Copies as are not formerly entered to other men.

Viz.

Comedyes.	{	The Tempest.	
		Two Gentlemen of Verona.	
		Measure for Measure.	
		The Comedy of Errors.	
		As You Like it.	
		Alls Well that Ends Well.	
		Twelwe Night.	
Histories.	{	The Winter's Tale.	
		The Thirde Parte of Henry the Sixt.	
		Henry the Eight.	
Tragedies.	{	Coriolanus.	
		Timon of Athens.	
		Julius Cæsar.	
		Mackbeth.	
		Anthonie and Cleopatra.	
	{	Cymbeline	69

Dec. 14, 1624.

Mr. Pavier.] Titus Andronicus.

Widdow of Watling Street 93

Feb. 23, 1625.

Mr. Stansby.] Edward the Third, the play 115

April 3, 1626.

Mr. Parker.] Life and Death of Lord Cromwell 120

Aug. 4, 1626.

Edw. Brewster.] Mr. Pavier's right in Shake-

Rob. Birde.] speare's plays, or any of them.

The Historye of Hen. the fift, and the play of the same.	
Sir John Oldcastle, a play.	
Tytus Andronicus, and	
Hystorye of Hamblett	127
Jan. 29, 1629.	
Mr. Meighen.] The Merry Wives of Winsor ..	193
Nov. 8, 1630.	
Ric. Cotes.] Henrye the Fift.	
Sir John Oldcastle.	
Tytus Andronicus.	
Yorke and Lancaster.	
Agincourt.	
Pericles.	
Hamblet.	
Yorkshire Tragedie	208
The sixteen plays in p. 641, were assigned by Tho. Blount to Edward Allott, June 26, 1630 ..	109
Edward Allott was one of the publishers of the second folio, 1632.	

It has hitherto been usual to represent the ancient quartos of our author as by far more incorrect than those of his contemporaries ; but, I fear that this representation has been continued by many of us, with a design to magnify our own services, rather than to exhibit a true state of the question. The reason why we have discovered a greater proportion of errors in the former than in the latter, is because we have sought after them with a greater degree of diligence ; for let it be remembered, that it was no more the practice of other writers than of Shakspeare, to correct the press for themselves. Ben Jonson only (who, being versed in the learned languages, had been taught the

value of accuracy), appears to have superintended the publication of his own dramattick pieces; but were those of Lyly, Chapman, Marlow, or the Heywoods, to be revised with equal industry, an editor would meet with as frequent opportunity for the exertion of his critical abilities, as in these quartos which have been so repeatedly censured by those who never took the pains to collate them, or justify the many valuable readings they contain; for when the character of them which we have handed down, was originally given, among typographical blunders, &c. were enumerated all terms and expressions which were not strictly grammatical, or not easily understood. As yet we had employed in our attempts at explanation only such materials as casual reading had supplied; but how much more is requisite for the complete explanation of an early writer, the last edition of the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer may prove a sufficient witness; a work which in respect of accuracy and learning is without a rival, at least in any commentary on an English poet. The reader will forgive me if I desert my subject for a moment, while I express an ardent wish that the same editor may find leisure and inclination to afford us the means of reading the other works of the father of our poetry, with advantages which we cannot derive from the efforts of those who have less deeply and successfully penetrated into the recesses of ancient Italian, French, and English literature.—An author has received the highest marks of distinction, when he has engaged the services of such a commentator.

The reader may perhaps be desirous to know by whom these quartos of Shakspeare are supposed to have been sent into the world. To such a curiosity no very adequate gratification can be afforded; but yet it may be observed; that as these elder copies possess many advantages over those in the subsequent folio, we should decide perversely were we to pronounce them spurious. They were in all

probability issued out by some performer, who, deriving no benefit from the theatre except his salary, was uninterested in that retention of copies, which was the chief concern of our ancient managers. We may suppose too that there was nothing criminal in his proceeding; as some of the persons whose names appear before these publications, are known to have filled the highest offices in the company of Stationers with reputation, bequeathing legacies of considerable value to it at their decease. Neither do I discover why the first manuscripts delivered by so careless a writer to the actors, should prove less correct than those which he happened to leave behind him, unprepared for the press, in the possession of the same fraternity. On the contrary, after his plays had passed for twenty years through the hands of a succession of ignorant transcribers, they were more likely to become maimed and corrupted, than when they were printed from papers less remote from the originals. It is true that Heminge and Condell have called these copies *surreptitious*, but this was probably said with a view to enhance the value of their own impression, as well as to revenge themselves as far as possible on those who had in part anticipated the publication of works from which they expected considerable gleanings of advantage, after their first harvest on the stage was over.—I mean to except from this general character of the quartos, the author's rough draughts of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Romeo and Juliet*; together with the play of *King Henry V.* and the two parts of *King Henry VI.*; for the latter carry all the marks of having been imperfectly taken down by the ear, without any assistance from the originals belonging to the playhouses in which they were first represented.

A succeeding table of those ancient copies of the plays of Shakspeare which his commentators have really met with and consulted, if compared with the earliest of these

entries on the books already mentioned, may tempt the reader to suppose that some quartos have not yet been found, from which future assistance may be derived. But I fear that no such resources remain; as it seems to have been the practice of the numerous theatres in the time of Shakspeare, to cause some bookseller to make immediate entries of their new pieces, as a security against the encroachments of their rivals, who always considered themselves as justified in the exhibition of such dramas as had been enfranchised by the press. Imperfect copies, but for these precautions, might have been more frequently obtained from the repetition of hungry actors invited for that purpose to a tavern; or something like a play might have been collected by attentive auditors, who made it their business to attend succeeding representations with a like design⁸. By these means, without any intent of hasty publication, one company of players was studious to prevent the trespasses of another⁹. Nor did their policy conclude here; for I have not unfrequently met with registers of both tragedies and comedies, of which the titles were at some time to be declared. Thus, July 26, 1576, John Hunter enters "A new and pleasant comedie or plaie, after the manner of Common Condycions;" and one Fielder, in Sept. 1581, prefers his right to four others, "Whereof he will bring the titles." The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jewe of Malta, by Christopher Marlow, is ascertained to be the property of Nich. Ling and Tho. Millington, in May, 1594, though it was not printed by Nich. Vavasour till 1633, as Tho. Heywood, who wrote the preface to it, informs us. In this manner the contending theatres were prepared to assert a priority

⁸ See the notes of Mr. Collins and Mr. Malone at the end of The Third Part of King Henry VI.

⁹ From the year 1570 to the year 1629, when the playhouse in White Friars was finished, it appears that no less than seventeen theatres had been built.

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of title to any copies of dramattick performances ; and thus were they assisted by our ancient stationers, who strengthened every claim of literary property, by entries secured in a manner which was then supposed to be obligatory and legal.

I may add, that the difficulty of procuring licenses was another reason why some theatrical publications were retarded, and others entirely suppressed. As we cannot now discover the motives which influenced the conduct of former Lord Chamberlains and Bishops, who stopped the sale of several works, which nevertheless have escaped into the world, and appear to be of the most innocent nature, we may be tempted to regard their severity as rather dictated by jealousy and caprice, than by judgment and impartiality. See a note on my Advertisement, vol. i. p. 177.

The publick is now in possession of as accurate an account of the dates, &c. of Shakspeare's works as perhaps will ever be compiled. This was by far the most irksome part of my undertaking, though facilitated as much as possible by the kindness of Mr. Longman, of Pater-noster Row, who readily furnished me with the three earliest volumes of the records of the Stationers' Company, together with accommodations which rendered the perusal of them convenient to me, though troublesome to himself.

STEEVENS.

· LIST OF THE
EARLY EDITIONS OF SHAKSPEARE¹.

I. *Richard II.*

1. The Tragedie of King Richard the Second. As it hath been publikey acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Printed by Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wise, 1597.

2. The Tragedy of King Richard the Second, as it hath beene publikey acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants, by William Shake-speare, [the same printer and publisher], 1598.

3. The Tragedie of King Richard the Second, with new Additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard. As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Servantes at the Globe. By William Shake-speare. Printed by W. W. for Mathew Law, 1608².

4. Do. [Same Title.] Printed for Mathew Law, 1615.

¹ In the following list of early quartos, I have omitted those which appeared subsequently to the folio 1623, as they are admitted on all hands to be utterly worthless. The titles of the others I have given at full length where there was any disagreement among them, as far as I was enabled by Mr. Malone's collection. Those to which I have not had access, I have copied from Mr. Steevens's list, and marked them with an asterisk.

BOSWELL.

² This is the first edition in which the scene of Richard's deposition was printed, and is the one which was followed by the folio 1623. Mr. Kemble has a copy [now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire], printed in 1608, in the title page of which no mention is made of that additional scene, though found there, and, except that variation in the title-page, is the very same as the one described above. The words were probably thought offensive by Mr. Tilney, the Master of the Revels, and ordered to be omitted.—*Mr. Malone's MS.*

II. *Richard III.*

1. The Tragedy of King Richard the Third. Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: the pittieful Murther of his innocent Nephewes: his tyrannical Usurpation: with the whole Course of his detested Life, and most deserved Death. As it hath been lately acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his servants. Printed by Valentine Sims, for William Wise, 1597.

* 2. Do. William Shakspeare. Thomas Creede, for William Wise, 1598.

* 3. Do. William Shakspeare. Thomas Creede, for William Wise, 1602.

4. Do. [the same title as edit. 1597, except that it describes this play, "As it hath been lately acted by the Kings Majesties Servants. Newly augmented. By William Shake-speare"]. Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by Mathew Lawe, 1612 or 1613, for the last numeral is blurred in Mr. Malone's copy.

* 5. Do. William Shakspeare. Thomas Perfoote; sold by Mathew Lawe, 1622.

* 6. Do. William Shakspeare. John Norton; sold by William Lawe, 1629.

7. Do. William Shakspeare. John Norton, 1629.

III. *Romeo and Juliet.*

1. An excellent conceited Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet, As it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publicquely, by the Right Honourable the Lord of Hunsdon his Servants. Printed by John Danter, 1597.

2. The Most Excellent and lamentable Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet. Newly corrected, augmented, and amended. As it hath bene sundry times publicquely acted, by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Printed by Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burby, 1599.

* 3. Do. for John Smithwicke, 1609.

* 4. Do. Wm. Shakspeare, no date, John Smithwicke.

IV. *Love's Labours Lost.*

A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called, *Love's Labours Lost*. As it was presented before her Highnes this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakspeare. Imprinted by W. W. for Cutberd Burby, 1598.

V. *Henry IV. Part I.*

1. The History of Henrie the Fourth ; With the Battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the North. With the humorous Conceits of Sir John Falstalfe. Printed by P. S. for Andrew Wise, 1598².

2. [Same title as the preceding, except that these words, "newly corrected by W. Shakspeare," are added, and the name of Hotspur is spelt *Henry Percie*, surnamed *Henry Hotspur*, and *Falstaffe* is put for *Falstalfe*.] Printed by S. S. for Andrew Wise, 1599.

3. Do. [Same title as 1599.] Printed by Valentine Simmes, for Mathew Law, 1604.

* 4. Do. For Mathew Law, 1608.

5. The History of Henrie the Fourth. With the Battell at Shrewsburie betweene the Kinge and Lord Henrie Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the North. With the humorous Conceites of Sir John Falstaffe. Newly corrected by W. Shakspeare. Printed by W. W. for Mathew Law, 1613.

* 6. Do. T. P. for Mathew Law, 1622.

VI. *Henry IV. Part II.*

1. The Second Part of Henrie the Fourth, continuing to his Death, and Coronation of Henry the Fift. With the Humors of Sir John Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll. As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants.

² This is not in Mr. Malone's collection, but the title is transcribed from Mr. Capell's list. BOSWELL.

Written by William Shakspeare. Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise and William Aspley, 1600.

2. Do. 1600, do.

3. Do. 1600, do.³

VII. *Henry V.*

1. The Chronicle History of Henry the Fifth, with his Battell fought at Agin Court in Fraunce. Together with Auntient Pistolle. As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Printed by Thomas Creede for Tho. Millington and John Busby, 1600.

* 2. Do. Thomas Creede, for Thomas Pavier, 1602.

3. Do. [Same title as the first, except that it has *ancien* not *auntient* Pistoll.] Printed for T. P. 1608.

VIII. *Merchant of Venice.*

1. The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreme Crueltie of Shylocke the Jewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a just Poure of his Flesh, and the obtayning of Portia by the Choyse of three Chests. As it hath bene divers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Written by William Shakspeare. Printed by J. R. for Thomas Heyes, 1600.

2. Do. [Same title as the preceding, except that it omits to mention where it was performed, and has not William Shakspeare.] Printed by J. Roberts.

IX. *Midsummer-Night's Dream.*

1. A Midsommer Nights Dreame. As it hath bene

³ In Mr. Malone's collection there are two copies of this first edition. In one of them he has the following note: "In this copy, signature E has only the ordinary quantity of leaves, namely four. The publisher, finding he had omitted somewhat, cancelled the two latter, (viz. E 3, and E 4), reprinted them in a different manner, and added a fifth leaf in order to get in the omitted lines. This is the only difference between the two copies." The omission spoken of, is the whole of the first scene of the third act. BOSWELL.

sundry times publickely acted, by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Written by William Shakspeare. Imprinted for Thomas Fisher, 1600.

2. Do. [Same title as the preceding, except that it has *publickely* not *publickely* acted.] Printed by James Roberts, 1600.

X. *Much Ado About Nothing.*

Much Adoe about Nothing. As it hath been sundrie times publickely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. Written by William Shakespeare. Printed by V. J. for Andrew Wise and William Aspley, 1600.

XI. *Merry Wives of Windsor.*

1. A most plesaunt and excellent conceited comedie, of Syr John Falstaffe and the Merrie Wives of Windsor. Entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing Humors, of Syr Hugh the Welch Knight, Justice Shallow, and his wise Cousin M. Slender. With the swaggering vaine of auncient Pistoll and Corporall Nym. By William Shakespeare. As it hath bene divers times acted by the Right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines Servants. Both before her Majestie and elsewhere. Printed by T. C. for Arthur Johnson, 1602.

2. A most pleasant and excellent conceited comedy, of Sir John Falstaffe, and the Merry Wives of Windsor. With the swaggering vaine of ancient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym. Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed for Arthur Johnson, 1619.

XII. *Hamlet.*

1. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare. Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect coppie. Printed by J. R. for N. Landure, 1604⁴.

⁴ This edition is not in Mr. Malone's collection, but I have copied his transcript of the title. BOSWELL.

* 2. Do. William Shakespeare. J. R. for N. L. 1605.

3. The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. Newly imprinted and enlarged, according to the true and perfect copy lastly printed. Printed by W. T. for John Smithwicke, no date. [This edition of Hamlet was printed, I believe, in 1607, as was also, I imagine, the undated edition of Romeo and Juliet, for these two plays were entered on the Stationers' books by John Smithwicke, Nov. 19, 1607. MALONE.]

* 4. William Shakspeare. For John Smithwicke, 1609.

XIII. *Lear*.

1. M. Willam Shake-speare his True Chronicle History of the Life and Death of King Lear, and his three Daughters. With the unfortunate Life of Edgar, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of Glocester, and his sullen and assumed Humour of Tom of Bedlam. As it was plaid before the King's Majesty at White-Hall, uppon S. Stephens Night; in Christmas Hollidaies. By his Majesties Servants playing usually at the Globe on the Banck-side. Printed for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard at the Signe of the Pide Bull neere St. Austins Gate, 1608. [Begins at Signature B.]⁵

2. [Title and date the same as the preceding, excepting that it is only said to be printed for Nathaniel Butter without any mention of the place of sale, and *begins at Signature A.*]

3. [Title the same as the two former, except that like the first it begins at signature B: and like the second, has no reference to the place of sale. All the three contain different readings. Thus, the first reads, H 3, verso, "my foote usurps my *body*;" the second H 2, "my foote usurps my *head*;" and the third, H 3 verso, "*a foole* usurps my *bed*."

⁵ In this copy the poet's name is spelt *Shak-speare*, without the middle *e*. This is the only instance I have met with. BOSWELL.

XIV. *Troilus and Cressida*.

1. The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid. Excellently expressing the beginning of their Lives, with the conceited Wooing of Pandarus Prince of Lucia. Written by William Shakspeare. Imprinted by G. Eld, for R. Bonian and H. Walley, 1609.

2. [Same title as the former, but with this addition, "As it was acted by the King's Majesty's Servants at the Globe," and the word *famous* is omitted. In the former also there is a preface in which the play is said to have been never stal'd with the stage, which in this corrected copy is omitted. It has been supposed that Mr. Pope had an undated copy, but that is a mistake. Mr. Pope's copy is in the possession of Mr. Kemble [the Duke of Devonshire], and has the same date and the same book-sellers' names. MALONE.]

XV. *Othello*.

* 1. Othello, William Shakspeare. Thomas Walkely, no date ⁶.

2. The Tragœdy of Othello, the Moore of Venice. As it hath beene diverse times acted at the Globe and at the Black-Friers, by his Majesties Servants. Written by William Shakspeare. Printed by N. O. for Thomas Walkley, 1622.

PLAYS

SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN

ALTERED BY SHAKSPEARE.

I. *Titus Andronicus*.

1. "The most lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath sundry times been playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle of

⁶ Mr. Malone denied the existence of this edition. See Preliminary Remarks to Othello, vol. ix. p. 215. BOSWELL.

Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Chamberlaine theyr Servants, At London, printed by J. R. for Edward White, and are to bee solde at his shoppe, at the little North doore of Poules, at the signe of the Gun, 1600." Tonn.

See vol. xxi. p. 260.

2. The most lamentable tragedie of Titus Andronicus As yt hath sundry times been plaide by the King's Majesties Servants. Printed for Edward White, 1611.

II. *Pericles.*

1. The late, and much admired play, called Pericles Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whol Historie, Adventures, and Fortunes, of the said Prince As also, the no less strange and worthy Accidents, in th Birth and Life of his Daughter Marina. As it hath bee divers and sundry times acted by his Majesties Servant at the Globe on the Banck-side. By William Shakespeare. Imprinted for Henry Gosson, 1609.

2. The late, and much admired Play, called Pericles Prince of Tyre. With the true Relation of the whol History, Adventures, and Fortunes, of the saide Prince Written by W. Shakespeare. Printed for T. P. 1619.

III. *Henry VI. Part II.*

1. The First Part of the Contention betwixt the tw famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the Death of the good Duke Humphrey, and the Banishment and Death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the Tragical End of th proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Jack Cade, and the Duke of Yorkes first Claim unto the Crowne. Printed by Thomas Creede for Thomas Millington [date at the end of the play], 1594.

2. The First Part of the Contention betwixt the tw famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the Death of the good Duke Humphrey: And the Banishment and Death of the Duke of Suffolke, and the Tragical End

the proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable Rebellion of Jack Cade; and the Duke of Yorke's first Clayme to the Crowne. Printed by W. W. for Thomas Millington, 1600.

Henry VI. Part III.

1. "The true tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henry the Sixt, with the whole Contention betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke his Seruants. Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder St. Peters Church in Cornwal, 1595." 8vo. (In Dr. Pegge's sale, and bought by Mr. Chalmers for 5*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* ⁶)

2. [Same title as the preceding.] Printed by W. W. for Thomas Millington, 1600.

Henry VI. Part II. and III.

The Whole Contention between the two Famous Houses Lancaster and Yorke. With the Tragical Endes of the good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke and King Henrie the Sixt. Divided into two Parts: And newly

⁹ This play, precisely the same with the 4to. of 1600, appears as it was first altered by Shakspeare from the original drama of Greene, Peele, and Marlowe; great part of which is here preserved. He afterwards revised and improved it, as we have it in the folio. RITSON.

Mr. Ritson was wrong in both of his positions. The play in both of the editions which he mentions, does not appear, as it was altered, but as the original before it was altered by Shakspeare: nor are they precisely the same; for I learn from Mr. Malone's collation that there are upwards of thirty variations; and in the elder copy, the metre is frequently confounded by the end of one line being printed at the beginning of another. BOSWELL.

corrected and enlarged. Written by William Shakespeare, Gent. Printed for T. P. no date⁸.

FOLIO EDITIONS.

[Of all the remaining plays the most authentick edition is the folio 1623 ; yet that of 1632 is not without value ; for though it be in some places more incorrectly printed than the preceding one, it has likewise the advantage of various readings, which are not merely such as reiteration of copies will naturally produce. The curious examiner of Shakspeare's text, who possesses the first of these, ought not to be unfurnished with the second. As to the third and fourth impressions (which include the seven rejected plays) they are little better than waste paper, for they differ only from the preceding ones by a larger accumulation of errors. I had inadvertently given a similar character of the folio 1632 ; but take this opportunity of confessing a mistake into which I was led by too implicit a reliance on the assertions of others. STEEVENS.

Enough has been already said on this question. Mr. Steevens, I believe, stood nearly alone in the high opinion he expressed of the second folio ; but the reader may judge for himself from the perusal of the arguments which have been brought forward by the two criticks in their respective prefaces in 1790 and 1793. Mr. Malone was of opinion that probably Thomas Randolph was the person who superintended the publication of the second folio. Randolph [as he observes] was born in 1600, and consequently when he became a writer must have been some years removed from the date of many of Shakspeare's earlier plays. His *Aristippus* was printed for Robert Allot in

⁸ It was printed in 1619, as appears from an edition of *Pericles*, printed by Pavier in that year [vide supra], the first sheet of which begins with signature R ; the last sheet of this is Q. MALONE.

1630, who would probably select a poet as the editor of Shakspeare's works. It has been absurdly argued (says Mr. Malone) "that the language could not have undergone so great a change in nine years, that is from 1623 to 1632; but this is a mis-statement. The question is not when Shakspeare's plays were printed, but when they were written. That alterations had taken place in the language is evident from the alterations which were made by D'Avenant in *The Tempest* and *Macbeth* from the sophistications that are to be met with in the latter editions of Spenser, from our author's own poems, and from almost every work of that age which underwent several impressions." BOSWELL.]

I. Mr. William Shakspeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true original Copies, 1623, Fol. Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, J. Smethweeke, and W. Aspley⁹.

*The Dedication of the Players*¹, prefixed to the first folio, 1623.

To the most Noble and Incomparable Paire of Brethren,
William Earle of Pembroke, &c. Lord Chamberlaine
to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. and Philip
Earle of Montgomery, &c. Gentleman of his Majes-
ties Bed-chamber. Both Knights of the Most Noble
Order of the Garter, and our singular good Lords.

Right Honourable,

Whilst we studie to be thankful in our particular, for
the many favors we have received from your L. L. we are

⁹ It seems, from such a partnership, that no single publisher was at that time willing to risk his money on a complete collection of our author's plays. STEEVENS.

It rather arose from several of these booksellers having a property in the quarto plays which were here reprinted. MALONE.

false upon the ill fortune, to mingle two the most diverse things that can bee, feare, and rashnesse; rashnesse in

Every possible adulteration has of late years been practised in fitting up copies of this book for sale.

When leaves have been wanting, they have been reprinted with battered types, and foisted into vacancies, without notice of such defects and the remedies applied to them.

When the title has been lost, a spurious one has been fabricated, with a blank space left for the head of Shakspeare, afterwards added from the second, third, or fourth impression. To conceal these frauds, thick vermilion lines have been usually drawn over the edges of the engravings, which would otherwise have betrayed themselves when let into a supplemental page, however craftily it was lined at the back, and discoloured with tobacco-water till it had assumed the true *jaune antique*.

Sometimes leaves have been inserted from the second folio, and, in a known instance, the entire play of Cymbeline; the genuine date at the end of it [1632] having been altered into 1623.

Since it was thought advantageous to adopt such contrivances while the book was only valued at six or seven guineas, now it has reached its present enormous price, may not artifice be still more on the stretch to vamp up copies for the benefit of future catalogues and auctions?—Shakspeare might say of those who profit by him, what Antony has observed of Enobarbus—

“—— my fortunes have

“ Corrupted honest men.”

Mr. Garrick, about forty years ago, paid only 1*l.* 16*s.* to Mr. Payne at the Mews Gate for a fine copy of this folio.—After the death of our Roscius, it should have accompanied his collection of old plays to the British Museum; but had been taken out of his library, and has not been heard of since.

Here I might particularize above twenty other copies; but as their description would not always meet the wishes or interests of their owners, it may be as well omitted.

Perhaps the original impression of the book did not amount to more than 250; and we may suppose that different fires in London had their share of them. Before the year 1649 they were

the enterprize, and feare of the successe. For, when we valew the places your H. H. sustaine, we cannot but so scarce, that (as Mr. Malone has observed) King Charles I. was obliged to content himself with a folio of 1632, at present in my possession.

Of all volumes, those of popular entertainment are soonest injured. It would be difficult to name four folios that are oftener found in dirty and mutilated condition, than this first assemblage of Shakspeare's plays—God's Revenge against Murder—The Gentleman's Recreation—and Johnson's Lives of the Highway-men.

Though Shakspeare was not, like Fox the Martyrologist, deposited in churches, to be thumbed by the congregation, he generally took post on our hall tables; and that a multitude of his pages have "their effect of gravity," may be imputed to the various eatables set out every morning on the same boards. It should seem that most of his readers were so chary of their time, that (like Pistol, who gnaws his leek and swears all the while) they fed and studied at the same instant. I have repeatedly met with thin flakes of piecrust between the leaves of our author. These unctuous fragments, remaining long in close confinement, communicated their grease to several pages deep on each side of them. It is easy enough to conceive how such accidents might happen;—how aunt Bridget's mastication might be disordered at the sudden entry of the Ghost into the Queen's closet, and how the half-chewed morsel dropped out of the gaping 'Squire's mouth, when the visionary Banquo seated himself in the chair of Macbeth. Still, it is no small eulogium on Shakspeare, that his claims were more forcible than those of hunger.—Most of the first folios now extant, are known to have belonged to ancient families resident in the country.

Since our breakfasts have become less gross, our favourite authors have escaped with fewer injuries; not that (as a very nice friend of mine observes) those who read with a coffee-cup in their hands, are to be numbered among the contributors to bibliothecal purity.

I claim the merit of being the first commentator on Shakspeare who strove, with becoming seriousness, to account for the frequent stains that disgrace the earliest folio edition of his plays, which is

know their dignity greater, then to descend to the reading of these trifles : and, while we name them trifles, we have depriv'd ourselves of the defence of our Dedication. But since your L. L. have been pleas'd to thinke these trifles some-thing, heeretofore ; and have prosecuted both them, and their Authour living, with so much favour : we hope that (they out-living him, and he not having the fate, common with some, to be exequutor to his owne writings) you will use the same indulgence toward them, you have done unto their parent. There is a great difference, whether any booke choose his Patrones, or finde them : This hath done both. For, so much were your L. L. likings of the severall parts, when they were acted, as before they were published, the Volume ask'd to be yours. We have but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians ; without ambition either of selfe-profit, or fame : onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, and Fellow alive, as was our SHAKESPEARE, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage. Wherein, as we have justly observed, no man to come neere your L. L. but with a kind of religious addresse, it hath bin the height of our care, who are the Presenters, to make the present worthy of your H. H. by the perfection. But, there we must also crave our abilities to be considered, my Lords. We cannot go

now become the most expensive single book in our language ; for what other English volume without plates, and printed since the year 1600, is known to have sold, more than once, for thirty-five pounds, fourteen shillings ? STEEVENS.

It has become still more expensive. *Ipsē miserrimus* gave a much larger sum at Mr. Kemble's sale ; but I could not bring myself to a cold calculation of the value of a copy which was at once a memorial of Shakspeare and of Kemble. BOSWELL.

' If any thing is gained by preserving the old spelling in Heminge and Condell's dedication and preface, it should be strictly adhered to. It has hitherto been printed, but not correctly, from the second folio. BOSWELL.

beyond our owne powers. Country hands reach foorth milke, creame, fruites, or what they have: and many Nations (we have heard) that had not gummes and incense, obtained their requests with a leavened Cake². It was no fault to approch their Gods by what meanes they could: And the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to Temples. In that name therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your H. H. these remaines of your servant SHAKESPEARE; that what delight is in them may be ever your L. L. the reputation his, and the faults ours, if any be committed, by a payre so carefull to shew their gratitude both to the living, and the dead, as is

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

JOHN HEMINGE,

HENRY CONDELL.

The Preface of the Players. Prefixed to the first folio edition published in 1623.

To the great variety of Readers,

From the most able, to him that can but spell: there you are number'd. We had rather you were weigh'd. Especially, when the fate of all Bookes depends upon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well! it is now publique, and you wil

² Country hands reach forth MILK, &c. and many nations—that had not gummes and INCENSE, obtained their requests with a leavened Cake.] This seems to have been one of the common-places of dedication in Shakspeare's age. We find it in Morley's Dedication of a Book of Songs to Sir Robert Cecil, 1595: "I have presumed" (says he) "to make offer of these simple compositions of mine, imitating (right honourable) in this the customs of the old world, who wanting *incense* to offer up to their gods, made shift insteade thereof to honour them with *milk*." The same thought (if I recollect right) is again employed by the players in their dedication of Fletcher's plays, folio, 1647.

MALONE.

stand for your priviledges wee know : to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend a Booke, the Stationer saies. Then, how odde soever your braines be, or your wisdomes, make your licence the same, and spare not. Judge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your five shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the just rates, and welcome. But, whatever you do, Buy. Censure will not drive a Trade, or make the Jacke go. And though you be a Magistrate of wit, and sit on the Stage at Black-Friers, or the Cock-pit, to arraigne Playes dailie, know, these Playes have had their triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales ; and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court, than any purchas'd Letters of commendation.

It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the Author himselfe had lived to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings ; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you, doe not envie his Friends, the office of their care and paine, to have collected and publish'd them ; and so to have publish'd them, as where³ (before) you were abus'd with divers stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them : even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes ; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived thē : Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together : and what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarce received from him a blot in his papers. But it is not our province, who onely gather his works, and give them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your divers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you : for his wit can no more lie hid, then it

³ — as WHERE —] i. e. whereas. MALONE.

could be lost. Reade him, therefore ; and againe, and againe : And if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not to understand him. And so we leave you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides : if you neede them not, you can leade yourselves, and others. And such readers we wish him.

JOHN HEMINGE,
HENRIE CONDELL.

After the publication of my first edition of Shakspeare's works, a notion struck me, that the preface prefixed by the players, in 1623, to their edition of his plays, had much of the manner of Ben Jonson ; and an attentive comparison of that preface with various passages in Jonson's writings having abundantly supported and confirmed my conjecture, I do not hesitate now to assert that the greater part of it was written by him. Hemings and Condell being themselves wholly unused to composition, and having been furnished by Jonson, whose reputation was then at the height, with a copy of verses in praise of Shakspeare, and with others on the engraved portrait prefixed to his plays, would naturally apply to him for assistance in that part of the work in which they were, for the first time, to address the publick in their own names. Whatever, therefore, occurred to them on this subject, they submitted, I imagine, to Jonson's revision ; and, not approving of their performance, I conceive, he wrote the greater part of it anew : at least, I think I can show the whole of the first member of this address, comprising eighteen lines out of forty, to be *entirely his* ; and though in the remainder he did not, I believe, proceed as in the former part, *unâ liturâ*, yet his revising hand may be traced there also. This production has already been laid before the reader at length ; I shall now decompose it, by submitting each member of it separately to his view ; and a minute comparison of the first half of this preface with

various passages in Jonson's works, will, I conceive, establish my hypothesis beyond a doubt. The only indulgence I claim is, that the reader will not too hastily pronounce this or the other passage to contain only a fanciful resemblance, nor form his judgment till he has examined *the whole* of this paper; remembering always that other writers beside Jonson have frequently *repeated themselves*.

*The Players' Preface to their
Edition of Shakspeare.*

The Address subscribed with the names of Hemings and Condell, begins thus :

1. "To the great *variety* of Readers.

"From the most *able*, to him that can but *spell*—."

*Corresponding Passages in Jonson's
Works.*

1. In like manner we find prefixed to Catiline, in 1611, two Addresses :

"To the Reader in ordinary—
"To the Reader extraordinary,—"
or in other words,—

"To the great *variety* of Readers."

The reader extraordinary is, in the corresponding passage, "*the most able*;" "the reader in ordinary," he "that can but spell."

So also, in the Preface to the New Inn, a comedy, by Ben Jonson, acted in 1629, and printed in 1631 :

"To the Reader.

"If thou beest *such* [i. e. if thou can'st indeed *read*], I make thee my patron, and dedicate my work to thee. If not so much, would that I had been at the charge of thy better literature. Howsoever, *if thou can'st but spell*, and join my sense, there is more hope of thee, than a hundred fastidious impertinents."

2. "—— there you are *numbered*; we had rather you were *weighed*."

2. "Suffrages in parliament are *numbered*, not *weighed*." (Discovers, by Ben Jonson, written after 1630.)

*The Players' Preface to their
Edition of Shakspeare.*

*Corresponding Passages in Jonson's
Works.*

Or, in other language, the question is carried by the tale or number, not the weight or respectability of the voters.

3. "Especially when the fate of all books depends on your capacities and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. *Well! it is now publique*, and you will stand for your *privileges*, we know,—to read and *censure*. Do so; but *buy* it first: *that doth best commend a book, the stationer says.*"

3. "*Well!* my modesty shall sit down and let the world call it guilt or what it will," &c. (Letter from Ben Jonson to Toby Matthews.)

This is merely noticed for the purpose of marking Jonson's ordinary phraseology. The parallelism is found in different parts of Jonson's works. Thus, in his 131st Epigram, 1616, we find:

"When *we do give*, Alphonso, to
the light

"*A worke of ours*, we part with
our own right;

"For then all mouthes will *judge*,
"and their own way;

"The learn'd have no more *privi-
lege* than the lay:

"And though we could all men,
all *censures* heare," &c.

And in his third Epigram, we have—

"To my *Bookseller*.

"Thou that mak'st gain thy end,
and wisely well

"*Call'st a book good or bad, as it
doth sell;*

"Use mine so too."

It should be remembered that in the two passages here compared, *stationer* and *bookseller* have the same meaning; these two words being synonymous during Jonson's life-time.

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Edition of Shakspeare.*

4. "Then, *how odde soever* [i. e. *how unequal soever*] *your braines be or your wisdomes*, make your license the same, and spare not."

[The word *odd* being here used in its original sense, as opposed to that which is *even* or *equal*, has not hitherto, I believe, been generally understood; being now commonly used in the sense of *singular*, *extraordinary*, or *whimsical*. The context in the corresponding passage decisively ascertains its meaning here.]

5. "*Judge your sixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your five shillings worth* at a time, or higher, so you rise to the just rates and welcome. But, whatsoever you do, buy. *Censure* will not drive a trade -."

[In the corresponding passage in Bartholomew Fair, the words, "it shall be lawfull for any man to judge his sixe-pen'orth," &c. are perfectly clear, each person being allowed to censure according to the price he had paid for his place in the playhouse, from sixpence to half a crown, which was then the highest rate. But as applied to the purchasers of the folio edition of our author's plays, they are

*Corresponding Passages in Jonson's
Works.*

4. So, in the Discoveries:

"Suffrages in parliament are numbered, not weighed; nor can it be otherwise in those publique counsels where nothing is so *unequal* as the equality; for there, *how odde soever mens braines or wisdomes are*, their power is always *even* and the same."

In the preface to Catiline, 1611, he again alludes to the general claim to judging and censuring, *however unqualified the reader* may be:

"Would I had deserved but half so well of it in translation, as that ought to deserve of you in *judgment*, if you have any. I know you will pretend, *whosoever you are*, to have that and more; but all pretensions are not just claims."

5. So, in the Induction to Bartholomew Fair, acted in 1614:

"It is further agreed that every person here have his free will of censure.... It shall be lawfull for any man to *judge his sixe-pen'orth, his twelve pen'orth, so to his eighteen pence, two shillings, and half a crowne*, to the value of his place, provided alwaies his place get not above his wit.... He shall put in for *censures* here, as they do for lots in the lottery: marry, if he drop but *sixe-pence* at the doore, and will *censure a crowne's worth*, it is thought there is no conscience or justice in that."

Again, in The Magnetick Lady, acted in 1632:

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Edition of Shakspeare.*

liable to some objection; for no one could buy sixpen'orth, or five shillings worth of that book: he must purchase the whole volume, which was probably sold for twenty shillings, or none. The same train of thought occurring to old Ben in both cases, he appears, therefore, to have introduced it here with somewhat less propriety. Having been in the habit of frequently using this language to the various spectators of a play, paying various prices for their amusement, he could not refrain from addressing the readers of one in the same way.—The passage, however, with some indulgence, may admit of this interpretation: 'If you do but rise to the just rates, that is, if you do but purchase the book, you may read it at your leisure, and pass your sentence on six-pen'orth of it at one time, a shilling's worth at another time, and five shillings' worth at another; just as your fancy may direct, till you have perused the whole volume.'

6. "And though you be a *Magistrate of wit*, and sit on the stage at Blackfriars or the Cockpit, to arraigne playes daillie, know, these playes have had their triall already, and stood out all appeals."

*Corresponding Passages in Jonson's
Works.*

"*Dam-play*. I see no reason, if I come here and pay my eighteen pence or two shillings for my seat, but I should take it out in *censure* on the stage.

"*Boy*. Your *two shillings worth* is allowed you; but you will take your *ten shillings worth*, your *twenty shillings worth*, and more."

6. So, in *The Magnetick Lady*:
"—— if I can but hold them all together, . . .

"I shall have just reason to believe

"*My wit is magisterial*."

Again, *ibid.*:

"And therefore, Mr. Damplay, unless like a solemn *justice of wit*, you will damn our play unheard and unexamined."

Of this notion Jonson was so

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Edition of Shakspeare.*

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Works.*

fond, that he has repeated it no less than six times. Thus, in the Induction to Bartholomew-Fair, 1614 :

"It is also agreed, that every man here exercise his own judgment, and not *censure* by contagion, or upon trust from another's voice or face that sits by him, *be he never so first in the commission of wit* ; as also that he be fixd and settled in his censure ; that what he approves or not approves to-day, he will do the same to-morrow, and if to-morrow, the next day (if need be), and not to be brought about by any that *sit on the bench with him*, though they indite and *arraigne plaies dailie*."

Again, in the Induction to the Staple of Newes, acted in 1625 :

"But what will the noblemen thinke, or the *grave wits*, to see you *seated on the bench*, thus?"

[The *bench* is used metaphorically, and means here, and in the foregoing passage, the judicial bench of *wit*, as appears from several other places.]

Again, *ibid.* :

"—— such as had a longing to see plays and *sit upon them*, as we do, and *arraigne* both *them* and their poets."

Again, in the same play :

"—— he is the very *justice o' peace o' the play*, and can commit whom he will and what he will, error, absurdity, as the toy takes him."

Again, *ibid.* :

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Works.*

"It was a plain piece of political incest, and worthy to be brought afore the high *commission of wit*."

See also Jonson's Ode on his New Inn being damned, 8vo. 1631 :

"Come leave the loathed *stage*,

"And the more loathsome age,

"Where pride and impudence, in
faction knit,

"Usurp the *chair of wit* ;

"Indicting and *arraigning every
day*

"Something they call a *play* :

"Let their fastidious, vaine,

"*Commission of the braine*

"Run on and rage, sweat, *censure
and condemn*,

"They were not made for thee,
less then for them."

Again, in Jonson's verses to Fletcher on his Faithful Shepherdess :

"The wise and many-headed
bench that sits

"Upon the life and death of plays
and *wits*,

"Composed of gamester, captain,
knight, knight's man,

"Lady, or pusil, that weares
maske or fan,

"Velvet or tafata cap, rank'd in
the dark,

"With the shop's foreman or some
such brave sparke,

"That may *judge for his sixpence*,
before

"They saw it halfe, damn'd thy
whole play and more."

7. "You will stand for your

7. So, in The Magnetick Lady:

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privileges, we know, to read and censure.... These playes have had their triall alreadie and stood out all appeales; and do now come forth quitted rather by a decree of court then any purchased letters of commendation."

*Corresponding Passages in Jonson's
Works.*

"I care not for marking of the play. . . . I'll damn it, talk and do that I come for. I will not have gentlemen lose their *privilege*, nor I my prerogative for ne'er an overgrown or superannuated poet of them all. I will *censure* and be witty, . . . and enjoy my *magna charta of reprehension* as my predecessors have done before me."

In the Dedication of *The Silent Woman*, folio, 1616, we find the following passage :

"This makes that I now number you, not only in the name of favour, but the name of *justice* to what I write, and doe presently call you to the exercise of that noblest and manliest virtue; as courting rather to be *freed* in my fame by the authority of a judge, then the credit of an undertaker."

[As "the authority of a judge" here stands in the place of a "decree of court," in the corresponding passage, so the words—"the credit of an undertaker," represent "any purchased letters of commendation;" an *undertaker*, in Jonson's time, signifying 'a friend who sides or joins with another in any cause; a maintainer or partisan.']

Quitted, not *acquitted*, was Jonson's phraseology. So, in *The Alchemist*, 1610 :

"—— Yet I put my life

"On you that are my country, and
this pelfe

"Which I have got, if you do *quit*
me, rests,

"To feast you often."

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8. "But since it hath been ordained otherwise, and he by death departed from that right—"

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Works.*

8. "It is further agreed that every person here has his or their free will of censure, . . . the *author* having now departed with his right—." (Induction to Bartholomew Fair, 1614.)

So also, in *The Devil's an Ass*, 1616 :

"— that time is yours,

"My right I have departed with—"

Again, in the address to the ordinary Reader, prefixed to *Catiline*, 1611 :

"It is your own ; I departed with my right when I let it first abroad."

So again, in his 131st Epigram :

"When we do give, Alphonso, to the light,

"A work of ours, we part with our own right."

Though these passages relate to the departing with a right, in a loss by publication, and in the corresponding passage, by death, yet the expression is nearly the same : and these passages, at least, show how often Jonson repeated the same thought.

9. "— we pray you do not envy his friends the office of their care and paine to have collected and published them " (the writings of Shakspeare).

9. In this phraseology there appears somewhat of a Latin air : "Do not envy his friends the office of publishing them," or, "do not envy his friends their care and pain in publishing," would have been, I think, the language of men who merely wished to make themselves understood ; but "the office of their care" is scarcely intelligible,

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10. "— and so to have published them, as where [whereas], before, you were abased with diverse stolne and *surreptitious* copies, maimed and deformed by the stealth of injurious impostors, that exposed them; even those are now ordered to your view, cured and *perfect* of their limbs, and all the rest *absolute in their numbers*, as he conceived them."

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Works.*

unless *office* were used in the sense of duty, as certainly it was in this instance. So, in Catiline:

I must with *offices* and patience win him."

On so slight a circumstance little reliance could be placed, were it not corroborated by more decisive proofs. However, I may mention that in *The Discoveries* we find—

"I have ever observed it to have been *the office* of a wise patriot among the greatest affairs of the state *to take care* of the commonwealth of learning."

10. So, in *Every Man in his Humour*:

"— and though that in him this kind of *poem* appeared *absolute* and *fully perfected*—."

Again, in the Address to the Reader, prefixed to *Sejanus*, 4to. 1605:

"Lastly I would inform you that this *book in all numbers* is not the same with that which was acted on the publick stage."

Again, in the Dedication of *Jonson's Epigrams* to Lord Pembroke, 1616:

"— or if all answers not *in all numbers* the pictures I have made of them, I hope it will be forgiven me, . . . that they are no ill pieces, though they be not like the persons."

Again, in the Epilogue to *The New Inn*, 1631 [he is speaking of his plays]:

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Works.*

" — But do him right ;

" He meant to please you, for he
sent things fit

" *In all the numbers* both of sense
and wit."

Again, in his Underwoods :

" Eupheme, or the fair fame
left to posteritie of that truly noble
lady, the lady Venetia Digby late
wife of Sir Kenelm Digby, Knight,
a gentleman absolute *in all num-
bers.*"

Again, in his Discoveries :

" But his learned and able
though unfortunate successor is he,
who hath *fill'd up all numbers*, and
performed that in our tongue which
may be compared or preferred
either to insolent Greece or
haughty Rome."

Again, in his 95th Epigram :

" I should believe the soule of
Tacitus

" In thee, most worthie Savile,
liv'd to us ;

" So hast thou render'd him in all
his bounds,

" And *all his numbers* both of
sense and sounds."

" Absolute in their numbers " is
a pure Latinism,—*omnibus nume-
ris absolutus* ; and the words *sur-
reptitious* and *exposed*, in the sense
of *made publick*, smell strongly of
old Ben.

(Of the phrase, " cured and per-
fect in their limbs," applied to
poetical productions correctly pub-
lished, some example may perhaps
be hereafter found in Jonson's

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works, though I have not met with
it.

11. "Read him therefore, and
again and again; and if then you
do not like him, surely you are in
some manifest danger *not to under-
stand* him."

11. Jonson was fond of this
contrast between *reading* and *un-
derstanding*. So, in his address to
the ordinary reader, prefixed to
Catiline, 1611 :

"Though you commend the two
first acts, with the people, because
they are the worst, and dislike the
oration of Cicero, in regard you
read some passages of it at school,
and *understand* them not yet³, I
shall find the way to forgive you."

See also his first Epigram, 1616 :

"To the Reader.

"Pray thee, take care, that tak'st
my book in hand,

"To *read it well*, that is, to *under-
stand*."

From these numerous and marked coincidences, it is,
I think, manifest, that every word of the first half of
this address to the reader, which is signed with the names
of John Hemings and Henry Condell, was written by Ben
Jonson. They perhaps had thrown on paper, in the best
manner they could, some introductory paragraphs, which
Jonson, not approving, instead of mending them, cured
by a total erasure.

Though he was afterwards (as I conceive) more merci-
ful, his hand may be clearly, though not uniformly, traced
in the second part also; but the foundation of this latter
part, I imagine, was laid by the players themselves, and
the passage that relates to the writings and amiable man-

³ Copied by W. B. in verse, before *The Bondman*.

ners of Shakspeare, was unquestionably written by them, ("who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature," &c.) for it contains an observation to which Jonson particularly alludes in his Discoveries, and in which he differed from them. It is observable that although the rest of this Address is plentifully sprinkled with Latinisms, in this single passage, which I have no doubt was their own composition, they say—"and what he thought he uttered with that *easiness*, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers," using the familiar English word (*easiness*) which would naturally occur to those unacquainted with Latin; whereas Jonson, in his Discoveries, writing on the same topick, says—"wherein he flowed with that *facility* that sometime it was necessary he should be stopp'd."

II. D°. 1632. Fol. Tho. Cotes, for Rob. Allot.

III. D°. 1664. Fol. for P. C⁴.

IV. D°. 1685. Fol. for H. Herringham, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley. STEEVENS.

MODERN EDITIONS.

Octavo, Rowe's, London, 1709, 7 vols.

Duodecimo, Rowe's, ditto, 1714, 9 ditto.

Quarto, Pope's, ditto, 1725, 6 ditto.

Duodecimo, Pope's, ditto, 1728, 10 ditto.

Octavo, Theobald's, ditto, 1733, 7 ditto.

Duodecimo, Theobald's, ditto, 1740, 8 ditto.

⁴ This edition of our author's plays is scarcer than even the folio 1623. Being published towards the end of 1664, most of the copies were destroyed in the fire of London, 1666.

STEEVENS.

- Quarto, Hanmer's, Oxford, 1744, 6 ditto.
 Octavo, Warburton's, London, 1747, 8 ditto.
 Ditto, Johnson's, ditto, 1765, 8 ditto.
 Ditto, Steevens's, ditto, 1766, 4 ditto.
 Crown 8vo. Capell's, 1768, 10 ditto.
 Quarto, Hanmer's, Oxford, 1771, 6 ditto.
 Octavo, Johnson and Steevens, London, 1773, 10 ditto.
 Ditto, second edition, ditto, 1778, 10 ditto.
 Ditto (published by Stockdale) 1784, 1 ditto.
 Ditto, Johnson and Steevens, 1785, third edition,
 revised and augmented by the editor of Dodsley's
 Collection of old Plays (i. e. Mr. Reed), 10 ditto.
 Duodecimo (published by Bell), London, 1788, 20 vols.
 Octavo (published by Stockdale), 1790, 1 ditto.
 Crown 8vo. Malone's, ditto, 1790, 10 ditto.
 Octavo, fourth edition, Johnson and Steevens, &c. ditto,
 1793, 15 ditto.
 Octavo, fifth edition, Johnson and Steevens, by Reed,
 1803, 21 ditto.
 The dramatick Works of Shakspeare, in 6 vols, 8vo.
 with Notes by Joseph Rann, A. M. Vicar of St.
 Trinity, in Coventry.—Clarendon Press, Oxford.
 Vol. i. 1786
 Vol. ii. 1787
 Vol. iii. 1789
 Vol. iv. 1791
 Vol. v. } 1794
 Vol. vi. }

The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, corrected from the latest and best London Edition, with Notes, by Samuel Johnson, LL. D. To which are added, a Glossary, and Life of the Author. Imbellished with a striking likeness from the collection of his Grace the Duke of Chandos. First American Edition. Philadelphia, printed and sold by Bioren and Madan, 1795.

The reader may not be displeased to know the exact sums paid to the different editors of Shakspeare. The following account is taken from the books of the late Mr. Tonson :

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Mr. Rowe	36	10	0
Mr. Hughes ^s	28	7	0
Mr. Pope	217	12	0
Mr. Fenton ⁶	30	12	0
Mr. Gay ⁷	35	19	6
Mr. Whatley ⁸	12	0	0
Mr. Theobald ⁹	652	10	0
Mr. Warburton	560	0	0
Dr. Johnson [*]			
Mr. Capell	300	0	0

Of these editions some have passed several times through the press ; but only such as vary from each other are here enumerated.

To this list might be added, several spurious and mutilated impressions ; but as they appear to have been executed without the smallest degree of skill either in the manners or language of the time of Shakspeare, and as the

^s For correcting the press and making an index to Mr. Rowe's 12mo. edition.

⁶ For assistance to Mr. Pope in correcting the press.

⁷ For the same services.

⁸ For correcting the sheets of Mr. Pope's 12mo.

⁹ Of Mr. Theobald's edition no less than 12,860 have been printed.

^{*} From the late Mr. Tonson's books it appears, that Dr. Johnson received copies of his edition for his subscribers, the first cost of which was 375*l.* and afterwards 105*l.* in money. Total 480*l.*

names of their respective editors are prudently concealed, it were useless to commemorate the number of their volumes, or the distinct date of each publication.

Some of our legitimate editions will afford a sufficient specimen of the fluctuation of price in books.—An ancient quarto was sold for sixpence; and the folios 1623 and 1632, when first printed, could not have been rated higher than at ten shillings each².—Very lately, seven pounds, five shillings; and seventeen pounds, six shillings and six-pence, have been paid for a quarto; the first folio has been repeatedly sold for twenty-five pounds; and also for thirty-five pounds, fourteen shillings: but what price may be expected for it hereafter, is not very easy to be determined, the conscience of Mr. Fox, bookseller, in Holborn, having once permitted him to ask no less than *two guineas for two leaves* out of a mutilated copy of that impression, though he had several, almost equally defective, in his shop. The second folio is commonly rated at two or three guineas³.

At the late Mr. Jacob Tonson's sale, in the year 1767, one hundred and forty copies of Mr. Pope's edition of Shakspeare, in six volumes quarto (for which the subscribers paid six guineas), were disposed of among the booksellers at sixteen shillings per set. Seven hundred and fifty of this edition were printed.

At the same sale, the remainder of Dr. Warburton's

² I have since discovered, from an ancient MS. note in a copy of the folio 1623, belonging to Messieurs White, booksellers in Fleet Street, that the original price of this volume was—*one pound*. STEEVENS.

³ And is not worth three shillings. See an account of it, in the Preface to the present edition [Mr. Malone's, 1790].

MALONE.

See, however, the Advertisement prefixed to this edition [1793].

STEEVENS.

edition, in eight volumes octavo, printed in 1747 (of which the original price was two pounds eight shillings, and the number printed, one thousand), was sold off: viz. one hundred and seventy-eight copies, at eighteen shillings each.

On the contrary, Sir Thomas Hanmer's edition, printed at Oxford in 1744, which was first sold for three guineas, had arisen to nine or ten, before it was reprinted.

It appears, however, from the foregoing catalogue (when all reiterations of legitimate editions are taken into the account, together with five spurious ones printed in Ireland, one in Scotland, one at Birmingham, and four in London, making in the whole thirty-seven impressions) that not less than 37,500 copies of our author's works have been dispersed, exclusive of the quartos, single plays, and such as have been altered for the stage. Of the latter, as exact a list as I have been able to form, with the assistance of Mr. Reed, of Staple-Inn (than whom no man is more conversant with English publications both ancient and modern, or more willing to assist the literary undertakings of others), will be found in the course of the following pages. STEEVENS.

A LIST

OF THE

MOST AUTHENTICK ANCIENT EDITIONS

OF

SHAKSPEARE'S POEMS.

1. Venus and Adonis, 4to. imprinted by Richard Field, 1593⁴.
2. Venus and Adonis, 1596, small octavo, or rather, decimo sexto, R. F. for John Harrison.
Reprinted in 1600, 1602, 1617, 1620, 1630, &c.
3. Lucrece, quarto, 1594, Richard Field, for John Harrison.
Reprinted in small octavo, in 1596, 1598, 1600, 1607, 1616, 1624, 1632, &c.
4. The Passionate Pilgrim [being a collection of Poems by Shakspeare], small octavo, 1599, for W. Jaggard, sold by William Leake.
5. The Passionate Pilgrime, or certain amorous Sonnets between Venus and Adonis, &c. The third edition, small octavo, 1612, W. Jaggard.
I know not when the second edition was printed.
6. Shakspeare's Sonnets, never before imprinted, quarto, 1609, G. Eld, for T. T.

⁴ In a manuscript diary that lately passed through the hands of Francis Douce, Esq. there is the following entry on the 12th of June, 1593:

“ For the Survay of Fraunce with the Venus } xii d.
and Adhonay pr. Shaksperc }

An edition of Shakspeare's Sonnets, differing in many particulars from the original, and intermixed with the poems contained in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and with several poems written by Thomas Heywood, was printed in 1640, in small octavo, by Thomas Cotes, sold by John Benson.

MODERN EDITIONS.

Shakspeare's Poems, small octavo, for Bernard Lintot, no date, but printed in 1710.

The Sonnets in this edition were printed from the quarto of 1609; *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, from very late editions, full of errors.

The Poems of William Shakspeare, containing his *Venus and Adonis*, *Rape of Lucrece*, *Sonnets*, *Passionate Pilgrim*, and *A Lover's Complaint*, printed from the authentick copies, by Malone, in octavo, 1780.

Ditto, Second Edition, with the author's plays, crown octavo, 1790.

Spurious editions of Shakspeare's Poems have also been published by Gildon, Sewell, Evans, &c. MALONE.

PLAYS

ASCRIBED TO SHAKSPEARE,

Either by the Editors of the two later Folios, or by the Compilers of ancient Catalogues.

1. Arraignment of Paris, 1584^s, Henry Marsh.
2. Birth of Merlin, 1662. Tho. Johnson, for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh.

^s It appears from an epistle prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, that *The Arraignment of Paris* was written by George Peele, the author of *King David* and *fair Bethsabe*, &c. 1599.

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3. Edward III.^s 1596, for Cuthbert Burby. 2. 1599, Simon Stafford, for ditto.
4. Fair Em⁶, 1631, for John Wright.
5. Locrine, 1595, Thomas Creede.
6. London Prodigal, 1605.
7. Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1608, Henry Ballard, for Arthur Johnson. 2. 1617, G. Eld, for ditto. 3. 1626, A. M. for Francis Falkner. 4. 1631, T. P. for ditto. 5. 1655, for W. Gilbertson.
8. Mucedorus, 1598, for William Jones. 2. 1610, for ditto. 3. 1615, N. O. for ditto. 4. 1639, for John Wright. 5. no date, for Francis Coles. 6. 1668, E. O. for ditto.
9. Pericles, 1609, for Henry Gosson. 2. 1619, for T. P. 3. 1630, J. N. for R. B. 4. 1635, Thomas Cotes.
10. Puritan, 1600⁷, and 1607, G. Eld.
11. Sir John Oldcastle, 1600, for T. P.
12. Thomas Lord Cromwell, 1613, Tho. Snodham.
13. Two Noble Kinsmen, 1634, Tho. Cotes, for John Waterson.
14. Yorkshire Tragedy, 1608, R. B. for T. Pavier. Ditto, 1619, for T. P. STEEVENS.

^s See the preceding extracts from the books at Stationers' Hall.

⁶ Fair Em,] In Mr. Garrick's Collection is a volume, formerly belonging to King Charles II. which is lettered on the back, "SHAKESPEARE, Vol. I." This volume consists of Fair Em, The Merry Devil, &c. Mucedorus, &c. There is no other authority for ascribing Fair Em to our author.

⁷ The existence of this edition has been doubted. REED.

A LIST
OF
PLAYS ALTERED FROM SHAKSPEARE.

Invenies etiam disjecti membra poetæ.

Tempest.

The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island. A Comedy, acted in Dorset Garden. By Sir W. D'Avenant and Dryden, 4to. 1669.

The Tempest, made into an Opera by Shadwell in 1673. See Downes's *Roscus Anglicanus*, p. 34.

The Tempest, an Opera taken from Shakspeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1756.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble. Acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1790.

Two Gentlemen of Verona.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona. A Comedy written by Shakspeare, with Alterations and Additions, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Victor. 8vo. 1763.

Midsummer-Night's Dream.

The Humours of Bottom the Weaver, by Robert Cox. 4to.

The Fairy Queen, an Opera, represented at the Queen's Theatre by their Majesties Servants. 4to. 1692.

Pyramus and Thisbe, a comick Masque, written by Richard Leveridge, performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields. 8vo. 1716.

Pyramus and Thisbe, a mock Opera, written by Shak-

speare. Set to musick by Mr. Lampe. Performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. 8vo. 1745.

The Fairies, an Opera, taken from a Midsummer-Night's Dream written by Shakspeare, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1755^{*}.

A Midsummer-Night's Dream, written by Shakspeare, with Alterations and Additions, and several new Songs. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. 8vo. 1763.

A Fairy Tale, in two Acts, taken from Shakspeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. 8vo. 1763.

Merry Wives of Windsor.

The Comical Gallant, or the Amours of Sir John Falstaffe. A Comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesties Servants. By Mr. Dennis. 4to. 1702.

Twelfth-Night.

In the preface to Love Betray'd, or the Agreeable Disappointment, a Comedy, by Charles Burnaby, 1703, that author appears to have taken part of the tale of this play, and about fifty lines from it.

Much Ado About Nothing.

The Law against Lovers. By Sir W. Davenant. Fol. 1673.

^{*} " Garrick has produced a detestable English Opera, which is crowded by all true lovers of their country. To mark the opposition to Italian Operas, it is sung by some cast singers, two Italians, and a French girl, and the Chapel boys; and to regale us with sense, it is *Shakspeare's* MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, which is forty times more nonsensical than the worst translation of any Italian opera-books."

Letter from Lord Orford to Richard Bentley, Esq. Feb. 23, 1755. See his Lordship's works, vol. v. p. 312.

The Universal Passion. A Comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesties Servants. By James Miller. 8vo. 1737⁹.

Measure for Measure.

The Law against Lovers, by Sir W. D'Avenant. Fol. 1673.

Measure for Measure, or Beauty the best Advocate. As it is acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields; written originally by Mr. Shakspeare, and now very much altered: with additions of several Entertainments of Musick. By Mr. Gildon. 4to. 1700.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo. 1789.

Love's Labour's Lost.

The Students, a Comedy, altered from Shakspeare's Love's Labour's Lost, and adapted to the stage. 8vo. 1762.

Merchant of Venice.

The Jew of Venice, a Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, by his Majesty's Servants. By George Granville, Esq. (afterwards Lord Lansdowne.) 4to. 1701.

As You Like It.

Love in a Forest, a Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesties Servants. By C. Johnson. 8vo. 1723.

The Modern Receipt, or a Cure for Love. A Comedy, altered from Shakspeare. The Dedication is signed J. C. 12mo. 1739.

All's Well that Ends Well.

All's Well that Ends Well, a Comedy. Altered by Mr. Pilon, and reduced to three Acts. Performed at the Haymarket Theatre, 1785. Not printed.

⁹ This play is a pasticio formed from Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, and Love's Labour's Lost. BOSWELL.

All's Well that Ends Well, a Comedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo.

Taming of the Shrew.

Sawny the Scott, or the Taming of the Shrew, a Comedy, as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal, and never before printed. By John Lacy. 4to. 1698.

The Cocker of Preston, a Farce, as it is acted at the new Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. By Christopher Bulluck. 12mo. 1716.

The Cocker of Preston, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By C. Johnson. 8vo. 1716.

A Cure for a Scold, a Ballad Opera, by James Worsdale. Taken from the Taming of the Shrew. 8vo. [1735.]

Katharine and Petruchio. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1756.

Winter's Tale.

The Winter's Tale, a Play, altered from Shakspeare. By Charles Marsh. 8vo. 1756.

Florizel and Perdita. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1758.

Sheepshearing, or Florizel and Perdita. By Macnamara Morgan, Dublin. 12mo. 1767.

The Sheep-shearing, a dramattick Pastoral. In three Acts. Taken from Shakspeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket. 8vo. 1777.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1802.

Macbeth.

Macbeth, a Tragedy, with all the Alterations, Amendments, Additions, and new Songs; as it is now acted at the Duke's Theatre. By Sir William D'Avenant. 4to. 1674.

The Historical Tragedy of Macbeth (written originally by Shakspeare) newly adapted to the stage, with Altera-

tions, as performed at the Theatre in Edinburgh. 8vo. 1753. By Mr. Lee.

King John.

Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John, a Tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, by his Majesty's Servants. By Colley Cibber. 8vo. 1744.

An alteration by J. F. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1801.

King Richard II.

The History of King Richard the Second. Acted at the Theatre Royal under the title of the Sicilian Usurper : with a prefatory Epistle in Vindication of the Author, occasioned by the prohibition of his Play on the Stage. By N. Tate. 4to. 1681.

The Tragedy of King Richard II. altered from Shakspeare. By Lewis Theobald. 8vo. 1720.

King Richard II. a Tragedy, altered from Shakspeare, and the Style imitated. By James Goodhall. Printed at Manchester. 8vo. 1772.

King Henry IV. Part I.

King Henry IV. with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff, a Tragi-comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, by his Majesty's Servants. Revived with Alterations. By Mr. Betterton. 4to. 1700.

King Henry IV. Part II.

The Sequel of Henry IV. with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff and Justice Shallow ; as it is acted by his Majesty's Company of Comedians at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Altered from Shakspeare by the late Mr. Betterton. 8vo. No date.

King Henry V.

King Henry V. or the Conquest of France, a Tragedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo.

King Henry VI. Three Parts.

Henry the Sixth, the First Part, with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. As it was acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Crowne. 4to. 1681.

Henry the Sixth, the Second Part, or the Misery of Civil War. As it was acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Crowne. 4to. 1681.

Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, a Tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants, [A few speeches and lines *only* borrowed from Shakspeare.] By Ambrose Philips. 8vo. 1723.

An Historical Tragedy of the Civil Wars in the Reign of King Henry VI. (being a sequel to the Tragedy of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and an Introduction to the Tragical History of King Richard III). Altered from Shakspeare in the year 1720. By Theo. Cibber. 8vo. No date. [1723.]

The Roses; or King Henry the Sixth; an Historical Tragedy. Represented at Reading School, Oct. 15, 16, and 17, 1795. Compiled principally from Shakspeare. 8vo. Elmsly, &c. This compilation is said to have been the work of the Rev. Dr. Valpy.

King Richard III.

The Tragical History of King Richard III. Altered from Shakspeare. 4to. 1700. By Colley Cibber.

Troilus and Cressida.

Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found too late. A Tragedy, as it is acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Dryden. 4to. 1679.

Coriolanus.

The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, or the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal. By Nahum Tate. 4to. 1682.

The Invader of his Country, or the Fatal Resentment.

As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By John Dennis. 8vo. 1720.

Coriolanus, or the Roman Matron, a Tragedy, taken from Shakspeare and Thomson. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden : to which is added the Order of the Ovation. By Thomas Sheridan. 8vo. 1755.

Coriolanus, a Tragedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1801.

Julius Cæsar.

The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar, with the Death of Brutus and Cassius : written originally by Shakspeare, and since altered by Sir William D'Avenant and John Dryden, Poets Laureat ; as it is now acted by his Majesty's Company of Comedians at the Theatre Royal. To which is prefixed the Life of Julius Cæsar, abstracted from Plutarch and Suetonius. 12mo. 1719.

The Tragedy of Julius Cæsar, altered, with a Prologue and Chorus. 4to. 1722.

The Tragedy of Marcus Brutus, with the Prologue and the two last Chorusses. 4to. 1722. Both by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

Antony and Cleopatra.

Antony and Cleopatra, an Historical Play written by William Shakspeare, fitted for the Stage by abridging only ; and now acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By Edward Capell. 12mo. 1758.

King Lear.

The History of King Lear, acted at the Duke's Theatre. Revived with Alterations. By Nahum Tate. 4to. 1681.

The History of King Lear, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. By George Colman. 8vo. 1768.

Hamlet.

Hamlet, altered by Mr. Garrick. Acted at Drury Lane, 1771. Not printed.

Cymbeline.

The Injured Princess, or the Fatal Wager. As it was acted at the Theatre Royal, by his Majesty's Servants. By Tho. Durfey. 4to. 1682.

Cymbeline, King of Great Britain, a Tragedy, written by Shakspeare, with some Alterations. By Charles Marsh. 8vo. 1755.

Cymbeline, a Tragedy, altered from Shakspeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. By W. Hawkins. 8vo. 1759.

Cymbeline, altered by Mr. Garrick. Acted at Drury Lane, 1761. 12mo. 1762.

Timon of Athens.

The History of Timon of Athens, the Man-hater. As it is acted at the Duke's Theatre; made into a Play, by Thomas Shadwell. 4to. 1678.

Timon of Athens. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal on Richmond Green. Altered from Shakspeare and Shadwell. By James Love. 8vo. 1768.

Timon of Athens, altered from Shakspeare, a tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Cumberland. 8vo. 1771.

Timon of Athens, altered from Shakspeare and Shadwell, by Mr. Hull, was acted at Covent Garden, 1786. Not printed.

Romeo and Juliet.

Romeo and Juliet, altered into a Tragi-comedy, by James Howard, Esq. See Downes, p. 22.

Caius Marius, by Tho. Otway. 4to. 1680.

Romeo and Juliet, a Tragedy, revised and altered from Shakspeare. By Theo. Cibber. 8vo. No date. [1744.]

Romeo and Juliet, altered by Mr. Garrick. 12mo. 1750.

From the Preface to the Republication of Marsh's

Cymbeline in 1762, it appears that he had likewise made an alteration of Romeo and Juliet.

Comedy of Errors.

An alteration of this play under the title of Every Body Mistaken, was acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1716, but was never printed.

The Comedy of Errors, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, 1779. Altered by Mr. Hull.

The Twins, or Which is Which, in three Acts, altered by Mr. Woods, was acted at Edinburgh, and printed in a collection of farces at Edinburgh, 1786, vol. iv.

Titus Andronicus.

Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia. Acted at the Theatre Royal. A Tragedy, altered from Mr. Shakspeare's Works. By Edward Ravenscroft. 4to. 1687.

Pericles, Prince of Tyre.

Marina, a Play of three Acts, by George Lillo. 8vo. 1738.

One of the alterations of Shakspeare is of so singular a nature, that the reader may probably be pleased in having an account of it, as I believe [See p. 689.] it has never appeared in print, I mean Mr. Garrick's alteration of Hamlet in 1771. There cannot well be a greater proof of the prevalence of French criticism at a former period, than that an actor who professed himself desirous to "lose no drop of that immortal man," could have thought that he was doing the publick a service in so grossly sophisticating one of his noblest plays. The copy which he made use of for his supposed corrections, was one which was printed in 4to. 1703, and probably exhibited Hamlet as it was acted by Betterton, and will furnish another instance of the liberties which were taken with Shakspeare at the beginning of the last century. The following is the Advertisement to the Reader:

' This play being too long to be conveniently acted, such

places as might be least prejudicial to the plot or sense are left out upon the stage : but that we may no way wrong the incomparable author, are here inserted according to the original copy with this mark [“ ”].’

The reader would scarcely anticipate that the greater part of Hamlet’s address to his father’s ghost is marked for omission. It stands thus for representation.

Horatio. Look, my Lord, where it comes.

Hamlet. Angels and ministers of grace, defend us,

* * * * *

* * * what may this mean,

That thou, dead corse, again in complete steel, &c.

But to return to Mr. Garrick. I shall not fatigue the reader with minute alterations, or such arrangements as were merely designed for convenience in acting, but shall produce one instance of a supposed improvement in Hamlet’s soliloquy at the end of Act IV. Sc. IV. His observations on his own character, which are the best clue to his conduct,

————— Now whether it be

Bestial oblivion or some craven scruple, &c.

are left out, and for the close of the speech, the following rant is substituted :

Awake, my soul, awake !

Wake nature, manhood, vengeance, rouse at once !

My father’s spirit calls ! the hour is come !

From this time forth, my thoughts be bloody all,

I’ll fly my keepers—Sweep to my revenge.

It is generally known that he expunged the scene of the grave-diggers ; but he did much more—he cut out the whole of the last Act. The voyage to England, the destruction of Rozencrantz and Guildenstern, the funeral of Ophelia, and the conspiracy against Hamlet by means of a fencing match, are all swept away. After the second scene of Ophelia’s madness, Laertes utters that speech

which Shakspeare has put into his mouth at her grave. "O treble woe," &c. Hamlet enters, and the quarrel takes place as in the original, Act V. Sc. I. but somewhat shortened, and then follows the conclusion of the play. The king interferes with this speech :

King. We will not bear this insult to our presence.

Hamlet, I did command you hence to England ;

Affection hitherto has curb'd my power ;

But you have trampled on allegiance,

And now shall feel my wrath.—Guards.

Hamlet.

First feel mine. [*Stabs him.*

Here thou incestuous, murderous, damned Dane,

There's for thy treachery, lust, and usurpation.

[*King falls and dies.*

Queen. Mercy ! Mercy, Heaven ! Save me from my son.

[*She runs out.*

Laertes. What, treason, ho ! Thus then do I revenge
My father, sister, and my king.

[*They fight : Hamlet is wounded by Laertes, and falls.*

Horatio. And I my prince, and friend. [*Draws.*

Hamlet. Hold, good Horatio : 'tis the hand of Heaven
Administers by him, this precious balm

For all my wounds. [*Enter Messenger.*] Speak ! speak !
what of my mother ?

Messenger. Struck with the horror of the scene, she fled ;
But ere she reach'd her chamber-door, she fell ;
Entranc'd and motionless ; unable to sustain the load
Of agony and sorrow.

Hamlet. O my Horatio, watch the wretched queen,
If from this trance she wakes. O may she breath
An hour of penitence, ere madness ends her.
Exchange forgiveness with me, brave Laertes.
O may thy father's death come not on me,
Or mine on thee.

Laertes. Heav'n make thee free of it.

Hamlet. I die, I die, Horatio —Come thou near,

[*To Laertes.*

Take this hand from me. Unite your virtues.

[*Joins Horatio's hand to Laertes.*

To calm this troubled land—I can no more,
Nor have I more to ask—But mercy, Heav'n. [Dies.]

Horatio. Now cracks a noble heart. Good night, sweet prince.

And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest.
Take up the bodies. Such a sight as this
Becomes the field—but here shows much amiss.

[*Finis.*]

BOSWELL.

AUBREY².

Mr. Aubrey was born in the year 1625, or 1626; and in 1642 was entered a gentleman commoner of Trinity college in Oxford. Four years afterwards he was admitted a member of the Inner Temple, and in 1662 elected a member of the Royal Society. He died about the year 1700. It is acknowledged, that his literary attainments were considerable; that he was a man of good parts, of much learning and great application; a good Latin poet, an excellent naturalist, and, what is more material to our present object, a great lover of and indefatigable searcher into antiquities. That the greater part of his life was devoted to literary pursuits, is ascertained by the works which he has published, the correspondence which he held with many eminent men, and the collections which he left in manuscript, and which are now repositied in the Ashmolean Museum. Among these collections is a curious account of our English poets and many other writers. While Wood was preparing his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, this manuscript was lent to him, as appears from many queries in his handwriting in the margin; and his account of Milton, with whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted, is (as has been observed by Mr. Warton) literally transcribed from thence. Wood afterwards quar-

² [This writer has been so often referred to in these pages, that it would have been an act of injustice not to have preserved Mr. Malone's testimony in his favour. BOSWELL.]

relled with Mr. Aubrey, whom in the second volume of his *Fasti*, p. 262, he calls his *friend*, and on whom in his *History of the University of Oxford* he bestows the highest encomium²; and, after their quarrel, with his usual warmth, and in his loose diction, he represented Aubrey as “a *pretender* to antiquities, roving, magottie-headed, and little better than crased.” To Wood every lover of antiquity and literary history has very high obligations; and in all matters of fact he may be safely relied on; but his opinion of men and things is of little value. According to his representation, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, a man highly esteemed by all his contemporaries, was “a most vile person,” and the celebrated John Locke, “a prating, clamorous, turbulent fellow.” The virtuous and learned Dr. John Wallis, if we are to believe Wood, was a man who could “at any time make black white, and white black, for his own ends, and who had a ready knack at sophistical evasion³.” How little his judgment of his contemporaries is to be trusted, is also evinced by his account of the ingenious Dr. South, whom, being offended by one of his witticisms, he has grossly reviled⁴. What-

* “*Transmissum autem nobis est illud epitaphium a viro perhumano, Johanne Alberico, vulgo Aubrey, Armigero, hujus collegii olim generoso commensali, jam vero è Regio Societate Londini; viro inquam, tam bono, tam benigno, ut publico solummodo commodo, nec sibi omnino, natus esse videatur.*” *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 297.

² Letter from Wood to Aubrey, dated Jan. 16, 1689-90. MSS. Aubrey. No. 15, in Mus. Ashmol. Oxon.—Yet in the preface to his *History of the University of Oxford*, he describes Dr. Wallis as a man—“*eruditione pariter et humanitate præstans.*”

³ Wood’s account of South (says Mr. Warton) is full of malicious reflections and abusive stories: the occasion of which was this. Wood, on a visit to Dr. South, was complaining of a very painful and dangerous suppression of urine; upon which South in his witty manner, told him, that, ‘if he could not *make water* he must *make earth.*’ Wood was so provoked at this unseason-

ever Wood in a peevish humour may have thought or said of Mr. Aubrey, by whose labours he highly profited, or however fantastical Aubrey may have been on the subject of chemistry and ghosts, his character for veracity has never been impeached; and as a very diligent antiquarian, his testimony is worthy of attention. Mr. Toland, who was well acquainted with him, and certainly a better judge of men than Wood, gives this character of him: "Though he was extremely superstitious, or seemed to be so, yet *he was a very honest man, and most accurate in his account of matters of fact.* But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted⁵." I do not wish to maintain that all his accounts of our English writers are on these grounds to be implicitly adopted; but it seems to me much more reasonable to question such parts of them as appear objectionable, than to reject them altogether, because he may sometimes have been mistaken.

He was acquainted with many of the players, and lived in great intimacy with the poets and other celebrated writers of the last age; from whom undoubtedly many of his anecdotes were collected. Among his friends and acquaintances we find Hobbes, Milton, Dryden, Butler, Ray, Evelyn⁶, Ashmole, Sir William Dugdale, Dr. Bathurst, Bishop Skinner, Dr. Gale, Sir William D'Avenant, Mr. Hook, Sir William Petty, Sir John Denham, Sir Bennet Hoskyns, (son of John Hoskyns, who was

able and unexpected jest, that he went home in a passion, and wrote South's *Life*." Life of Ralph Bathurst, p. 184. Compare Wood's Athen. Oxon. ii. 1041.

⁵ Specimen of a Critical History of the Celtick Religion, &c. p. 122.

⁶ "With incredible satisfaction I have perused your Natural History of the county of Surrey, and greatly admire both your industry in undertaking so profitable a work, and *your judgment in the several observations you have made.*" Letter from John Evelyn, Esq. to Mr. Aubrey, prefixed to his *Antiquities of Surrey*.

well acquainted with the poets of Shakspeare's time), Mr. Josiah Howe, Toland, and many more⁷. The anecdotes concerning D'Avenant in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, which have been printed in a former page, were, like the copious and accurate account of Milton, transcribed literally from Aubrey's papers. A person who enjoyed the intimacy and esteem of so many distinguished persons, must certainly have borne a very different character from that which has been given of him by Wood, who was remarkable for the violence of his temper and his strong prejudices.

⁷ Hobbes, whose life Aubrey wrote, was born in 1588, Milton in 1608, Dryden in 1630, Ray in 1628, Evelyn in 1621, Ashmole in 1616, Sir W. Dugdale in 1606, Dr. Bathurst in 1620, Bishop Skinner in 1591, Dr. Gale about 1630, Sir William D'Avenant in 1606; Sir John Denham in 1615, Sir Bennet Hoskyns (the son of John Hoskyns, Ben Jonson's poetical father, who was born in 1566,) about 1600, and Mr. Jos. Howe in 1611.

END OF VOL. II.